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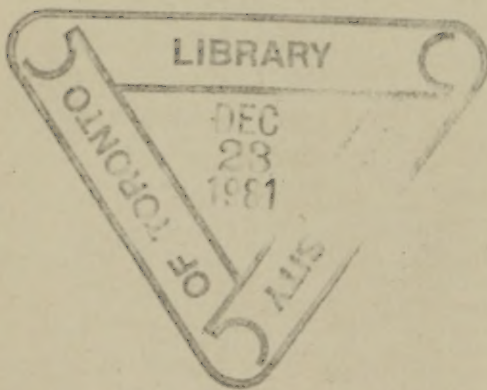
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The Forum.

MARCH, 1890.

FRANCE IN 1789 AND 1889.

THE year of centenaries has brought us no memento more significant than the timely re-issue of Arthur Young's "Travels in France" in 1787-89.* Europe has seen in this century nothing more striking, and hardly any single thing more entirely blessed, than the transfiguration of rural France from its state under the ancient monarchy to its state under the new republic. By good luck an English traveler, with rare opportunities and almost a touch of genius, traversed every province just on the eve of the great crisis, and left to mankind a vivid picture of all he saw. "Vehement, plain-spoken Arthur Young," says Carlyle, who, in his lurid chapter on the "General Overturn," has made household words out of several of Arthur's historic sayings. "That wise and honest traveler," says John Morley, "with his luminous criticism of the most important side of the Revolution, worth a hundred times more than Burke, Paine, and Mackintosh all put together."

And now a lady who has seen perhaps more of France than even Arthur Young, Miss Betham-Edwards, has given us an excellent edition of the famous "Travels," so long practically in-

* Travels in France, by Arthur Young, during the years 1787, 1788, 1789, with an Introduction, Biographical Sketch, and Notes, by M. Betham-Edwards. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1889. Bohn's Standard Library, N. S.

accessible, with notes, illustrations, references, and a vignette picture of rural France in 1889 such as old Arthur himself might have limned, had he returned to earth and to France to see the great Exhibition. The contrast, as we look first on this picture and then on that, is the transition we find in a dream or a fairy tale. It is as though one rose from the dead. We see the somber, haggard, crushed French peasant of Languedoc, Poitou, or Franche Comté, that Lazarus whom the old system swathed in cerecloth and entombed, starting forth into life from his bonds, and returning to his home, to his activity, and to freedom. It is the Revolution that has worked this miracle. This is the only work of the Revolution that is wholly blessed. Here, at any rate, it has destroyed almost nothing that was good, and has founded little that is evil. "The Revolution," says the editor of these "Travels," "in a few years metamorphosed entire regions."

What life, what heart, what ring there was in the racy sayings of the fine old boy! Every one knows that sharp word wrung from him even while he was the guest of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld: "Whenever you stumble on a *grand seigneur*, you are sure to find his property a desert." The signs of the greatness of a *grand seigneur* are "wastes, deserts, fern, ling." "Oh! if I was the legislator of France for a day, I would make such great lords skip again." "The crop of this country is princes of the blood; that is to say, hares, pheasants, deer, boars." Schoolboys in France can repeat the historic passage about the woman near Mars-la-Tour, aged 28, but so bent and furrowed and hardened by labor that she looked 60 or 70, as she groaned out: "Sir, the taxes and the dues are crushing us to death!" No one, says he, can imagine what the French peasant woman has come to look under grinding poverty. He tells of "some things that called themselves women, but in reality were walking dunghills"; "girls and women without shoes or stockings." "The plowmen at their work have neither *sabots*, nor feet to their stockings. This is a poverty that strikes at the root of national prosperity." And then comes that scathing phrase which rings in the ears of Englishmen to-day: "It reminds me of the misery of Ireland."

The poor people's habitations he finds in Brittany to be

"miserable heaps of dirt." There, as so often elsewhere in France, no glass window, scarcely any light; the women furrowed without age by labor. "One third of what I have seen of this province seems uncultivated, and nearly all of it in misery." "Nothing but privileges and poverty." And every one remembers what these privileges were—"these tortures of the peasantry" he calls them—of which in one sentence he enumerates twenty-eight.

And now, in 1889, turn to these same provinces, to the third generation in descent from these very peasants. "The desert that saddened Arthur Young's eyes," writes Miss Edwards to-day, "may now be described as a land of Goshen, overflowing with milk and honey." "The land was well stocked and cultivated, the people were neatly and appropriately dressed, and the signs of general contentment and well-being delightful to contemplate." In one province, a million acres of waste land have been brought into cultivation. In five or six years, wrote the historian Mignet, "the Revolution quadrupled the resources of civilization." Where Arthur Young saw the miserable peasant woman, Miss Edwards tells us that to-day the farmers' daughters have for portions "several thousand pounds." What Arthur Young calls an "unimproved, poor, and ugly country," Miss Edwards now finds to be "one vast garden." In the *landes*, where the traveler saw nearly a hundred miles of continuous waste, 700,000 acres have been fertilized by canals, and a very small portion remains in the state in which he found it. "Maine and Anjou have the appearance of deserts," writes the traveler of 1789. "Sunny, light-hearted, dance-loving Anjou" appears to the traveler of 1889 a model of prosperity and happiness. Where he found the peasants living in caves underground, she finds neat homesteads costing more than 6,000 francs to build. In Dauphiné, where he finds, in 1789, mountains waste or in a great measure useless, she finds, in 1889, choice vineyards that sell at 25,000 francs per acre.

And what has done all this? The prophetic soul of Arthur Young can tell us, though a hundred years were needed to make his hopes a reality. His words have passed into a household phrase where the English tongue reaches: "The magic of property turns sand to gold." "The inhabitants of this village deserve

encouragement for their industry," he writes of Sauve, "and if I was a French minister they should have it. They would soon turn all the deserts around them into gardens." "Give a man," he adds, in a phrase which is now a proverb, "the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine-years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert." What has made all this misery? he cries again and again; what has blighted this magnificent country, and crushed this noble people? Misgovernment, bad laws, cruel customs, wanton selfishness of the rich, the powerful, and the privileged. Nothing was ever said more true. Arthur Young's good legislator came even sooner than he dared to hope, armed with a force more tremendous than he could conceive. It was a minister greater than any Turgot, or Necker, or Mirabeau; who served a sovereign more powerful than Louis or Napoleon. His sovereign was the Revolution; the minister was the new system. And the warm-hearted English gentleman lived to see his "great lords skip again" somewhat too painfully. The storm has passed, the blood is washed out; but the "red fool-fury of the Seine" has made rural France the paradise of the peasant.

Let us take a typical bit of the country here and there and compare its state in 1789 and in 1889. From Paris and Orleans Arthur Young, in 1787, journeyed southward through Berri and the Limousin to Toulouse. His diary is one cry of pity. "The fields are scenes of pitiable management, as the houses are of misery." "Heaven grant me patience while I see a country thus neglected, and forgive me the oaths I swear at the absence and ignorance of the possessors." "The husbandry poor and the people miserable." "The poor people who cultivate the soil here are *métayers*, that is, men who hire the soil without ability to stock it—a miserable system that perpetuates poverty and excludes instruction."

Turn to our traveler of 1889. Berri, says Miss Edwards, has been transformed under a sound land system. It has indeed a poor soil; but, even in the "*triste Sologne*," plantations, irrigation canals, and improved methods of agriculture are transforming this region. So rapid is the progress that George Sand, who died but the other day, would hardly recognize the country she

has described so well. Here and there may be seen, now used as an out-house, one of those bare, windowless cabins which shocked Arthur Young, and close at hand the "neat, airy, solid dwellings" the peasant owners have built for themselves. Here Miss Edwards visited newly-made farms, with their spick-and-span buildings, the whole having the appearance of a little settlement in the Far West. The holdings vary from 6 to 30 acres, their owners possessing a capital of 5,000 to 8,000 and even 25,000 francs, the land well stocked and cultivated, the people well dressed, and signs of general content and well-being delightful to contemplate. And as to *métayage*, "that miserable system which perpetuates poverty," Miss Edwards finds it now one of the chief factors of the agricultural progress of France, creating cordial relations between landlord and tenant. The secret of this curious conflict between two most competent observers is this: *métayage*—the system under which the owner of the soil finds land, stock, and implements, the tiller of the farm finds manual labor, and all produce is equally shared—depends for its fair working upon just laws, equality before the law, absence of any privilege in the owner, and good understanding as between men who alike respect each other. With these, it is an excellent system of farming, very favorable to the laborer; without these, it may almost reduce him to serfdom. It may thus be one of the best, or one of the worst, of all systems of husbandry. As Arthur Young saw it under the ancient system of privileged orders, it was almost as bad as an Irish tenancy at will. Under the new system of post-revolutionary equality, it has given prosperity to large tracts in France.

From Autun in Burgundy Arthur Young traveled across the Bourbonnais and the Nivernais, and he found the country "villainously cultivated"; when he sees such a country "in the hands of starving *métayers*, instead of fat farmers," he knows not how to pity the *seigneurs*. To-day, his editor finds "fat farmers" innumerable, for *métayage* has greatly advanced the condition of the peasants. The country that lies between the mouths of the Garonne and the Loire is precisely that part of his journey which wrings from Arthur Young his furious invective against the great lords whom he wished he could make "to skip again."

Now, the Gironde, the Charente, and La Vendée are thriving, rich districts, intersected with railways; "and, owing to the indefatigable labors of peasant owners, hundreds of thousands of acres of waste land have been put under cultivation."

Or turn to Brittany, which Arthur Young calls "a miserable province"; "husbandry not much further advanced than among the Hurons"; "the people almost as wild as their country"; "mud houses, no windows"; "a hideous heap of wretchedness"—all through "the execrable maxims of despotism, or the equally detestable prejudices of a feudal nobility." And this is the rich, thriving, laborious, and delightful Brittany which our tourists love, where Miss Edwards tells us of scientific farming, artificial manures, machinery, "the granary of western France," market gardens of fabulous value, and a great agricultural college, one of the most important in Europe.

Maine and Anjou, through which the Loire flows below Tours, were deserts to Arthur Young. Every tourist knows that these provinces now look as rich and prosperous as any spot in Europe. Miss Edwards gives us an almost idyllic picture of an Angevin farmhouse, with its supper, merriment, and dance; and tells of Angevin peasants building themselves villas with eight rooms, a flower garden, parlor, kitchen, offices, and four airy bedrooms. "The peasant wastes nothing and spends little; he possesses stores of homespun linen, home-made remedies, oil, vinegar, honey, cider, and wine of his own producing." "The poorest eat asparagus, green peas, and strawberries every day in season; and as everybody owns crops, nobody pilfers his neighbor's." Universal ownership gives absolute security to property, and pauperism is unknown.

As in Berri, as in the Limousin, Poitou, Anjou, and Brittany, so elsewhere throughout France, we find the same astounding contrast between the tale told by the traveler of 1789 and the traveler of 1889. Paris amazes Arthur Young by its dirtiness and discomfort, and the silence and stagnation of life the instant he passes out of its narrow crooked streets! To those accustomed to the animation and rapid movement of England, says he, it is not possible to describe "the dullness and stupidity of France"! To read these words in the year of the great Exhibi-

tion, 1889, with its 26,000,000 tickets bought by sight-seers! In Champagne he pronounces his famous diatribe against government. Now, we all know Champagne to be a thriving and wealthy country. It was in Franche Comté that Arthur Young, being surrounded by an angry crowd, made his famous speech to them about French and English taxation, and explained the difference between a *seigneur* in France and in England. On which side would the difference lie, if he rose to make his speech in the Doubs to-day? Arthur Young crosses France from Alsace to Auvergne before he sees a field of clover; but in France to-day clover is as common as it is in England. Old Marseilles he thinks close, ill-built, and dirty; and "the port itself is a horse pond." He cannot find a conveyance between Marseilles and Nice. Such great cities in France, he says, have not the hundredth part of the means of communication common in much smaller places in England. He passes into the mountain region of Upper Savoy; and there he finds the people at their ease, and the land productive, in spite of the harsh climate and the barren soil. He asks the reason, and he learns that there are no *seigneurs* in Upper Savoy. In Lower Savoy he finds the people poor and miserable, for there stands a *carcan*, a seigneurial standard, with a chain and a heavy collar, an emblem of the slavery of the people.

At Lyons he meets the Rolands, though he failed to recognize the romantic genius that lay still hidden in the young and beautiful wife of the austere financier. At Lyons he is assured that "the state of manufacture is melancholy to the last degree." And, as the quarter now known as Perrache did not yet exist, he finds the city itself badly situated. As he passes along the Riviera from Antibes to Nice, he is driven to walk, for want of a conveyance, and a woman carries his baggage on an ass. At Cannes there is no post house, carriage, horses, or mules, and he has to walk through nine miles of waste! And so he at last gets back to Paris. There he hears Mirabeau thunder in the National Assembly; meets the King and the Queen, La Fayette, Barnave, Sieyès, Condorcet, and the chiefs of the Revolution; and is taken to the Jacobin Club, of which he is duly installed as a member. And this wonderful book ends with a

chapter of general reflections on the Revolution, which go more deeply down to the root of the matter, as John Morley has said, than all that Burke, Paine, and Mackintosh piled up in so many eloquent periods.

The Revolution as a whole would carry us far afield. In these few pages we are dealing with the great transformation that it wrought in the condition of the peasant. It must not be forgotten that part of the enormous difference between the peasant of the last century and the peasant of to-day, is due to the vast material advancement common to the civilized world. Railroads, steam factories, telegraphs, the enormous increase in population, in manufactures, commerce, and inventions were not products of the "principles of '89," nor of the Convention, nor of the Jacobin Club. All Europe has grown, America has grown almost miraculously, and France has grown with both. But the political lesson of Arthur Young's journey is this: the poverty and the desolation which he saw in 1789 were directly due, as he so keenly felt, not to the country, not to the husbandmen, not to ignorance or to indolence in the people, not to mere neglect, weakness, or stupidity in the central government, but directly to bad laws, cruel privileges, and an oppressive system of tyranny. Arthur Young found an uncommonly rich soil, a glorious climate, a thrifty, ingenious, and laborious people, a strong central government that, in places and at times, could make magnificent roads, bridges, canals, ports; and when a Turgot, or a Liancourt, or a de Turbilly had a free hand, a country which could be made one of the richest on the earth. What Arthur Young saw, with the eye of true insight, was, that were these evil laws and this atrocious system of land tenure removed, France would be one of the finest countries in the world. And Arthur Young, as we see, was right.

Another point is this: to Arthur Young, the Suffolk farmer of 1789, everything he sees in the peasantry and husbandry of France appears miserably inferior to the peasantry and husbandry of England. France is a country far worse cultivated than England, its agricultural produce miserably less; its life, animation, and means of communication ludicrously inferior to those of England; its farmers in penury, its laborers starving, its resources

barbarous, compared with those of England. In an English village more meat, he learns, is eaten in a week, than in a French village in a year; the clothing, food, home, and intelligence of the English laborer are far above those of the French laborer. The country inns are infinitely better in England; there is ten times the circulation, the wealth, the comfort in an English rural district; the English laborer is a free man, the French laborer little more than a serf.

Can we say the same thing in 1889? Obviously not. The contrast to-day is reversed. It is the English laborer who is worse housed, worse fed, clothed, taught; who has nothing of his own, who can never save; to whom an acre of land is as much an impossibility as a diamond necklace, and who may no more think to own a cow than to own a race horse; who follows the plow for two shillings a day, and ends, when he drops, in the workhouse. England has increased in these hundred years far more than France in population, in wealth, in commerce, in manufactures, in dominion, in resources, in general material prosperity—in all but in the condition of her rural laborer. In that she has gone back, perhaps positively; but relatively it is certain she has gone very far back. The English traveler in France to-day is amazed at the wealth, independence, and comfort of the French peasant. To Miss Edwards, who knows France well, it is a land of Goshen, flowing with milk and honey; the life of the peasant of Anjou, Brie, and La Vendée is one of idyllic prosperity "delightful to behold." The land tenure of England in 1789 was, as Young told the mob in the Doubs, far in advance of that of France—as far as that of France in 1889 is in advance of that of England now. Our English great lords have not yet begun "to skip again." Land tenure in England to-day is essentially the same as it was in 1789. In France it has been wholly transformed by the Revolution.

There are in France now some eight million persons who own the soil, the great mass of whom are peasants. It is well known that the Revolution did not create this peasant land-ownership, but that in part it goes back to the earliest times of French history. Turgot, Necker, de Tocqueville, and a succession of historians have abundantly proved the fact. Arthur Young en-

tirely recognizes the truth, and tells us that one third of the soil of France was already the property of the peasant. This estimate has been adopted by good French authorities; but Miss Edwards considers it an over-statement, and holds that the true proportion in 1789 was one fourth. In any case it is now much more than one half. Not but that there is now in France a very great number also of large estates, and some that are immense when compared with the standard of England proper. It has indeed been estimated that positively, though not relatively, there are more great rural estates in France to-day than there are in England. The notion that the Revolution has extinguished great properties in France, is as utterly mistaken as the notion that the Revolution created the system of small properties. The important point is that since the Revolution every laborer has been able to acquire a portion of the soil; and a very large proportion of the adult population has already so done.

It is also likely that Young overrated the depth of the external discomfort that he saw. Under such a brutal system of fiscal and manorial oppression as was then rife, the farmer and the laborer carefully hide what wealth they may have, and deliberately assume the outer semblance of want, for fear of the tax-gatherer, the tithe proctor, and the landlord's bailiff. That has been seen in Ireland for centuries and may be still seen to-day. So the French peasant was not always so poor as he chose to appear in Arthur Young's eyes.

Another thing is that the French laboring man, and still more the laboring woman, is a marvelously penurious, patient, frugal creature who deliberately, for the sake of thrift, endures hard fare, uncleanness, squalor, such as no English or American freeman would stomach except by necessity. The life led by a comfortable English or American farmer would represent wicked waste and shameful indulgence to a much richer French peasant. I myself know a laborer on wages of less than 20 shillings a week, who by thrift has bought ten acres of the magnificent garden land between Fontainebleau and the Seine, worth many thousand pounds, on which grow all kinds of fruits and vegetables, and the famous dessert grapes; yet who, with all his wealth and abundance, denies himself and his two children meat on Sundays, and

even a drink of the wine which he grows and makes for the market. I know a peasant family in Normandy, worth in houses, gardens, and farms, at least 500,000 francs, who will live on the orts cast out as refuse by their own lodgers, while the wife and mother hires herself out as a scullion for two francs a day. The penuriousness of the French peasant is to English eyes a thing savage, bestial, and maniacal.

The French peasant has great virtues; but he has the defects of his virtues, and his home life is far from idyllic. He is laborious, shrewd, enduring, frugal, self-reliant, sober, honest, and capable of intense self-control for a distant reward; but that reward is property in land, in pursuit of which he may become as pitiless as a bloodhound. He is not chaste (indeed he is often lecherous), but he relentlessly keeps down the population, and can hardly bring himself to rear two children. To give these two children a good heritage, he will inflict great hardships on them and on all others whom he controls. He has an intense passion for his own immediate locality; but he loves his own commune, and still more his own *terre*, better than he loves France. He is not indeed the monster that Zola paints in "*La Terre*"; but there is a certain vein of Zolaism in him, and the type may be found in the criminal records of France. He is intelligent; but he is not nearly so well educated as the Swiss, or the German, or the Hollander. He is able to bear suffering without a murmur; but he has none of that imperturbable courage that Englishmen and Americans show in a thousand new situations. He is shrewd and far-seeing, and a tough hand in a bargain; but he has none of the inventive audacity of the American citizen. He is self-reliant, but too cautious to trust himself in a new field. He is independent, but without the proud dignity of the Spanish peasant. He has a love for the gay, the beautiful, and the graceful, which, compared with that of the Englishman, is the sense of art; though he has nothing of the charm of the Italian, or of the musical genius of the German.

Take him for all in all, he is a strong and noteworthy force in modern civilization. Though his country has not the vast mineral wealth of England, nor her gigantic development in manufactures and in commerce, he has made France one of the richest,

most solid, most progressive countries on earth. He is quite as frugal and patient as the German, and is far more ingenious and skillful. He has not the energy of the Englishman or the elastic spring of the American, but he is far more saving and much more provident. He "wastes nothing, and spends little"; and thus, since his country comes next to England and America in natural resources and national energy, he has built up one of the strongest, most self-contained, and most durable of modern peoples.

Fluctuat nec mergitur, should be the motto, not of Paris, but of France. The indomitable endurance of her race has enabled her to surmount crushing disasters, losses, and disappointments under which another race would have sunk. She bears with ease a national debt the annual charge of which is more than double that of wealthy England, and a taxation nearly double that of England with almost the same population—a permanent taxation (exceeding 100 francs per head) greater than has ever before been borne by any people. She loses, over one war, a sum not much short of the whole national debt of England, and she writes off without a murmur a loss of 1,200,000,000 francs, thrown into the Panama canal. If France is thus strong, the back bone of her strength is found in the marvelous industry and thrift of her peasantry. And if her peasantry are industrious and thrifty, it is because the Revolution of '89 has secured to them a position more free and independent than that presented by any monarchical country on the continent of Europe.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

WAR UNDER NEW CONDITIONS.

WHEN our civil war ended, a quarter of a century ago, we had made many innovations in the art of war. The duel of the "Monitor" and the "Merrimac" marked an era in naval contests, and has led to the expenditure of many millions on the part of the maritime powers of Europe. The Confederate torpedoes introduced a new element into recognized methods of coast defense, by which weak nations are placed more nearly on an equal footing with the strong. The complaint so often heard among our volunteers in the early days of the war, "I came to fight, not to dig," soon ceased, under the logic of events; and now two thirds of the men in infantry organizations of the German army carry light spades as well as rifles. Our cavalry learned to march on horseback and to fight on foot, and their example is not without imitators in Europe to-day. The iron horse was harnessed for the moving of troops and stores to an extent before unprecedented, but now great railroads are being constructed chiefly to perform this new duty in war. In a word, the energy of our people, concentrated for four years upon military problems, bore lasting fruit; and the feeling prevails among us that the knowledge acquired by our veterans in their field service is quite sufficient for the needs of the nation now or in the immediate future. What they do not know about war is supposed to be not worth knowing.

But the military world has been moving forward during our twenty-five years of slumber, and such improvements have been made in all kinds of warlike material that, on a modern battle field, one of our veterans would feel like a Rip Van Winkle. It may be of interest and profit, in these peaceful times, to consider what changes he would see.

Although special small arms were by no means absent from our battle fields, the war may be said to have been fought with the "rifled musket, model of 1855." It was a muzzle-loader,

caliber 0.58 inch. The 500-grain bullet, with a charge of 60 grains of black powder, had an initial velocity of about 960 feet. Its penetration, measured by the number of pine planks one inch thick, placed $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches apart, that it could traverse, was 11 at 200 yards, 6 at 600 yards, and 3 at 1000 yards. The highest point of the trajectory at 200 yards range was 20 inches above the line of sight, and at 300 yards range, 40 inches.

The Springfield rifle, adopted in 1873, is now our service weapon. It is a breech-loader, caliber 0.45 inch. The 405-grain bullet, with a charge of 70 grains of black powder, has an initial velocity of about 1,330 feet. Its penetration in pine planks at 500 yards is nearly 9 inches. The highest point of the trajectory at 220 yards range is 15 inches; at 550 yards range, 11 feet; and at 1,100 yards range, 60 feet, above the line of sight. The dangerous horizontal space at 500 yards range is 200 feet; at 800 yards, 90 feet; and at 1050 yards, 75 feet. But great as is this advance since our war, the weapon is now antiquated in European estimation.

Magazine rifles may be said to be now universally adopted by the great powers, although the patterns differ in different nations. The usual caliber is about 0.31 inch. The bullet, weighing about 230 grains, is of lead; but to resist the high powder pressure and the friction developed in the bore, it is cased in steel, copper, or nickel. The initial velocity exceeds 2,000 feet, giving at 750 yards range a dangerous horizontal space of about 360 feet. Steel plates 1.2 inches thick have been pierced at short range, and 15 inches of solid oak at 220 yards. The magazines, according to pattern, contain from 5 to 11 cartridges, which can be discharged at the rate of one shot per second.

The latest innovation is smokeless powder, which, although still in the experimental stage, is certain soon to supersede the old familiar black powder in small arms, and in machine and rapid-firing guns, and not improbably in field and even heavier artillery. The chief difficulty at present is to obtain uniform results under all conditions of temperature and storage. Experiments are now actively prosecuted to develop the best among several possible varieties of this class of powders. Metallic nitrates are avoided in the composition. Some varieties consist

of trinitrocellulose, specially treated to reduce its rate of burning; others consist of nitroglycerine, gelatinized as in blasting gelatine with nitro-cotton, with or without the addition of camphor, but with the process carried further until a horny consistence is reached. Indeed, new compositions have been brought into notice so rapidly in the past three or four years that there appears to be a feverish desire on the part of European nations to make some selection with sufficient promptitude to avoid being forestalled by their neighbors. France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Russia, and other countries might be named in this connection. The greatest possible secrecy is observed as to all details of fabrication.

What new conditions do these facts and figures suggest as probable in the next great battle of infantry against infantry?

1. The bullets will have much greater penetrative power, and will therefore be less readily stopped by covering obstacles, whether natural or artificial.
2. The trajectory is flattened, that is, the bullets at decisive battle ranges rise less above the ground; thus not only widening the dangerous space and reducing the number of misses due to a defective estimate of distance, but also extending point-blank range, and thus in a measure doing away with adjustment of the sights under heavy fire. The old expedient for lessening casualties by advancing or retiring a few paces when the enemy has succeeded in obtaining the range, will now be less effective than formerly.
3. The power of firing a few rounds with excessive rapidity when needful, will make charges more bloody than ever before. Every rush in the close approaches to a position defended even by a thin line of skirmishers, will be met by volleys more intolerable than the heaviest fire of a line of battle twenty-five years ago.
4. The reduction in weight of ammunition will enable the soldier to carry about double the number of rounds, and to receive fresh supplies in action with correspondingly greater ease.
5. The use of smokeless powder will make it more easy to overlook the ground in front, by reason of the absence of the clouds of smoke that heretofore have spread a merciful veil between modern armies in the death struggle; but, on the other hand, the readiest mode of detecting the precise position of the enemy—his puffs of smoke—will be lacking, and surprises and unexpected movements of

skirmishers will probably be more frequent than of old. This feature appears to have been the one that most attracted notice in the recent autumn maneuvers in Germany, where for the first time the merits of this new powder were tested on a large scale. Quite possibly the fact that only one of the contending corps was thus provided, the other using black powder, may have given an exaggerated idea as to this point. Certain it is, however, that the corps having the black powder was handicapped by the relative facility of maneuvering thereby afforded to its adversary. Finally, the use of smokeless powder can hardly fail to increase the local horrors of a battle field, and thus to subject to greater tension the nerves of young soldiers. There will be no longer a curtain to hide the ghastly spectacles immediately around them. Experience has proved that many men who fight steadily in battle, turn faint and sick in a field hospital; how will it be when the two experiences are to a certain extent combined?

In fine, then, the infantry weapon has received so many and so radical improvements of late, that speculation is rife among experts as to what new lessons coming battles will teach. All history proves that as projectile weapons have increased in range and power, the use of soldiers in masses has declined. The Greek phalanx yielded place to the Roman legion; heavy columns gave way to deployed lines; deployed lines, in their turn, were forced to advance skirmishers to cover temporarily the front of battle and to fall back through the intervals when the final shock arrived. Even this tactical system has been superseded already through the murderous precision of small arms, and the drill books of all nations now contemplate a succession of advances in dispersed order, taking advantage of all possible cover, and gradually pressing forward the men in the rear, under the protection of the fire in front, until the whole line has gradually consolidated and advanced, as it were by stratagem, over space which in former days would have been traversed with colors waving and bands playing, in all the pomp and circumstance of war. How to make soldiers on the battle field invisible as to their persons, and multitudinous as to their bullets, is the great military problem for infantry to-day; and if the solution be reached on the lines of previous experience, we may expect that it will devolve more and more re-

sponsibility on junior officers and individual soldiers, and will thus replace the machine tactics of former days by general military intelligence and appreciation of what the ever-varying circumstances demand. But such a system will call for much more practice with the weapon in time of peace, and much more rigid training, to give the "fire discipline" essential to success in war. It is safe to infer that, although intelligence and the manly virtues will be more than ever in demand, the "embattled farmer," when opposed to the trained soldier, will be severely handicapped by the improvement of small arms during the past century.

The necessity of a dispersed order of combat has already worked a revolution in the fighting organization of infantry. Formerly the colonel could reach the whole regiment with his voice or bugle, and could thus exert real personal control. Now even a captain will hardly be able to accomplish as much with his company during a heavy fire of repeating rifles. This has long been appreciated, and with the Germans the company has superseded the battalion as the tactical unit of battle.

But if the field service of infantry has been radically modified by improvements in the *matériel* of war, what shall be said of the artillery? Here it will be necessary to distinguish between what has actually been accomplished, and what looms up dimly as probable in the future. At the close of our civil war it was the opinion of the best artillery officers that in a theater of war like Virginia that arm of service should be equipped in the ratio of two smooth-bore light 12-pounder batteries to one rifled 3-inch battery. Both of these guns were muzzle loaders. The civilized world to-day is armed with breach-loading rifled field guns, giving muzzle velocities of about 1,500 feet per second to projectiles weighing 18 lbs., in place of the 1,232 feet per second given in 1861 to our elongated projectiles weighing 10 lbs. Since the destructive energy varies as the product of the square of the velocity by the weight, these figures indicate startling progress.

This large increase in effective range has led to the introduction of mechanical range-finders, for measuring distances with all the celerity and accuracy possible. Such instruments were little used in field service during the civil war, although the necessity for them had begun to be felt. Their chief value is in increasing

the precision of the first shots, and thus reducing the time lost in getting into action; for after firing has begun, percussion shells tell their own story. While the artillery practice will profit by the general introduction of these auxiliaries, there will be corresponding drawbacks; for infantry skirmishers will also employ them, and to even greater advantage, in picking off cannoniers and horses. At St. Privat this mode of operating was found to be serious at from 900 to 1,000 paces; and was corrected only by a flanking movement of the infantry supports, directed against "the annoying *vis-à-vis*" of the batteries.

Thus far, the changes noted as probable in field artillery service are in the direction of ordinary progress; but there are indications of a possible revolution in the near future. For a long time, invention in guns designed for mechanical firing was restricted to musket or other small calibers; but although this class of weapons has reached a wonderful degree of perfection—the Maxim type even providing for automatic service—a drawback to their general use with armies in the field is that at any considerable distance their projectiles do not reveal the place of fall, and the fire is consequently difficult to direct. Partial trials in European battles and in Indian warfare on the western plains proved disappointing from this cause. Moreover, how these machine guns shall be served—whether in batteries by artillery troops or as addenda to infantry and cavalry organizations—is still under discussion.

But the most recent development in this direction, the rapid-firing gun, is quite a different matter. The fundamental idea is to extend the use of metallic ammunition, directing the aim from the shoulder, and firing by trigger, to guns of calibers large enough to be properly classed as cannon. Success is already assured for the 3-pounder, the 6-pounder, and the 36-pounder; and favorable reports are made of trials with still larger sizes.

Thus the service 4.7-inch rapid-firing gun of Lord Armstrong throws, with 12 pounds of powder, a projectile weighing 36 pounds with a muzzle velocity of 2,473 feet per second; or a projectile weighing 45 pounds with 2,250 feet per second; giving in either case a muzzle energy exceeding 1,500 foot-tons, a perforation of wrought iron armor plates of over 10 inches, and a rate of fire of 12 unaimed shots per minute. The gun weighs about 4,600

pounds; and the ammunition is of the familiar pattern used in small arms, the powder being contained in a solid drawn-brass cartridge case, which can be used ten times without re-forming.

The 6-inch Armstrong rapid-firing gun throws a projectile weighing 100 pounds with a muzzle velocity of 2,340 feet per second, a muzzle energy of 3,797 foot-tons, and a wrought-iron perforation of 14.7 inches. A rate of 6 unaimed shots per minute is claimed. For this size of gun a separation of the charge into two parts—the projectile, and the powder in its case—has been found to be expedient. About 35 or 40 pounds of Chilworth powder, which is practically smokeless, may be used, facilitating accurate pointing greatly by leaving vision unobstructed.

Although Lord Armstrong has extended experiments with rapid-firing guns to larger calibers than other makers, he has no monopoly in this new type. Hotchkiss, Gruson, and others make guns which throw shot weighing upward of 30 pounds, and for which greater simplicity in breech mechanism, greater rapidity of firing, and more convenient mountings are claimed.

With such results already achieved, and with improvements appearing so rapidly that to keep informed as to the latest progress is no slight task, can it be doubted that the principles of fixed metallic ammunition and improved modes of pointing will soon be extended to all types of field and siege guns, inaugurating an era as important for the artillery as that already reached in small arms for the infantry? Indeed, the use of separate metallic cartridge cases may be extended even to higher calibers, for they are reported greatly to reduce erosion in and near the powder chamber—one of the serious difficulties of high-power guns.

It remains to consider one more artillery novelty that of late has made its appearance upon the field of battle—the power of detonating high explosives within the enemy's lines. The following are results already reached in official trials in Italy and Germany: 5.9-inch guns can safely throw shells containing 2.7 pounds of wet gun-cotton with an initial velocity of 1,311 feet per second to a distance of 5,468 yards; 8.3-inch howitzers can safely throw shells containing 8.1 pounds of wet gun-cotton to a distance of 4,374 yards, and thin steel shells containing 44 pounds to a distance of 3,827 yards; 9.5-inch howitzers can safely throw

shells containing 15.4 pounds of wet gun-cotton to a distance of 4,374 yards; 11-inch howitzers can safely throw shells containing 17 pounds to a distance of 7,327 yards. A compound armor plate, 4.7 inches thick, backed by 24 inches of oak, has been repeatedly perforated by steel shells charged with wet gun-cotton and fired with 48 pounds of gunpowder from an 8.3-inch gun, with an initial velocity of about 1,400 feet per second; and the delay-action fuzes successfully caused explosion behind the target after the projectile had traversed the plate and backing.

Both Germany and Italy have officially adopted wet gun-cotton as a bursting charge for shells, after trials that are generally admitted to prove the firing of 48 pounds to a distance of 3,300 yards to be safe; and France has done the same with melinite in charges of 73 pounds, fired to a like distance. Indeed, absolute safety in firing shells charged with wet gun-cotton from high-power guns with an initial velocity of 2,000 feet per second, is claimed. The problem of throwing destructive charges of high explosives from powder guns must therefore be regarded as solved. What does this imply?

For artillery fire against troops, use is made of canister, consisting of bullets loosely held together, which at short ranges scatter like buckshot; of shrapnel, consisting of bullets in a thin shell, to be exploded by a time fuze, which extends the advantages of canister to much longer ranges; of shells charged with powder, to clear away obstructions; and of solid shot, to act upon troops in masses. Manifestly, the use of high explosives can affect only shrapnel and shells. As to shrapnel, the new explosive being far more powerful than the old, the bulk of the charge can be reduced, and consequently the number of the bullets can be increased; but, on the other hand, the fragments will be widely scattered to rear as well as to front, and fewer will remain in the useful cone of dispersion. It appears, therefore, that the importance of the innovation resides chiefly, if not entirely, in the increased effect given to exploding shells; and hence that the largest benefit will be found in the attack of fortified positions. Here the change has worked a revolution.

The old system of small fortresses at important points in the probable field of operations, has long been superseded by in-

trenched camps capable of receiving an army, and enabling it, with inferior forces, to occupy a strategic position which, since it cannot be left behind by an invading force, must be attacked under disadvantageous conditions. Heretofore, such positions, as at Washington, Richmond, and Plevna, have often been fortified after the outbreak of hostilities; at other times, as at Metz and Paris, they have been prepared in advance. The tendency of late in Europe is toward the latter course, and constructions of immense extent are now in progress. The circumference of the new lines of Paris is about 77 miles, those attacked by the Germans in 1871 having been only about 35 miles. The kingdom of Belgium is to be defended by occupying a vast intrenched position on the Meuse, for which the forts are now under construction; and other instances might be cited.

Among the characteristic features of the modern type of such lines, are small armored turrets, designed to protect and facilitate the service of 6-inch high-power guns, whose projectiles have so great superiority over ordinary siege artillery as to make breaching within their range exceptionally difficult. Two types of such turrets were tested at Bucharest in 1885-86, and the interest of the competition was heightened by the fact that one was French and the other German. The result appears to have been rather in favor of the former, fabricated at the works of Saint Chamond upon the system of Commandant Mougin, although both constructions exhibited merit, and both were subsequently modified from the results of these trials. The Mougin turret contained two 155-millimeter (6.1-inch) de Bange guns, firing projectiles weighing 90 pounds with 20 pounds of powder. The fundamental differences between this turret and the German type, fabricated by the Gruson works upon the system of Major Schumann, were, (1) that the mounting of the guns, embrasure pivoted, was entirely detached from the armored wall, which was of steel for the French and of compound armor for the German type; (2) that turret rotation was accurately regulated by a central pivot; and (3) that the guns could be, and usually were, fired automatically by electricity during the rapid rotation of the turret. The precision of practice thus attained was extraordinary. Out of 40 shots fired in one day's practice at a range of 2,500

meters, 62½ per cent. were grouped on a vertical target within a square half meter; and this although the firing was done in a fog which entirely obscured the target, and at the rapid rate of about 3½ minutes between volleys. Twenty-nine men in reliefs served the two guns. To test the endurance of this turret under fire, it was attacked by high-power 6-inch guns at a distance of 1,000 meters, delivering blows of 1,025 foot-tons. The prescribed ordeal was to receive 30 impacts on a surface of small extent, without breach or apparent effect on the interior. After 70 such blows, the only interior damage was two small cracks! Favorable as were these tests, they resulted in an improvement of the exterior form of this turret, the vertical walls and flat roof being replaced by the mushroom shape adopted in the Gruson type.

The introduction of works of this character has been immensely stimulated by the use of high explosives in shells, for the increased destructive power renders necessary much more elaborate structures than sufficed to resist gunpowder projectiles. Indeed, a military journal, in discussing the question recently remarked: "*Nos officiers du Génie sont consternés.*" Exactly what is demanded by the new conditions has not yet been generally agreed upon. The following solution is proposed by Commandant Mougin. Two turrets rise from an immense monolith of concrete, which covers interior casemates. The only entrance is from the rear, by an underground gallery terminating in a shaft closed by a horizontal iron shield. Flanking fire is had from rapid-firing guns raised and lowered at will through holes in the concrete roof. Veterans of our civil war can judge what resistance such forts would offer, if well distributed in front of a position necessary to be carried before a further advance could be made. Iron turrets are now being constructed by scores for land defense in Europe.

On a broad view of the subject the question arises, What will be the effect in the near future of these radical changes in weapons and methods of warfare? It is the claim of inventors that they are rapidly making war impossible, by increasing the power of destruction beyond the limits of human endurance. But do the facts sustain such a claim? It must not be forgotten that complexity has taken the place of simplicity everywhere, and that consequently a degree of skill greater than heretofore is

demanding to make effective use of the new devices. If it were possible to overcome the "total depravity of inanimate things," to divest the soldier himself of human instincts and human fallibility, and to transform him while the battle is raging into a passionless automaton, the wonderful powers of these new machines might perhaps be utilized to the full; but this is passing the limit of the possible. As the difficulty of handling his weapons increases, the effects of nervousness and stupidity will increase, and in a much higher ratio. The man who in the excitement of an engagement will sometimes put half a dozen charges successively into a muzzle-loading musket before he fires any of them, as has repeatedly been done, will be even more worthless when attempting to use a more complex weapon. It is historically true that as arms have improved, the tendency has been to reduce the casualties in great battles; and to assume a different result is to ignore the weaknesses of human nature, and their influence upon the actions of men under great excitement.

One conclusion from the premises before us, however, may be regarded as legitimate, and, what is more, may usefully be borne in mind. Whatever may be the effect of modern progress in weapons upon the struggle of two armies equally provided with the new types, there can be no doubt as to the result when one of the combatants possesses them and the other is equipped nearly in the manner in vogue during our civil war. Can we, if some luckless Samoa should bring a European army upon our shores, afford to be handicapped as were the aborigines when they opposed their bows and arrows to the old "Brown Bess" of our forefathers? And would not that be our position to-day?

HENRY L. ABBOT.

A YEAR OF REPUBLICAN CONTROL.

WITH the return of March, a year will have elapsed since the Republican Party assumed again the conduct of public affairs to which it was recalled by the voice of the people in November, 1888. It will be necessary to look backward as well as forward, if we are to make sure of the lesson that the period suggests. Although in a twelvemonth little can ordinarily be looked for in the establishing of a public policy beyond the beginning of the work, and notwithstanding that in the present case the measure is taken within less than three months from the appearance of the first annual message of the President, and before Congress has had sixty working days in which to demonstrate of what stuff it is composed, yet it is confidently believed that enough of character and purpose and capacity has been unfolded in this brief time to satisfy the just expectations of those who demanded the change. What was expected to follow the transfer of power from one political party to the other, was not left in doubt. The verdict was a reversal. The ship had been on a new tack for four years, and a change of course was ordered. A review of the first year under the new administration, therefore, involves a consideration of what has been left behind, as well as of what has been attained or undertaken in the new direction of affairs.

The policy and conduct of this administration have encountered a bitterness and an unscrupulousness of attack that have had no parallel since the Jacksonian war upon the administration of John Quincy Adams. The oath taken in defeat by the infatuated personal party, that the then administration should be overthrown "though it were as pure as the angels in heaven," seems, after sixty years of dusty slumber, to be called into service again and to be administered to the faithful, in the expectation that it will accomplish, in the arena of present political discussion of great issues, what it did then in a personal warfare waged

between the adherents of two men of the same political faith, before parties had separated on distinct and ever-diverging lines of policy and principle. The political philosopher is not disturbed that those whose policy and measures were condemned by the verdict which decreed their abandonment, should find fault with the change. To have expected commendation instead of condemnation from those whose methods and avowed purposes had been rebuked by the change, would have implied hypocrisy on their part or faithlessness on the part of those who prevailed. The issue was clearly and sharply defined. It had been calmly and ably argued before the popular tribunal. There had been no presidential campaign for a generation so free from personality; no one in which the appeal to the reason, the judgment, and the conscience of the people had been so direct. The administration that was seeking indorsement and renewal of power had come in under extravagant promises of improvement in the public service, and with only faint and uncertain notes of intended assault upon the established industrial policy of the country. These were so bound up in fair phraseology and specious generalities as to elude detection by the mass of voters, and to escape for the time the full effect of the logical consequences that lurked in their tempered utterances. But it had hardly waited to warm to the work in hand, before it threw off the mask so deftly constructed for campaign purposes, and made a departure from the precedents and policy and measures of a quarter of a century so direct and positive that mistake was not possible. Long before the presidential campaign, it had come to be that escape was no longer possible, and that issues clearly defined must be met. The Democratic Party attempted a justification of its departure from all the lines of administration that had marked the course of its predecessors for twenty-five years, and the Republican Party undertook their vindication. These great political organizations, strongly wedded to their respective theories of government and administration, went to the country as parties in courts of justice go to the jury for a verdict. It came, clear and distinct. The departure was condemned. The reversal of government aims and purposes and aspirations was itself reversed, and the new structure went down before the current of popular disapproval.

Thereafter the way was clear, and there was but one way. Has the Republican Party traveled in it? Has it kept faith with those who restored it to power? The answers to these questions involve a consideration of what it has not done, as well as what it has done. If it has followed in the footsteps of its predecessor, then most certainly it has not been faithful to its trust, for to their abandonment was it called. If, on the contrary, it has stood with its face to the future upon the platform of principles and pledges that won back the public confidence, it has betrayed no trust, and capacity and progress will entitle it to retain that confidence. There was no mistaking the declaration of the future course of this government, with Republicanism as its chart and Republicans at the helm, as formulated at the Chicago convention and accepted by the people.

First of all, the pledge was clear and distinct that, so far as administration and legislation could avail, this government, in policy and purpose and effect, should be distinctly and unequivocally American. American honor, interests, development, and influence among the nations of the earth, were to be primal under Republican rule. And resolutely has it undertaken the fulfillment of this pledge. There has been no hesitation, vacillation, or uncertainty in handling the unsettled questions with Great Britain left over for adjustment. It has not only not added to the complications and embarrassments surrounding those questions, by unseemly concessions to British encroachments on our fishing rights won in northern waters before the Declaration of Independence, but by the firmness of its attitude in asserting treaty rights in those waters, it has restored security to the fishermen in the prosecution of their lawful calling. We have not heard of late of the seizure and condemnation of fishing vessels on frivolous charges, for their effect on negotiations either pending or prospective. Nor have we lost our indispensable control of Behring Sea, through the nullification of public orders to our cruisers in those waters, by secret instructions to their commanders, to be opened only on the high seas, out of sight of land. Instead, violations of those rights have been treated as such, and made matters of record for that day of reckoning, which is sure to come, when, in negotiation for security or redress,

dignified and firm assertion of our rights shall take the place of thin generalities and weak platitudes.

In our relations with other nations in Samoa, this administration inherited a condition of things best described as deplorable. And yet, scarcely three months after it had entered upon office, by a diplomatic achievement as honorable in its methods as brilliant in its results, a chronic disregard and contempt of rights in those islands was made to give place to treaty obligations for the restoration of the native government that German emissaries had overthrown, and to a respect for the privileges that had been conceded to us. There had been in the past much discourse between us and the aggressors, which disclosed much less of persistent and firm assertion than of clear understanding of the glaring nature of the outrages complained of. It was only when an end came to correspondence, and aggression was confronted with a bold, but firm and dignified, demand for redress, that the aggressor retraced his steps, and, disowning the aggression, brought back the native government, with its concessions to us and other nations, which he had undertaken to overthrow.

The Pan-American Congress, the development of an idea originating in the Garfield-Arthur administration, found no favor with those who preceded in authority the present *régime*, until they began to discern the handwriting on the wall; and then, with the exception of a few broad-minded men in their ranks, they gave it but a cold and perfunctory permission to exist. The grand spectacle of all the nationalities on the American continent assembling, by their representatives, at the capital of the United States to deliberate upon what will best contribute to a common prosperity, a common development, and a lasting peace, has come of the inspiration and the guiding and molding hand of the present administration. The closer relations, the better knowledge of each other, the higher regard for each other's rights, and the consequent stability and strength coming to each, as well as the increased interchange of commodities that constitutes profitable commerce, sure to follow these international debates and deliberations—all these and more are the realization, under the Americanism of the Republican Party of to-day, of the grand conceptions of that most thoroughly American of all

American statesmen, Henry Clay. That which he undertook with the then infant republics on the south of us, and which was baffled and postponed under succeeding administrations, has been broadened into a congress of all the powers on the continent, having for its aim the welfare of all their peoples; and the blessings that will follow will be credited to the present administration alone.

But in nothing has the year of Republican administration shown the party to be more clearly and directly in line with its declaration for a more pronounced and aggressive Americanism, than in the attitude it has maintained from the outset upon the tariff and the treasury receipts. The Republican Party declared unequivocally for tariff reform, and for a reduction of the treasury receipts to those actual expenditures that a rigid economy alone will justify. But it declared also, in equally emphatic language, that the reduction so made necessary must be made by such a readjustment of customs duties as will produce the most effective protection to American products and labor. It was met by an equally emphatic declaration of the Democratic Party, that the reduction should be so made and the duties so adjusted, that the importation of foreign products to be consumed in place of the American should be made as free and inexpensive as readjustment could make them—absolutely free, if possible; always as free as the need of revenue would permit. Never was an issue between political parties in a presidential campaign more sharply defined. One party stood between the American producer and laborer on the one hand, and their foreign competitors on the other, and declared that American markets and labor belonged to American producers and American workmen; while the other would remove all barriers and open American markets and workshops to the products of labor in foreign lands. That there might be no mistake in the interpretation that each party put on its declarations, each went before the people with a specimen bill, framed according to the principles avowed by each. The Democratic Party had framed, and in its national convention had indorsed, what was known as the "Mills Bill." This they passed through the Democratic House. The Republican Party answered it with a substitute, which passed the Republican Senate and was known to the country as the "Senate Bill." Each party, with-

out an absolute committal to the details of its bill, was nevertheless committed beyond recall to the principles upon which it was framed and the purposes to be effected by it. With these bills as object lessons in hand, each appealed to the people for approval, and after the argument, unimpassioned but earnest, the public judgment was rendered for the Republican Party. It remains in this connection only to consider whether that party has abandoned, or still maintains, the ground then taken. There is room for difference and for change in detail, for tariff legislation is not a fixed science. What will best attain an end to-day, may work an entirely different result to-morrow; and what may be wise this year, may be unwise the next. But the principles upon which these two bills are framed, and the industrial system each is intended to build up, remain the same. There is no middle ground between the two. One must take sides either with the American or the foreigner in the contest now waging for the possession of our markets and the control of our labor. One must either put up or pull down the barrier between them, for there are no neutrals in this warfare, and tariff duties cannot be laid that will not do the one thing or the other. All duties must necessarily either retard or facilitate importation. The charge will hardly be laid at the door of the Republican Party, that since the election it has abandoned the doctrine of protection to American industries and labor, or that it has weakened in its advocacy. The President, in his inaugural address and in his first annual message, has reiterated the declaration of the party platform yet more clearly and emphatically; and the Committee on Ways and Means is, and has been from the day of its appointment, most industriously at work in an endeavor to enact it. There has been some discussion of different methods of imposing duties, so as best to effect the end that the industries and labor of our own land shall, under their protection, reach the highest and most permanent prosperity; but no discussion has arisen among Republicans over the question of abandonment. Indeed, the voice of the party grows louder and clearer as the debate goes on.

The policy of the Republican Party on the admission of new States has borne fruit during the year we are reviewing, in the admission of four States better equipped in all the elements of

statehood, and better assured in all the promises of future development, than any that have come in before them in half a century. They had knocked in vain at the door for four long years, with undisputed credentials, and the hand of the Democratic Party was lifted from the bolt only by deserters from its own ranks on the vote, after the election had condemned its opposition. Thanks to the persistence of the Republican Party, these States are now "on an equal footing" with their sisters, adding not only to the stars, but also to the strength, of the Union. Encouraged by that same liberal policy, other Territories of sufficient population and resources are preparing for statehood.

The Republican Party came into power pledged to "the prompt action of Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our merchant marine." The endeavor to fulfill that pledge is manifest on every side. Even the number and variety of the measures proposed to that end are proof of the sincerity and earnestness of the effort; and the hostility hitherto encountered, abating none of its animus, though compelled to yield inch by inch the positions of the past, bears testimony in its retreat to the efficacy of the attempt. Equally explicit were the pledges of the Republican Party to rebuild the navy and to fortify the defenseless coasts of the country. There is no disposition to quarrel with or to minimize the sudden conversion, at the last moment, of the late Secretary of the Navy to the policy of liberal expenditures in building modern war vessels, so out of harmony with the pronounced attitude of his party until it had control of the money and the men required for the work. His is the credit due to a new convert, more zealous, if less wise, than older and more staid men who had been longer in the harness. He signalized his entrance upon this policy, so new to his party and to himself, by cruelly crushing and driving to his grave the oldest and noblest and bravest of ship-builders in the land, who had contended with wind and tide in the long years of adverse influences under which our merchant marine and naval shipyards had languished to the very verge of extinction. The Secretary has retired, but John Roach lives on in his works, which have out-ridden the storm that new-born zeal had raised against them. The young Secretary, however, dragged his party by main strength so

far into the work that it is difficult to see how it can retrace its steps now it has gone into opposition. This much is greatly to his credit, and commendation shall not be withheld from him for it. Meantime, the rebuilding of the navy will go on with increased vigor under the present administration; and, along with it, the fortification of our coasts and harbors, hitherto left defenseless by a neglect and indifference little short of criminal.

The adoption by legislative enactment of the merit system as the rule of appointments to place in the civil service, has had a slow growth in this country, and has encountered various fortunes under different administrations. The attitude of political parties toward it is not to be determined by professions, but by practice; not by nice measurements at a given point, but by trend and drift and bearings "fore and aft." By this test, the Republican Party, during all the period covered by the agitation of this subject, from the first effort at legislation to present methods of enforcement, will be found to have given it form, life, support, place on the statute books, and fair and honest enforcement. It was when the Republican Party was strong, with large and controlling majorities in both houses of Congress, and a president equally firm in the popular vote, that a leading Republican first essayed its enactment, by introducing and forcing the consideration of a bill for that purpose, resulting in the brief provision of law under which the first civil-service commission was appointed by President Grant. During all the progress of debate, from the initiative step to the last stages of discussion of the more elaborate and specific enactment now the law, the reform was compelled to rely upon the Republican Party alone for such support and encouragement as it could command. Indeed, the bill that ultimately became the law under which the present commission acts, was drafted by men who had up to that time, at least, acted a conspicuous part in the ranks of the Republican Party. It was put into the hands of an able and influential Democrat, the late Mr. Pendleton, and subsequently was called by his name, in the hope that it might thereby gain some Democratic support; but even Mr. Pendleton took care to secure for himself a retreat, by putting on record the fact that he introduced the bill "by request." Discussion, however, gained it friends,

and justifiable transactions of a presidential campaign forced its passage, on which it received the support, for the first time, of a considerable number of Democrats. It was approved by a Republican president, and by him put in operation by the appointment of the first commission under it. This is the history and growth, to its present stature, of the law creating a commission to determine the fitness of appointees to the civil service without regard to politics. Its efficacy depends upon the spirit and purposes with which it is administered. Its machinery is capable, in the hands of earnest and intelligent friends, of working out most beneficent results in the elevation and independence of the civil service; but it is equally capable, when administered by lovers of spoils, of being turned into the most efficient instrumentality for compassing their ends. How it has been executed by the two administrations that in the past have been charged with its execution, and in what spirit and with what fidelity its requirements are now being carried out, can best be determined by considering the ability and devotion to the cause of civil-service reform that have characterized the individual members composing that commission during all the changes its *personnel* has undergone, from that appointed by President Arthur, of which Mr. Dorman B. Eaton was chairman, to those now in office, Messrs. Lyman, Roosevelt, and Thompson, appointed by President Harrison. It is only the work of the year now closing that is passing under review, and therefore contrast is out of place. This only need be added: the present administration has put on this commission, to carry out the requirements of the civil service law in securing a non-partisan civil service, no man who is a believer in the spoils system, and chafes against the restrictions of the law and ridicules its purpose. Nor does it retain in office, at the head of bureaus with many thousands of subordinates dependent for place on the nod of their chiefs, men who boast before congressional committees of the skill that so operated the machine designed to create a non-partisan civil service, as to cause ninety per cent. of the new appointees to be in political accord with the chiefs.

There are paths of investigation that open up to the reviewer much that is interesting and assuring as he scrutinizes the

different phases of the conduct of public affairs even in the short space of a single year. But this inquiry has been pursued far enough to establish the fidelity of the Republican Party to the trust committed to it. There has been no departure from the principles and purposes to which it stood committed when placed in power. The first annual message is in perfect accord with the platform, the letter of acceptance, and the inaugural address; and the work thus far taken up by a Republican Congress raises no discordant note. In all things does the Republican Party stand firm, with its back to that past that was condemned at the polls in November, 1888, and with its face turned to a future full of hope and encouragement in the development of the policy it was recalled to establish.

One brief inquiry further will complete this review of the work and attitude of the Republican Party during the first twelve months of its conduct of public affairs. To be found standing by the landmarks set up a year ago, and in the footprints then made, is not enough. Political parties do not stand still. They move either forward or backward, for if they stand still they die. Therefore in these twelve months of administration there must be found evidence that the Republican Party is moving forward, or discouragement and dry rot may well be feared. It can neither live on the glory of its past record, nor on the wealth of present promises. Assertion, aggression, achievement, are vital conditions of political life. Courage of conviction is the very ozone of party success. The people despise a political coward and will have none of him. Unless what has been done thus far by the party in power gives reasonable assurance of progress and appreciable advance toward the establishment of those cardinal principles in the administration of this government for the attainment of which it contended for power with such a profusion of promises, the future is scant of encouragement. It was not simply to hold the fort, but to advance upon the enemy's works, that a Republican executive and a Republican Congress have been intrusted with the command. And, therefore, the inquiry is pertinent, What evidence can be furnished, after one year of possession, that those now administering the government have disposition and capacity to take hold of the future and carry forward into

it, in concrete form, the distinctive principles upon which they won the opportunity? This inquiry can be answered most satisfactorily. There has been shown no disposition to be content with having attained power. The earnestness and zeal with which both executive and legislature have taken up the work that devolves upon them, give assurance that it will be carried forward to consummation. No other period in our history, so brief as this, save only the years when the government was set in motion, and those more eventful ones when it was saved, is marked with more positive evidence of preparation for comprehensive and effective work. This administration is leading the diplomatic intercourse of the nation out of bewildering fog and spiritless ambiguity into a plain-spoken directness, understood and heeded everywhere, and is adjusting on honorable terms long-postponed and irritating questions of difference with other nations. It is taking hold in dead earnest of financial questions hitherto tossed about by tentative experiment, or suffered by neglect to drift at will. The national banking system and the silver question have at last gone into the "orders of the day" in the halls of Congress, for the consideration that their importance demands. The tariff is being so reformed that the receipts will not exceed the just expenditures of the government, and at the same time American producers and American laborers will be protected in the enjoyment of the markets and the labor of their own country. The rehabilitation of the navy and the restoration of the merchant marine are being pushed forward with a zeal and enthusiasm never known before. In ship yards on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, resonant with the fall of the hammer and the music of the lathe, and animate with the genius and skill of American artisans, ships are being built for the navy and merchant service that have no superiors afloat. American capital and labor and brain have at last conquered on our own soil, and the occupation of the preacher who would close our own ship yards and purchase our naval and merchant marine abroad, is gone. Mormonism has lost the insolent bravado that past temporizing has fed, and now stands at bay. Hope has been kindled anew in the breast of the colored citizen, that his constitutional rights will no longer be a mockery, and that the utmost power

of the Constitution will be invoked for his protection. Other Territories, following the example of the four new States that were the first fruits of Republican ascendancy, are putting on the garments of statehood in the confidence that they will not be turned away when they apply for admission.

The positive and aggressive Americanism that won for the Republican Party the opportunity to administer the government, has in this short year so infused itself into national enterprise, has so quickened development and nerved the arm of labor, that a period of general prosperity unsurpassed in our history testifies to the wisdom of the policy thus inaugurated. With it have come confidence and courage. The government has put itself on the side of that "general welfare" for the promotion of which the Constitution was ordained. It acknowledges its obligation to educate for the ballot those to whom the nation has given it, and its duty to open wide the gates of opportunity for all the people in every walk of life. This review cannot be extended farther. Nor is there need for further comment upon what has thus far been accomplished by the present administration and what it promises in the years to come. The future is full of encouragement. The public judgment is clear and unmistakable, that the public confidence has not been misplaced.

HENRY L. DAWES.

THE RELATION OF ART TO TRUTH.

LITERARY criticism, in Europe and America alike, has of late been singularly busy over one particular question; and it is a question which, at all events, has this special merit, that it interests a far wider circle than that of literary critics. It is the question of the rival claims of realism and idealism in literature; or the relation of art, and particularly of artistic fiction, to truth. Artistic fiction in these days means the romance or novel; and novels and romances are now read by everybody; they are the natural mental food, not only of readers, but of the world. Hence, any discussion that touches on art of this kind, is practically more than a mere discussion about art. It is a discussion about manners, and morals, and the daily affairs of life. How truly this is the case will be seen the moment we consider the particular kind of art out of which this present discussion has sprung. It is the art, or what is called the art, of that modern school in France of which M. Zola is the leader and chief practitioner. To the taste of many, and to the moral sense of more, the works of this school seem like a newly-invented outrage on every feeling or prejudice that separates men from beasts. They seem not only to affront the dignity of life, but to endanger it, and to threaten society with a blood-poisoning from all the corruptions which they so carefully collect, and so constantly thrust under its nostrils. When the multitudes, therefore, who feel about the matter in this way, ask in disgust and indignation whether fiction of this kind is art, they are asking a question whose real interest to themselves is not one of literary criticism, but of common practical morals. A respect for art, however, is all the same involved in their position. They consider true art to be something high and ennobling; the art of M. Zola and his disciples they consider to be degrading; and thus in attacking it they manage, by an exceedingly simple syllogism, to fight the

battle on the enemy's own ground, and to condemn it in the name of art, as well as in the name of ethics.

Such being the nature of the attack, what is that of the defense? It is amusingly similar. Just as M. Zola's ethical opponents attack him on artistic grounds, so do his defenders defend him upon ethical grounds. They do not deny that he exhibits what is filthy and deplorable and revolting, but they emphatically declare that what he exhibits is the truth; and that if any one is responsible for all this beastliness which he deals with, it is not M. Zola, it is simply human nature. As for M. Zola, what his opponents consider his shame, his defenders contend is really his chief glory—his glory in the domain alike of art and of morals. As for morals, they ask, what higher morality is there than truth? And M. Zola and his school aim, before all things, at being true. They are prophets who will not prophesy falsely, and say smooth things, cajoling the world into thinking that there is peace when there is no peace, health where there is disease, and purity where there is corruption. This is what is urged by the defenders of the school in question, as to morality; and having thus dealt with its morality, they triumphantly turn to art, declaring that truth is the test of art also, and that the artist who most truly presents what really is, is the highest artist, as well as the most valuable teacher.

Now, as I have said already, it is the moral bearings of this discussion which for ordinary people give it its chief interest; and the principal point on which I here propose to insist is connected more particularly with these. At the same time it must be admitted that a considerable, though smaller, interest has been aroused also as to the merely artistic side of the question; and in addition to debating how far, or in what sense, truth makes art moral, people are constantly debating how far, or in what sense, truth makes art beautiful. I propose therefore to consider this latter question first.

A great deal has been said about it in many quarters. I propose to say very little; but the two things which I do propose to say may perhaps seem to clarify the discussion and reconcile the opposing parties. Should fiction, to be good artistically, be realistic, or idealistic? This is the question, and it

means two things. It means, first, should the artist be realistic or the reverse, in dealing with manners, scenery, and circumstance? It means, secondly, should he be realistic, or the reverse, in dealing with the human character?

As to the first question, it seems to me absurd to attempt any single answer. Different degrees of realism and different degrees of idealism are proper to different subjects and different styles, and it is only the two extremes that can be pronounced generally to be wrong. The extreme of realism is wrong for this reason: it endeavors to represent manner and circumstances precisely as they are perceived by our own ears and eyes. Now what our own ears and eyes perceive of things, is the surface; and the surface, though it expresses what lies below the surface, also obscures it; in addition to which, the surface is continually changing, so that what is full of life and meaning in one decade, has become lifeless and antiquated by the next. Let us take, for instance, the use of slang or mannerisms in conversation. A clever novelist, by a judicious use of these, can impart to his dialogues a curious effect of reality; but, in the first place, while the illusion lasts, he prevents us from thinking about his characters, in proportion as he makes us hear them; and, in the next place, before his book is one generation old, his slang and his mannerisms will have quite lost their meaning, and be like faded pigments, which have left nothing but blotches. Many of Thackeray's most realistic works, for instance, are even now as faded as the madder of Sir Joshua Reynolds. So much, then, for the extreme of realism. The extreme of idealism is wrong for opposite reasons. If, instead of describing exactly manners and places that exist, forms of phrase, fashions of furniture, and the contemporary sights and sounds of the streets, a writer introduces us to what is altogether a dreamland, where manners, names, and modes of life are all arbitrary and fantastic, belonging to no place or period, and suggesting no place or period, the characters fail to have for us either existence or human interest; or, compared with what it otherwise might have been, the interest is indefinitely attenuated. Such extreme idealism is therefore an error in art. It weakens or entirely prevents that kind of illusion that is the first essential of all successful fiction. As I have

said already, however, the whole question, within limits, is a question of degree; and the degree of realism or idealism proper to each case depends on the particular layer of thoughts and sympathies to which the artist designs specially to appeal. To this last point I shall refer again presently.

Let us now pass to the question of realism and idealism in connection with human character. To what extent is the artist bound to represent men and women as they are; and to what extent is he licensed to represent them as they are not? To this question a comprehensive answer may be made, by help of a recent remark of a certain critic, who, with much originality and brilliance, though not without paradox, has pleaded the cause of what he fancies to be the completest idealism. He summed up his arguments in the following aggressive epigram: "Life copies art, far more than art copies life." I am perfectly willing to accept this statement far more seriously than its writer probably meant it; for it supplies us indirectly with a very rational and sensible canon. If it is one distinction of a great artist in fiction that he has not copied his characters from real men and women, but that real men and women copy his characters, it is evident that these characters are so far real themselves that they absolutely correspond to the capabilities of human nature; and as much realism, that is to say, as much scientific correspondence to external fact, is required in order to show the developments of which human nature is capable, as to report developments that have actually taken place. We therefore at once arrive at the following general rule: Art, in dealing with human action and character, must be either a copy of life as it is, or has been; or else of life as it is any day capable of becoming. This is to say, we may maintain, if we like, that art need not be realistic in the ordinary sense of the word; but we can maintain this only on the express or the implied understanding that it must be realistic in a sense which is yet wider, more profound, and more stringent. It must be true to the capabilities of human nature, even if it need not be true to its actualities. It must absolutely copy, and be controlled by, something outside itself.

All this I can express here only in the most meager and

cursory way. No doubt, for persons who excite themselves about art as art, such questions as the above may be very interesting and important; but I have been concerned with them at present only in so far as they are connected with, and lead up to, another question of an importance far greater. We may talk as we please about truth and reality, as predicated of art; but if our discussions on this point are to have any definite meaning and to lead to any definite conclusions, we must make ourselves absolutely clear as to another point first; and it is probable that most of us, when we once are clear about this, will be content to let the others take care of themselves. As predicated of art—by which we mean here the art of fiction—what is truth? As predicated of art, what is reality? The whole issue between realism and idealism depends upon this point; but though the words are of such constant use among us, not one of our contending critics seems to have taken the trouble to consider and analyze what can be legitimately meant by them. My present purpose is to supply this omission, and to point out a certain truth, which, though at present entirely neglected, is, when once stated, almost self-evident; and will, when once recognized, place the discussion in question in a wholly new light, and on a wholly new basis.

I hope the reader will feel no moral alarm, if I ask him to consider the looser of Boccaccio's stories. Many of these stories are in a high degree brilliant, witty, and humorous; and they are true to life in this very substantial sense, that there is not only not an impossible, but not an improbable, touch in them. Now to a great number of people, in their more serious moods, these stories are utterly abhorrent and abominable; and if it had fallen to their lot to relate them, they would certainly have related them in a widely different way. Let us suppose any one of them, as we well may, to be not fiction at all, but taken from actual life; and let us suppose every incident narrated by Boccaccio to be true. And now let us suppose the very same episode to have come to the knowledge of Bunyan, and to have been also chronicled by him. How would his narrative and that of Boccaccio correspond? Any one would be able to see that each narrator was dealing, and dealing truthfully, with the same

series of events. Between the skeletons of the two narratives the correspondence would be absolute, but beyond this there would be no correspondence at all. We should have the same hour, spent in the same room by the same people, the same conversation, the same overt results; and yet, of the details noted down by Boccaccio, hardly one would correspond to any detail noted down by Bunyan. And how should the case be otherwise? Where Boccaccio has seen nothing but a comedy, Bunyan would have seen a terrible moral tragedy; and viewing the drama in relation to a wholly different set of interests, his observation would fix itself on a wholly different set of details. Those observed with such keenness by the easy and gay Boccaccio, would for him have no existence. He would have no more time to notice them than a lady in a burning theater has to notice the sit and the fit of the other ladies' dresses. Again, let us take the case of some preaching cobbler, whom we will suppose to be wholly uneducated, and to speak a pronounced cockney dialect; and yet by his earnestness to have converted certain persons of education. Let two descriptions be given of a sermon by this man, the first by one of his educated converts, the second by a humorist like Dickens. The two accounts might both be entirely true; but each would be different from the other, for this reason, that it would be true to something that the other entirely missed. The convert's would be true to the man's earnestness and the solemnity of his meaning; the humorist's would be true to the absurdities of his expression and manner.

Or, again, let us take some family "scene" or squabble. How differently this would be described by one of the squabblers, and by some involuntary spectator with a keen sense of the ludicrous. The one would give us—and, we may assume, with perfect truth—a serious statement about grave matters of conduct, about meanness, generosity, truth, honor, and so forth. The other would mimic for us tones of voice, tricks of manner and gesture, exhibiting them in a setting of absurd incidents, of which the pre-occupied actors in the drama were themselves quite unconscious.

It is needless to multiply illustrations of this kind. These are enough to force upon us one all-important truth; and

that truth is as follows: All art that represents reality—even the art that represents a scene or an event with the utmost completeness and fidelity possible—is nothing more than a selection of some few facts out of a multitude. The most complete realism possible on the part of a writer, might seem to be a *verbatim* report of some actual conversation; but though art, as we know, is long, it is not long enough for conveying any complete story by *verbatim* reports of everything that the actors in it said. A chapter, under such treatment, would swell to the bulk of "Clarissa Harlowe"; and no such monstrous chapter would be artistic, or indeed readable. Here and there, indeed, some short interview might bear *verbatim* reporting, every word of it being full of interest. Some love scene might, for instance, or some tragic quarrel between lovers. We may imagine a writer, hidden among the roses of a garden, or by the shades of evening, hearing all that was said on such an occasion, and taking it all down. But would that be all the reality? Far from it. Such reporting would convey to us nothing of other things equally real—the color and scent of the roses, the influence and the aspect of the garden, or the color of the sunset; nor would it tell us anything of the thoughts of the speakers that they failed to express, or avoided expressing, by words. In how many ways might a scene like this be treated; and all of them ways which, in a certain sense, would be true! It might be treated as an idyllic picture of human passion, harmonizing with nature; or as an example of the intricate play of principle, calculation, affection, and unreasoning passion; or of the difference between lovers as they are, and as they seem to one another; or as a simple example of the happiness to which human life may attain; or perhaps as an example of happiness bought by the misery of others, or about to be succeeded and wiped out by misery itself. This last suggestion offers special food for reflection. The full reality of any incident in life comprises not only the conduct, the character, and the surroundings of the persons immediately concerned in it, but the relations of that incident to the past and to the future, and to an indefinite number of other persons also.

Art, then, of the kind we are dealing with, can never be completely true; it can never be completely real, in the sense of

reproducing the complete reality of anything, any more than a photograph of the outside of a house can reproduce its solidity, its rooms, its furniture, and its inhabitants. The most realistic art, as I have said already, can never achieve anything more real than this: a selection from the countless realities of which its subject-matter is always composed.

And now we come to the all-important question: Upon what principles are such selections made? Broadly speaking, they may be made upon two. I said just now that a writer's degree of realism, in the matter of manners and surroundings, would depend on the layer of thought or sentiment in his readers to which he wished specially to appeal. I meant, for instance, that it would depend on whether he wished to appeal specially to their moral sense, or to their mere interest in a story, or to their philosophical interests, or to their sense of humor. It is obvious that in each of us such layers or strata of thought or sentiment exist. Now it is little less obvious that to each of these layers in ourselves there corresponds in life a layer or a set of facts with which our thoughts, our sentiments, and our observation in each case specially concern themselves. Let us take again the case of the preaching cobbler. If I wish to excite a philosophical interest in him, I shall dwell upon the excellence of his reasoning; if I wish to excite a moral interest in him, I shall describe how earnest he is, or how good he is to his mother; or if I wish to excite a laugh at him, I shall describe how he drops his h's, how he misuses long words, or how, in the middle of a prayer, he blows his nose in his fingers. And what is true of the cobbler is true of the realities of life generally. The artist, then, in dealing with these realities, may select them by reference to some special purpose, or some special mood, stringing a certain set of them upon this mood or purpose, as a thread. But, secondly, he may adopt another procedure. He may bring to his work a variety of moods and purposes; and he may select his realities, not from one layer of facts, but from many, using them as samples which shall represent what he takes to be life in its entirety.

And this brings us to a further point. Life in its entirety seems a very different thing to different men, according to the religion or the philosophy in the light of which they view it;

and consequently the facts that they select as samples will vary also. The pessimist, the optimist, the materialist, the mystic, the Christian, will each seek to represent life to us—the same fragment of life—by a different selection of facts; and every fact may be equally true and reported with equal accuracy; some of the facts will possibly be in each case the same; but the proportion will be different in which they are mixed, and the effect will be different also.

Supposing for a moment that it were possible for us to know what was the truth about human life in its entirety, we shall see at once that of these artistic representations of it, some were not like it at all, some were grotesque caricatures, while others were approximately true. Now in the case of those that were false, what would be the cause of the falsehood? Not the presence of any single detail that had not its counterpart in reality; for we start with assuming that every detail recorded is in itself true—that the record is absolutely realistic. The falsehood would be due to the fact that the details were selected and mixed together in wrong proportions—in proportions that did not correspond with the proportions that exist in life; or else that the selection was incomplete. We should, as it were, have before us drawings of a man, of which one gave him a head bigger than his body, another gave him a stomach like a barrel and a head the size of a pea, and others that omitted respectively the head or the stomach altogether.

And now let us turn to the school of M. Zola—to what is called the realistic school *par excellence*, and which is not only justified by many, but placed on a moral pedestal, on the ground of the severe and courageous integrity of its realism. In the light of the foregoing reflections it will show itself under a new aspect. It will show itself amenable to the following sentence: not that it does not represent realities, but that the class of realities which it selects do not, by themselves, represent life, but, on the contrary, monstrously misrepresent it. Besides a great deal that is merely detestable in human nature, there is no doubt much that is prurient and filthy; and M. Zola and his school may no doubt represent this accurately. But they represent it out of all due proportion; and thus their works are no more true to life than

a picture of a man would be, such as I just now described, in which the stomach was colossal and everything else microscopic. What kind of treatment could be more false than this, or show a shallower insight into life, or a feebler grasp of it? Were M. Zola asked to write a realistic life of Nelson, he would give us nothing but an analysis of physical passion, as exemplified in Lady Hamilton's lover. Were he asked to describe some stately and splendid palace, he would seek to study it by taking a bath in the cesspool. Or suppose we placed him on a ship in a violent storm, and asked him to describe for us the realities of the scene, what would he describe! Let us think first of what would have been described by Byron. Any one who remembers the shipwreck in "Don Juan," will be able to answer that question. But what of M. Zola? While Byron was describing how

" 'Twas evening, and the sunless day went down
Over the waste of waters,"

M. Zola would be describing the retching of the sea-sick passengers, and filling chapter after chapter with analyses of the contents of the stewards' basins.

I do not say that the filthy and the disgusting side of life should be suppressed in fiction. I am, as to this point, entirely opposed to Thackeray. To underrate man's corruption, is as false, though not so mischievous, as to exaggerate it. It should, however, be handled with special care, so as to avoid doing what is so very readily done—exciting a sympathy in the reader for the very things that the writer exhibits professedly for the sake of exhibiting them as detestable.

But the question is not merely one of purity and corruption, in the conventional sense of the words. It is a question of all the many aspects and facts of human nature, and the proportionate prominence and space which art should allot to each. These aspects and facts are the pigments with which the writer of fiction paints; and the same pigments, according as they are chosen and mixed, can be made to produce every variety of effect, from the obviously and childishly false, to what we may believe, or hope, or fear to be true. But now comes Pilate's question, which, as to human life in its entirety, may well be asked: What is

truth? Truth, as I have said already, need not be bounded by what human nature is, or has made of itself, but it certainly is bounded by what human nature may be, or may make of itself; just as an architect, in designing a cathedral, may make his designs unlike anything that has been, or has ever been dreamed of, but he must make them in strict accordance with the structural capacities of his materials, which have been the same since time began. But that is not all. The test of truth which I have just mentioned is an objective test. There still remains to be considered a subjective test. In human life, we say, such and such facts, such and such notions, passions, and so forth, are objectively of such and such proportionate magnitude. But this further question is not so easy to settle: What is the importance, what is the significance, of this proportion? Is the equality of sensuous impulses with spiritual aspiration, or their subordination to it; are the relations of enthusiasm to apathetic common sense, of affection to ambition, of refinement to vulgarity, of faith to want of faith—are these things comedies, or tragedies, or things that are more or less indifferent? Here is a question to which no answer can be given that can be objectively proved, or that will be universally accepted. Each school will answer it according to a creed or theory of life, explicit or implicit, consciously held or quite unconsciously. Let us talk about art for art's sake as much as we please, anything that even attempts to be a work of art, must imply some creed, must be based on some creed, even though it does nothing directly to defend, or even to state it.

W. H. MALLOCK.

DO THE PEOPLE WISH REFORM?

PRESIDENT HARRISON, in his first annual message, says:

“When those holding administrative offices so conduct themselves as to convince just political opponents that no party consideration or bias affects in any way the discharge of their public duties, we can more easily stay the demand for removals.”

Senator Blair is reported recently to have remarked:

“Civil-service reform is a humbug; the law should be blotted from the statute book; I defy any one to show one single instance where benefit has resulted from it.”

Mr. George William Curtis, in an address delivered October 1, 1889, asserts that

“A conservative and patriotic intelligence . . . has already extorted from party a profession of reform. It will presently compel a policy of reform. The advance is sure.”

These diverse authorities all tacitly assume that they are expressing the wish of the people upon an important question in their government. It is not a new question. It is now 23 years since Mr. Jenckes first began the agitation to which the clumsy name “civil-service reform” has become affixed. An important act on the subject is now in the seventh year of its operation. That act, as applied by three presidents in succession, now covers 27,800 servants of the government, out of the nearly 180,000 persons employed in all civil capacities by the United States. At the present moment the friends of the reform are urging a further extension to numerous classes of officials. On the other hand, bills for the repeal of the act have been introduced by influential members of the party having a majority in both houses of Congress.

The writer believes that the evils of political appointments are such as will eventually destroy popular government, if they are not checked; and that the remedies already applied are good, so far as they go. This paper, however, will be devoted to a different phase of the question. Leaving out of account the eager hopes

of the reformers, whose task is not that of raising difficulties, and the objections of enemies, who are prone to lay stress on small defects of detail, the effort will be made to find out what the people at large think about the matter, why the reform languishes, and what hope there is of arousing public interest. For, under a popular government, it is the sentiment of the man of average intelligence, education, character, and public spirit that must in the long run decide such questions.

The difficulty of ascertaining the dominant will of a large number of persons is so great that we shall try first to discover how the chosen representatives of the people look on the question of reform; and as every law depends for its final effect upon the executive, let us see how that branch of the government stands. In this case mere neutrality, a mere perfunctory execution of the law, is worth little. The terms of the Pendleton Act of 1883 leave it to the discretion of the president, for the time being, whether any appointments shall be made for merit; and even that act provides no bar against removals for political cause. The attitude of the president may certainly be assumed to be rather beyond than behind popular sentiment; for the president is a man accustomed to public affairs, and likely to feel the importance of "the king's business." Every president wishes to have a good, honest, successful, and popular administration; and would, if left to himself, make few changes, save among the advisory officers of the government. But administrative reformers must admit that no president is left to himself. He is deflected by the consideration of his political debts, by the effort to make sure a re-election, or by the influence of his counselors. Equally important, though far less noticed, is the personal pressure of friends whom a president likes to gratify. Still stronger is the consciousness of possessing the power to make a career for one's fellow men. When presidents consume their time in docketing applications for offices, it is because the comparison of candidates brings a tickling sense of immediate power, not brought by the inauguration of a foreign policy or the championship of a reform. A president does what seems to him most important. For this very reason he is unwilling to forfeit that good will and support of the members of his party in Congress that is necessary to carry through

the statesmanlike measures dear to his heart. It is no wonder that no president, except Grant, has ever attempted distinctly to lead public opinion in this reform.

From the heads of departments, who come directly into contact with the working force of the government, we might expect a greater sense of the harm produced by frequent changes;—and many of them are grateful for the relief afforded by the Civil-service Act. Yet few of them have ever had the courage, within their own departments, to make the unwritten rule that no faithful and quiet official shall be discharged. If they and if the presidents strictly enforce the law as they find it on the statute book, and use their discretion to extend the rules gradually, they do as much as the average man expects.

To measure public sentiment and to determine the responsibility for action, we must therefore go back from the executors of the law to the makers of the law. Much otherwise useful political philosophy is based on the mistaken premise that the members of Congress are devoid of public spirit, sincerity, and honor. The average congressman is more alive to the evils of political appointments than the average constituent. But if congressmen, like presidents, have friends and political ties, they too enjoy office-broking, from the very pleasure of earning gratitude, or of doing their “duty to their constituents.” Some of them willingly accept the position of keeper of a political intelligence office for their constituents. I believe, however, that perhaps the strongest reason for the lukewarm support given by members of Congress to the reform, is a liking for political excitement—an absorbing interest which takes the place of the artistic and literary interest of older communities. Though every congressman, once in, may see that if the merit system were altogether established he would be relieved of importunities and perhaps of factions, he wishes to be re-elected; and defeat, for want of offices to distribute, is to him political annihilation. Neither party has ever taken up administrative reform as a caucus measure; an individual may therefore oppose the reform without losing his political standing. No party leader could hope to detach a few votes from the other party, in order to give him a working majority in favor of a telling program of reform; and therefore no party leader has

made the reform his own. From Congress, then, of its own motion, little is to be expected. Congressmen will be nerved to make farther extensions of the law and to vote appropriations, if they believe that the reform is popular. The recent constitution of the House Committee on civil-service reform is therefore encouraging, since it seems to show that the party in the majority is in a respectful mood toward the reform as it stands.

The reformers are not satisfied as things stand; they wish the whole business of the government put upon a better footing. Here come in certain neglected peculiarities of the American system of government, for which no person can be held responsible, but which seriously complicate the question of an advance in the reform. The slogan of the reformers is "government business on business principles"; but nobody save the Nationalists believes that the government can conduct its business as does an insurance company or a railroad or a bank. In the first place, its business is not done for a profit; and any express company that should undertake to carry four-pound packages at the same rate to the suburbs of New York and to the Crazy Mountains, would find it necessary to reorganize its system of appointments. The United States government does a vast variety of business. At Washington it has a great staff of administrative officers, accountants, clerks, copyists, and experts, all easily made amenable to the same discipline. In the cities there are custom houses and post offices too large to be compared even with the branches of great English joint-stock banks. On the sparsely-settled frontiers, and everywhere throughout the country, are the small post offices with inconsiderable incomes. In the foreign countries are the legations and consulates, with their peculiar functions. It is evident that the same system of selection cannot possibly be applied to all these branches of service. Again, the amount of government business is prodigious. In 1790, the population was 4,000,000, the revenue about \$3,000,000, and the number of officials perhaps 2,000. In 1830, for 13,000,000 people 50,000 officials collected \$25,000,000. In 1860, population, revenue, and officials were 31,000,000, \$56,000,000, and, perhaps, 80,000, respectively. In 1890, the 65,000,000 people will raise \$400,000,000 through the medium of perhaps 200,000 persons.

Indeed, this vast increase of business is one of the principal reasons for a reform. The government has long since outgrown its shell, and abuses of little account in 1830 will be fatal if not checked before 1930.

The great variety and amount of government business make it exceedingly difficult to apply the reformed system in a uniform manner to all branches of the service, even by the most varied tests most skillfully applied. It is not very hard to convince an intelligent man that some better principle of selection can be found than mere political influence. But the problem for the reformers is to set forth a practical system for the minor appointments. The principle of competitive examination for clerkships may be considered established; filling the higher grades by promotion among tried subordinates, seems to have the approval of men no less influential than the Postmaster-General and the President of the United States. The present efficient and untiring Civil-service Commission may be depended upon to make examinations impartial, and to make them sensible. The real *crux* of civil-service reform is how to provide for the country postmasters, who are by far the largest class of federal officials, and who come most closely of all into contact with the people. To leave the country postmasters to the present system of dictation by members of Congress, is to leave the reform incomplete. There is no constitutional power for electing postmasters or any other officials save the president, vice-president, and members of the House of Representatives. Examinations or other competitive tests can hardly be applied to offices having emoluments so small, and for which the candidates are so few. The country post offices must almost always be carried on by people who have other business, and carried on in their places of business; it is not with us as in Germany, where the smallest government office brings with it social prestige and a special title of respect, and where there is a chance of transfer and promotion. That this difficult problem can be solved, is shown by the experience of England, where inspectors recommend such appointments, with a view to the greatest convenience to the community; but when shall we have a staff of inspectors entirely secure from removal if they recommend a man who does not vote with the

party in power? In England, the fact that the telegraph business is done in local post offices, makes it easier to furnish employment sufficient to take the whole time of one person.

The difficulties that we have just been discussing are inherent; they would exist were the people at large heartily interested in administrative reform. They are more serious because public opinion is apathetic. In the first place, the principle of rotation in office is firmly fixed in the minds of the American people. It rules the choice of legislators, executive officers, and judges; it appears alike in federal, State, local, and municipal government. When the Constitution was framed, in 1787, it adopted the principles of appointment and removal then common in the States; brief legislative terms, but re-elections frequent; elected chief executives; appointed administrative officers, with unrestricted tenure; judges appointed for life. As the suffrage was extended, a change came over the States; as party spirit ran high, as men learned to elbow their way into political life, re-elections grew less frequent. In 1790, 64 per cent. of the members of the Connecticut Legislature had sat before; in 1889, only 5 per cent. Heads of State executive departments were made elective; a system of party proscription of all appointive offices was established. Even the judiciary has been made elective in most States. Rotation, rapid rotation, has become the accepted principle of State politics. Where State constitutions set barriers, State constitutions have been easily amended.

There has been precisely the same process in the United States government, so far as it could go. Congressmen are less and less certain of re-election. Since Jackson, no appointed official could be sure of his place longer than the term of the president who appointed him. The immense difficulty of amending the federal Constitution has been the sole protection of the judges. To only one other class of federal officers has a like protection been accorded. The experience of the revolutionary and later wars taught the people that the army and navy must have trained and permanent officers, because theirs is a highly technical profession; they, therefore, are by law entitled to a trial by court martial before dismissal.

With these exceptions, rotation is established as the principle

of national government. Comparatively few congressmen serve beyond two terms; outside the classified service, few officials see the seventh year of government employment. Taking official service of every kind, municipal, State, and national, throughout the United States, the average time during which men who have entered the public service remain in public life, in any capacity, is probably not three years. It is evident, therefore, that the people see no injury to the public interests in frequent changes of officers.

There is a feeling that public offices of any kind are common property; that the right to hold them, like the right to preëempt government land, is a natural incident of citizenship. A still deeper reason is the lack of confidence in expert knowledge of every kind. Self-confidence is a part of the heritage of a race whose traditions are those of frontier life. The average man likes to feel that he can do anything, up to setting a tire or conducting a diplomatic negotiation. It is not government alone that suffers from this exaggerated self-reliance; in the most technical professions there is an indisposition to accept the results of concentrated special study. It is well known that the old Capitol at Washington was designed by a physician whose architectural training consisted of two weeks' study in the Philadelphia Library. Nevertheless, in architecture, engineering, law, medicine, and kindred professions, it is coming to be recognized that a careful scientific preparation is indispensable. But in more occult matters, such as plumbing, alms-giving, and government, the people still work by rule of thumb; nobody seems to consider it unusual that the New York Board of Electrical Control has not one member who is an electrician. Is it strange that most men deem themselves competent to take up the administration of a post office, a custom house, or a bureau of the treasury?

There is a similar want of clearness about the relations of officers of the government to the people. The average man sees no essential difference between an elective officer, an executive officer having a political responsibility, and simple administrative officers. He knows that the first class, the elective officers, change as often as the sovereign people change their minds; he knows that in all governments, officers who help to carry out the

political policy of the government are changed when an administration changes; why should the third class be more favored?

Singularly enough, the argument that frequent change, with the consequent loss of acquired skill, is expensive, has very little weight in the country at large. Americans pay the price for the best government, and accept an inferior article. The reformers find it hard to bring home to the average man the truth that an expensive government causes expense to him. Ever since the civil war, "the government" has seemed to millions of people a kind of productive abstraction. And why should a man concern himself about wastefulness in federal business, when he sees greater wastefulness in his local paving and street-cleaning or school-house construction? Prodigality of government is closely connected with prodigality in private expenditure. It is a fault of a country rapidly growing rich. The total burden of federal taxation is but \$6 annually for each person, and it is so levied as to be too little felt. In this, as in many other ways, the demoralizing effect of a surplus hinders reform. Again, the actual cost of the federal service and the actual number of persons employed are never stated to the people, and in fact are unknown to the officers of government. Eventually, as population increases and virgin soil and virgin forests are exhausted, the conditions of life will be more severe, and Americans will feel the cost of government as they do that of overcoats or of butchers' meat.

On the other hand, the government service is looked upon by many worthy people as an asylum for the unfortunate. Much of the public indifference to the reform is due to a culpable good nature, which finds it easier to recommend a man to the government than to give him private employment. It is rather remarkable that this sympathy with the unfortunate does not extend to the present holders of offices and their dependent families. There seems to be little popular feeling that there is a hardship in depriving a man of a place in which he has made himself valuable, and obliging him to learn a new calling.

It cannot be said that the examination system of testing candidates for appointments is a popular system. It is efficient, is approved by the experience of other countries, and is the only

system at present possible which secures an equal chance to every qualified citizen. Still, it is an unfamiliar system, little used in private business. It is for this reason that malicious errors about examination papers and questions circulate and are doubtless widely accepted. Any one may disprove the assertions that candidates are examined in the geography of China, or the principles of quadratic equations, by turning to a report of the national Civil-service Commission. But the average man uses no reports save those of

"Fama malum qua non aliud velocius ullum."

There is in the popular mind an intimate connection between written examinations and text books, county superintendents, college rushes, and unpractical professors. Competitive examination is not acclimated, and must establish itself by its own success. There is a widespread delusion, also, that a man appointed on examination cannot be removed for incompetency.

Even were the impolicy and wastefulness of the system much more generally felt than they now are, it might still prevail; politics is to many minds an absorbing sport, pursued under rules and limitations, as are baseball or boating. The hidden work of politics—the formation of combinations, the elaboration of slates, the arrangement of deals—is a pursuit. To take all appointive United States offices out of politics, would be like removing the championship among league base-ball teams from all the uncertainties of contest. It is of course an exploded error to suppose that the votes fall off when the spoils are no part of the prizes, and politicians begin to suspect that patronage is at best a two-edged weapon. Nevertheless, three fourths of the gambling element in politics—chance, "dark horses," stuffed ballot boxes, bosses, and political deals—would disappear if all appointments were made for merit; and a great many people enjoy the gambling element. The unfortunate connection between local and national parties, so clearly pointed out by Mr. Bryce, makes federal offices seem an essential part of the stakes in State and municipal contests. In a word, not only parties and politicians, but a great number of the people, like the "fun" of the present system.

If the question of reform could be separated from all others, it is probable that a decided majority in its favor could be made up; for the spirit of the American people is a spirit of honesty, thrift, and fair dealing. Here comes in the influence of inertia. It took thirty years to bring the slavery conflict to a crisis, and even then it was not the abolitionist who provoked it. The method of collecting revenue is not reformed. The iniquities and inequalities in the tariff are not corrected. Why should a cold, unimpassioned reform like that of the civil service, with no sectional representatives to blow the coals, no special interests to make their plea, expect to proceed more swiftly? The present policy of the reformers in urging one small step after another, is the only promising one; for every improvement of the law, every extension of the rules, brings political inertia to bear in favor of the reform. The present law is narrow, is imperfect, and is but permissive upon the president; for that very reason infractions are more seriously felt.

What, then, is the conclusion to be drawn? Do the people wish administrative reform? Yes, they wish it; but very much as they wish virtue and the rights of man. They wish the reform brought about, but brought about by somebody else, without responsibility on them or on their legislators. On the other hand, they make it clear to their representatives and to the political parties, that the reform is not a thing that is safe to oppose. The people wish the executive to enforce it impartially, and President Harrison is so enforcing it. They wish the Civil-service Commission to show pluck; and the vigorous action of the commission, wherever it finds evasion of the law, will have the hearty approval of public sentiment. There is at least an uneasy feeling that the present system is a poor system. The unwearied efforts of reformers to arouse public sentiment on this subject, have been slow but powerful influences in molding popular feeling. The reform, therefore, seems likely slowly to advance. It can never be complete until the sovereign people forget that there is any other ground for appointment to clerical office, State, municipal, or national, save merit, ascertained by some impartial test.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

THE SPECTER OF THE MONK.

I GIVE this title to my paper to indicate the unreasoning terror which has been expressed by many Protestants at the supposed peril of an attempt to revive monasticism in modern days. So far as I am concerned, and so far as I am responsible for awakening the attention of the church to the necessity for some new organization in the form of "brotherhoods," no step in the direction of a resuscitated monachism has been for a moment contemplated. On that subject I need not enter into any further explanations, nor need I repeat the sincere and explicit assurances with which I have endeavored to allay unnecessary alarms. But the resolutions from various societies which have been sent me, and multitudes of private and public criticisms in letters and newspapers, have shown me that, three centuries after the dissolution of the monasteries in England, those institutions are still regarded with a sentiment of dread approaching to horror. In one short paper it will, of course, be impossible to show the advantages and the disadvantages which were connected from the first with monastic systems; but perhaps I may be able to suggest some considerations which will enable readers to look at the subject fairly and from both sides, and so to arrive at a conclusion based on something better than blind and angry prejudice.

What was the view of life which led to monachism; and was it a true or a false view? What were the conditions which appeared to make the system a necessity and a blessing; and are those conditions permanent, or have they passed away? No sweeping and unmodified answer can be given to these questions. Of the causes which evoked monasticism into existence, many were accidental, but some are as permanent as the nature of man.

There are noble and useful plants which tend to become the victims of madders and broomrapes, leafless parasites which bear only the sickly semblance of flowers. In the same way, there are truths that are strangled and rendered barren by the en-

tanglement of parasitic errors around their very roots. The need and the fruitfulness of self-sacrifice is a truth essentially Christian; but both in the East and the West that truth was perverted by the mixture of Manichean and Gnostic superstitions, which taught that maceration and self-torture were necessary to holiness, and intrinsically pleasing in the sight of God. Similarly, the fact recognized by St. Paul, that under certain circumstances celibacy may be all but necessitated by the imperious call of duty, was mixed up with hateful errors about the inherent vileness of matter, and the supposed merit of debasing and almost dehumanizing the mortal body. Such heresies issued in the monstrous extremes of fasting and self-inflicted torment that gave so grotesque an aspect to the lives and legends of the desert fathers, whose penances were, after all, exceeded in intensity by those of dervishes, yogins, and fakirs. When dualism had been decisively condemned by the voice of the church, the germ of extravagant asceticism that it had implanted still remained. It nurtured the belief in a Deity stern, relentless, arbitrary as a demon, instead of a Father who is tender even to his prodigals. It led to the dangerous individualism which practically assumed the ideal of virtue to consist in an expansion of selfishness to infinitude. It defined the object of a man's life to be the salvation of the individual soul, whereas the essence of Christ's activity on earth was "to go about doing good," and although his gospel so distinctly teaches that the purest form of undefiled religion consists in love to God, evinced by love to man. Even in the loveliest forms of the monastic ideal—as, for instance, in the "*Imitatio Christi*"—life tended to become too personal, too introspective, too visionary, too acquiescent in the manifold evil of the world, too much absorbed in the endeavor to clutch some separate plank of safety amid the fiery weltering of the universal surge. Monasticism, at the best, was a form of religion that tended to shift the soul's center of gravity from love to selfishness. Galeotto Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, in the fifteenth century, was regarded as a marvelous saint by most of his contemporaries; yet, leaving his miserable people to the horror of a triple sack, he went to the monastery of Arcangelo, and there, pale, emaciated, bleeding perpetually with self-inflicted wounds, half-crazed by his austerities, with his young

virgin wife drooping by his side, he passed in seclusion his mutilated life, "serene, scathless in the midst of peril; and neither for himself nor his kingdom took he any thought." Could sincere superstition have invented more complete perversion of the true ends of human life?

Under the special conditions in which monasticism sprang to life and acquired its vigor, it would be difficult to imagine a more salutary ideal, if that ideal had been within the reach of ordinary men. Amid the taxation, oppression, heresies, and internecine struggles of the East, it approved itself to the practical intellects of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom; and if it ruined the health and shortened the life of them both, it became to them, in their deep sincerity, a training school of virtue and self-conquest. In the West, men so unlike each other as St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and Cassian, threw themselves with ardor into the advocacy of monastic brotherhood. The times were turbulent; the vices of a decadent paganism were not yet wholly extirpated; theological opinions on many subjects were highly unsettled. Men were convinced that the Roman Empire was old and doomed to swift retribution, before the flame of Christ's second coming to judge the world. It was difficult for a Christian to live unspotted in the midst of a society so radically tainted with wickedness. But men whose hearts were sound felt it even more necessary to escape from the spirit of faithlessness in the church, than from the open godlessness of the world. They were impelled to fly into the cloister from false types of Christianity, created by the invasion of the world into the church. No small part of the life which called itself Christian seemed to them little better than an unsatisfactory compromise, an agreement with death and a covenant with hell. Alike pagans and Christians complain bitterly of the reliance upon forms and ordinances rather than upon holy lives. They denounce in burning words the worldliness and hypocrisy, not only of a nominally Christian society, but even of the majority of priests and bishops. And when, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the tramp of barbarians was heard upon the frontiers of the empire in every direction and horde after horde of rude warriors issued from Teutonic forests and Scythian swamps, the monasteries remained the sole refuge for whoever would live

a quiet and contemplative life. Similar motives continued to have force amid the brutalities and the ignorance which so often defaced the life of the middle ages. So far as monks were faithful to their rules—and the Benedictine rule, for instance, was full of wise and beautiful directions—the monasteries justified their existence. The celibacy and seclusion and self-sacrifice of the system working in pure and heroic souls, and the happy mixture of prayer and manual labor, of spiritual grandeur and material poverty, produced the sole types of character which overawed the daring of the barbarous chiefs. Alaric felt the ascendancy of Pope Leo I. Totila submitted with awe to the admonitions of St. Benedict. Odoacer bowed before St. Severinus. Even the dauntless Theodoric would listen to St. Epiphanius of Pavia when he would listen to no one else. Most of the religious leaders who magnetized the imagination of the rude conquerors of Italy were either actual monks, or lived in accordance with the monkish standards. Many years ago, Dr. Lightfoot, the late eminent Bishop of Durham, said:

“I consider it a denial of history to refuse to acknowledge that even under the mediæval system of enforced celibacy—vicious in principle and dangerous in practice as that system was—some works were carried on with a success which could not have been looked for under any other system.”

We need not go to Bossuet, or Alban Butler, or Montalembert, or Ozanam for an ungrudging admission of the services which monasteries have rendered to Europe. We shall find those services acknowledged even by philosophers, by skeptics, by revolutionary leaders. “He who is ignorant of, or despises their services,” says Leibnitz, “has only a narrow and vulgar idea of virtue, and stupidly believes that he has performed all his duties toward God by some habitual practices, accomplished without zeal or love.” Voltaire himself said that if monasticism became vicious, secular life has always been more vicious. Comte, in his *“Politique Positive,”* and Mazzini in various papers, allow that monasticism served to protect all that was good in ancient civilization, while it furnished a rallying point for new forces. The Benedictines instituted schools; the Augustinians built cathedrals; the mendicant orders founded hospitals. Law and order, and

art and science, and learning and literature were kept alive by monks. They cleared forests, reclaimed waste lands, drained fens, fostered education, protected the oppressed, proclaimed the Truce of God between warring violences, resisted oppression with unarmed power, and asserted inherent supremacy of righteousness over brutal force. The contemplation of these better achievements made Charles Kingsley exclaim:

“Wake again, Teutonic father ages;
Speak again, beloved primeval creeds;
Flash ancestral spirit from your pages;
Wake the greedy age to nobler deeds.

“Tell us how the sexless workers, thronging
Angel-tended round the convent doors,
Wrought to Christian faith and holy order
Savage hearts alike and barren moors.”

Yet, though monasteries had their day of beneficence (and it was prolonged over many centuries), history branded them—regarded as general and widespread institutions—with the stigma of a failure which, if it did not wholly counterbalance their advantages, yet emphatically proved that their continuance would serve only to burden and corrupt the world. That it should be so was inevitable, because among the multitude of monks were many who took their color from their surroundings; and if in any monastery an evil influence happened to be strong, it was sure to spread. At the time of the suppression of the monasteries, it was found that many of the smaller institutions were very corrupt. If any one doubts the reports of Thomas Cromwell's visitors and the signed confessions of the monks who resigned their property, the significant fact remains, that Cardinal Wolsey himself wished the smaller houses to be suppressed. Only about one third of all the religious houses in England were declared to be in a fairly satisfactory condition. The reasons for this were manifold. The motives which caused men to retire from the world were mixed, and were often erroneous and ignoble. Fear, remorse, mistaken interpretation of scripture, some passing disappointment, fondness for solitude, fastidious reluctance to face the rough struggles of life—these were potent influences in the minds of many; while others were induced to assume the cowl

by hatred of conscription, by disinclination to labor, by fondness for power and influence and the cheap fame of sanctity. Some were tempted by yet more vulgar considerations.

" 'Twas not for nothing the good bellyful,
The warm serge, and the rope that goes all round,
And day-long blessed idleness besides."

Go where we will, and take what period we choose, we shall find proofs in the writings, not only of worldlings, but of popes and saints and reformers, that the monasteries showed a normal tendency to degenerate, and at the best to content themselves with purely formal functions. In the utter collapse of discipline, many of them sank into gossip and gluttony, joviality and ignorance. The repeated attempt at reformation, or at the foundation of new orders, made by St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Bruno, St. Dominic, St. Francis of Assissi, Ignatius Loyola, De Rancé, and others, are so many proofs of the efforts which were constantly needed to withstand the incessant recrudescence of evil. To show how often monasteries were hotbeds of malice, cruelty, fanaticism, and pollution, we may, if we like, dismiss altogether the evidence, in different centuries, of pagans like Eunapius, of novelists like Boccaccio, of scholars like Erasmus, of satirists like Ulric von Hutten, of reformers like Wycliffe and Luther, of political agents like Thomas Cromwell, of soldiers like Garibaldi, of French writers like Michelet or the Abbé * * *. Without once referring to sources of which the impartiality might be challenged, a terribly damning picture of monasteries all over the world might be drawn exclusively from the writings of fathers and saints, and from the records of councils and episcopal visitations. We need not look further than the writings of St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome to learn how furious, how ignorantly turbulent, how savagely fanatical from the very first, were multitudes of the eastern religious communities. As to the West, we have a perfect tide of evil evidence, furnished by witnesses of acknowledged eminence and sanctity. Can any testimony be more unexceptionable than that furnished by such saints of mediæval Catholicism as St. Bernard and St. Peter Damiani? Yet no more frightful picture of monastic profligacy is conceivable than that which Damiani drew in his letter to Pope Leo IX.

The evidence shows decisively that it was the merest chance whether at any particular time a monastery was a school of saints, like Clairvaux in the days of St. Bernard, and Bec in the days of St. Anselm, and St. Victor's as the epoch of its great mystics; or whether it was, on the other hand, and perhaps in the same century, a foul sink and hotbed of sloth and degradation, like those of which the terrible annals have been revealed by history or by the testimony of horrified and accidental witnesses. It is vain therefore to invest monasticism as a large and permanent institution with the glory that it derives from the names of saintly monks. Let us gladly admit that holy-minded men might find a well-governed community to be a school of the loftiest virtues. The name of many a monk is luminous in the church's galaxy of great examples. St. Benedict, with his toil and tenderness; St. Anselm, in his courage and humility; St. Edmund of Canterbury, in his innocence and self-abnegation; St. Thomas Aquinas, with his daily prayer, "Give me, O God, a noble heart which no earthly affection may drag down"; Fra Angelico of Fiesole, with the inspired rapture and vernal colorings of his sacred visions; St. Hugo of Avalon, with his breadth and manliness; William of Occam, in his passionate sincerity and love of freedom; Bonaventura the Seraphic, and Duns Scotus the Subtle, and multitudes besides, reaping the rewards of self-sacrifice even under a needless and erroneous system, might all have exclaimed, so far as they were personally concerned: "It is good for us to be here; for here a man lives more purely, falls more rarely, walks more carefully, rests more securely, dies more happily, is cleansed more speedily, is rewarded more abundantly." And considering the wild days in which they lived, it might have been hard for some of these to find in the outer world so secure a home for the practice of religion as a well-governed cloister. It might be possible for them there, when it was possible nowhere else, "to gaze on the bright countenance of truth in the mild and dewy air of delightful studies." But for multitudes—perhaps for the majority—the whole sentence of eulogy would have to be reversed. Whatever may be the temptations of the world, bad and ordinary men would have been better, not worse, as married citizens than as celibate monks. The religious poets, the sacred artists, the saintly writers

were all aware of this. Dante places monks in his lowest pits, and represents his hypocrites in the guise of monks with gilded cowls of crushing lead. Fra Angelico and the mediæval painters crowd their Infernos with despairing monks. The writings of fathers in the fourth and fifth centuries abound in stories of the fatal lapses of monks and nuns. St. Augustine said that if some of the best men he had known were monks, so were some of the worst. Some of the monks whom St. Jerome describes were monsters of depravity and greed. The monastic institutes of Cassian show that monks were liable to violent reactions, which filled them with misery, shame, and madness, to a degree wholly exceptional. "If he is a bad man," said the great missionary Raymond Lulli, "nothing is more ambitious, nothing more greedy of gain, than a monk." The unwholesome tone of many monkish commentaries on the Song of Songs; the anguished intensity of their complaints about sensual assaults, which they described as "the demon that walketh in the noonday"; the unanimity with which they fix upon carnality as St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh"; the confessions that describe the abnormal and unnatural tension of their efforts to attain that mastery over evil passions that is gained by thousands of Christians through no such agonies, by the ordinary use of the means of grace—these things show that, instead of diminishing their moral difficulties by the mode of life that they adopted, most monks increased and intensified them to an extraordinary degree. The old Latin poet says:

"Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret."

Seneca echoed the sentiment in his "*Natura contumax est*," and the French proverb, "*Chassez le naturel, et il revient au galop*," repeats the same experience. A sincere and earnest man might win the victory over his lower nature in spite of having unwittingly made it harder for himself to do so; but a man who had doomed himself to a monastery in mere waywardness and spleen, or from poor and unworthy motives, or who had been forced into it in youth, without that vocation for it which belongs only to the few, would make his own life task ten times more difficult, and would hear, night and day—as so many *did* hear—"the flapping of unclean wings" about the roof of his monastic cell.

And thus he would make of his life a double failure. He would have thrown away the best opportunities for wide and active usefulness to his fellow men, and so far from securing thereby a serene empire of self-possession, he would only have placed a life of virtue and purity more wholly beyond his reach.

And therefore when we look back to the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII., we may well believe that on most grounds it was very far from being an unmixed evil. I have said elsewhere that there may have been, and probably was, exaggeration and lying in the charges brought against them; and that there certainly was greed and cruelty in the seizure of their property; yet that Black Book that was laid before the Parliament of England in the chapter house of Westminster Abbey, and that made the members exclaim with horror, contained ample and damning proof of the idleness and wickedness of many of these establishments, and showed that it was full time to suppress them.

I am not, of course, pretending in a few pages to deal adequately with so wide a subject; but if any one will study the history and development of monasticism, he will be strongly led to the conclusion that it is but one of the many ways in which God fulfills himself in the church at particular crises. It was valuable for certain purposes, but it involves so many elements of danger that its promiscuous revival would be an unmitigated curse. St. Simeon Stylites, the founder of the most senseless order of extravagant fanatics—fanatics whose vagaries were contemptuously repressed by the practical good sense of the western episcopate, is yet credited with this wise remark:

“As princes sometimes change the emblems on their coins, so God has made piety assume novel and varied forms of life, to awaken the admiration, not only of the disciples of the faith, but also of the unbelieving world.”

The destined ends of monasticism have long ago been attained; few or none desire its reestablishment. The combination of clergymen or laymen in a common life under temporary vows, differs from monasticism in its most essential characteristics, while yet it endeavors to learn the sole elements which gave it efficacy, and to avoid the error which precipitated its doom.

F. W. FARRAR.

A PROTEST AGAINST DOGMA.

IN these latter times strange controversies are going on. There is an unwonted disposition to pry into the foundations of things hitherto deemed sacred, to see if all is sound and stable there. The temple of religious faith is too valuable a thing to the human race to be allowed to get so out of plumb as to be in danger of collapse, and it behooves its guardians to find out whether it rests on rotting piles or on the eternal rock. In the progress of knowledge and the diffusion of education, the habit of asking questions and insisting upon answers has grown to be perplexing to hoary conservatism, and there is coming to be a general acknowledgment that the questions cannot be suppressed, and that the answers stereotyped in days of less knowledge and less persistent curiosity will no longer suffice.

In matters religious there has been a notable reversal of the general law of human progress. While we speak of every year that comes as new and of the present generation as young, we know of course that the world has grown older and the human race more mature. There is more experience behind it, it knows more, and it thinks nearer to the line of ultimate truth. It is the "old time" that was young and immature, groping in the mental twilight that enwraps all infancy. We recognize the advances of science and of the knowledge of material things that have been so accelerated in the latest days; we are constantly rummaging the archives of secular history, correcting errors and setting old facts in a clearer light; and in all general matters of reasoning and philosophy we admit that thought is progress toward the truth. In matters of government and social regulation the human race has outgrown old devices and expedients, and adapted its methods to the larger freedom and greater strength that come with maturer growth.

We inherit our religion, like our other institutions, from the

past. Its sources are scattered along the ages, from the dimmest hours of the dawn of history through the vicissitudes of a race striving evermore to reach higher ground. But we are wont to say of the old conceptions and the first teachings, these were revelations; of the ancient records, these were inspired; of the systems of faith devised by "fathers" and councils according to the lights of their day, these have divine wisdom and must not be touched. But the spirit of inquiry will not leave these things alone. The Christian church stands to-day in this land as the embodiment of its prevailing faith, and claims custody of the people's morals; but is it in harmony with the progress of the time, and in such sympathy with the spirit of the age as to be able to maintain its claim? It is undergoing a siege from the batteries of relentless questioning, which it cannot silence with the ancient types of ecclesiastical ordnance.

But there are reassuring indications of sanity in the old stronghold. Men of high standing in its councils are coming, reluctantly perhaps, but with increasing candor, to an inquiry into the utility of crumbling creeds and decaying dogmas, the product of conditions and of needs long out of date. Assaultants of the church have contended that it rests upon creeds and dogmas as its sole foundation, and that when these are battered out it must collapse. But are not the real foundations deeper and more solid, and as enduring as the qualities and needs of humanity; and have not creeds and dogmas been the embankments and props accumulated for support in ages of imperfect knowledge and prevailing superstition? May not the modern revelations of science and reason show these to be unnecessary, and by clearing away the *débris* of a dark past, leave the fabric of a religion and a church firmly resting on the original corner stone, but with foundations broadened and solidified so as to be unassailable, and a superstructure in harmony with the intellectual progress of the race in these times?

The most significant indication to-day is not the timid and tentative efforts at creed-revision in ecclesiastical councils. It is not even the bolder admissions and concessions of an occasional writer of such standing and authority in the church as to have no fear of being brought to book for heresy. It is rather

the calm acceptance of "advanced views" that, a few years ago, would have caused a decided shock to rooted prejudice, and private evidences that many a preacher of unquestioned orthodoxy would gladly welcome a revived gospel that would free him from the trammels of formal beliefs that had their origin in a more superstitious and less enlightened age. Is it not a noticeable sign that intellectual and educated ministers have almost ceased to preach the doctrines of their theology? That is partly because they have ceased to believe them, and more, perhaps, because they know that intelligent and educated people in the pews do not believe them, and can no longer be made to believe them. Neither are they any longer effective for the conversion and regeneration of mankind.

The advance that has been made in the last half-century in scientific knowledge and its applications; in the means, methods, and results of historical criticism; in the whole groundwork of philosophical inquiry and reasoning; in popular education and the consequent aptitude of the people to accept the conclusions that the learned have reached, has transformed modern civilized society, and utterly changed its attitude toward matters of religious belief. By failing to recognize and accept this, the church has lost of much of its old-time power and influence. The clinging of its authorities and teachers to ancient creeds and dogmas, has dragged it out of adjustment to modern progress. The consequence is that we see ministers of the gospel who cannot resist the influence of modern thought, retaining their place by steering clear of dogmatic avowals, and cherishing views that they dare not announce publicly. They take the safe course of preaching a lofty morality and indulging in fine speculations upon human destiny. But the incubus of creed is upon them and upon their congregations. Intelligent men compromise with conscience by acquiescing, for the sake of the good associations and good influences of the church, in what they do not believe. More and more the believers according to the traditional standard are becoming reduced to those men who do not think, but are controlled in their lives by emotion, and to women and children, into whom belief is instilled without the aid of reason. Men of strong sense and good conscience admit that they adhere

to the church, not because they accept its dogmas, but for the sake of its good influences for their families and for society.

Such is the false position that they are constrained to take because of the failure of the church to keep in line with the progress of knowledge and of thought. Does it not cultivate an insidious hypocrisy in pulpit and pew, which is fatal to a genuine zeal for the elevation of mankind—the great work of any vital religion, and in particular the work to which the Christian church professes to be dedicated? But this effect upon preacher and acquiescent hearer is of small account compared to the effect upon the church as an institution and upon society at large. Men of intellect and education, who are capable of enthusiasm and ardor in the service of mankind, are deterred from seeking to enter that service through the Christian ministry. They cannot honestly meet its doctrinal requirements and will not submit to its mental restrictions. Hence they are excluded from a calling in which they are fitted to accomplish great good for the human race. The young generation, absorbing as it grows to maturity the knowledge and thought of the living time, the results of investigation and criticism that filter from the studies of scholars through the printing press, the public library, and the reading room, and permeate the subtle medium of communication in which all society moves and lives, is repelled from religious association by dogmas that its common sense will not accept. The prediction in Victor Hugo's tale of the time of Louis XI., that the printing press would kill the church, was true of the ecclesiastical fabric of that time, which is already a curious fossil. Whether it is true of the universal Christian church, depends upon whether the vitality of that body is in the coverings of creed and doctrine that have been wrapped about it, or in truths answering to the enduring necessities of the human soul.

But the worst of it is not the repulsion of the intelligent and the educated. They might be the better and the happier for the wholesome influences and associations of a religion "pure and undefiled," and they might be instrumental in extending its gracious influence; but of all men they are best able to get on without the help of association. They may be able to regulate their lives by conventional standards of morality, may clearly see

that upright conduct is for them the best policy, and they may be among the most useful and respectable members of society without the church's help. Infidelity has ceased to be a term of dread, if not of reproach, and church membership is no longer accounted a guarantee of good character. But there is the great mass of the poor, the ignorant, the undisciplined—the sick who need a physician, the lost who need to be found; if the church loses its hold upon them, if it repels instead of attracting them, does it not fail in the mission for which it was founded and which is the main justification of its existence? The results of scientific knowledge, of historical inquiry, and of philosophical reasoning are not confined to the few or to a cultivated class. They reach the "common mind" through a thousand channels interlacing with subtle lines of communication the whole texture of society. Popular education has made readers, thinkers, and talkers in every rank, and the last results of science and reason percolate to the bottom. In our Christian civilization they are dispelling superstition and begetting an all-pervading common sense. This is coming to be the popular touchstone for all matters of belief. In fact, the reign of common sense has come upon the Christian world and must be reckoned with. It cannot be dislodged, and its sway must be acknowledged.

We are not now dealing with controversies or theories, but with an established and irreversible condition. It is not a question whether the results of knowledge and reason shall be accepted; they will be accepted, and if the Christian church does not adapt itself to the new condition, it will lose its hold upon humanity. Just so far as superstition is dispelled from the minds of men, the forms of belief that depend upon superstition will disappear. The investigations of scholars reveal the human quality of the literature of the ancient Hebrews that was so long held to be all divine, and more and more it will be read with open minds. When it is known that the books that have been deemed the oldest were made up ages after the events described, from imperfect documents, and from traditions and legends handed down through unlettered generations, their contents will be studied in the same spirit as other annals of primitive times. The record of the creation of the world and of man will be taken for what it is, an un-

skillful attempt to account for existing things, analogous to other mythologies, and having a close relation to those of Chaldea and Babylonia. The account of the origin of the "chosen people" will be seen to be half mythical, like the accounts of the infancy of all ancient nations, and the annals of their development will be found full of the customary defects of old records that tax credulity. Already the miracles of Egypt, the Red Sea, and the wilderness are reduced in the light of learned research to commonplace events. Miracles and supernatural doings are no more characteristic of the infantile period of Jewish history than of that of any other people, and in whatever writings they may occur, they will be judged in the same critical spirit. The ideas of society and of worship that sprang up and developed in the Jewish nation, were the product of ethnic characteristics and of a primitive stage of human growth, and were little more in harmony with the ideas that prevail to-day, even in the Christian church, than were those of Persia and Assyria. Even the Jewish standards of moral conduct were those of a far backward time, and no higher than those which philosophers were almost simultaneously inculcating in China, India, and Greece. But a grand contribution from the Jewish race was its exalted monotheism and its sense of obedient subjection to a righteous ruler—that was a sacred heritage to mankind in later times.

But by a rational study of the Hebrew scriptures every vestige of the doctrine of divine inspiration will be rooted out. No labored exegesis will keep the life in it, and it is a doctrine that adds nothing to the value of the writings, which have been cherished with a regard more superstitious than religious. With it goes the acceptance of miraculous interposition in human affairs, though a reasonable theory of providential supervision is left untouched. Of these, as much evidence may be drawn from Greek and Roman as from Jewish history, and the contributions of Greece and Rome to modern civilization, even in its religious aspects, are not less important than those of Judea before the Christian era. The Sheol of the Hebrews is as obsolete to-day among enlightened people as the Hades of the Greeks; and Satan and his angels, who were imported from the mythology of Persia, have been banished to the same limbo with Zeus and the lesser

Olympian gods. As common sense, armed with the shafts of science and reason, dispels the mist of superstition, the myths and marvels with which it was peopled by the imagination vanish forever. Why should the theology of an enlightened age insist upon a belief in them?

But it may be that Christian dogma in its prevailing forms owes little to the so-called revelations of the Hebrew scriptures. It owes even less to the marvelous teacher of Nazareth. Criticism cannot obliterate his character and the essential substance of his teaching from the page of human history. They form a luminous focus to which the light of the Judaic theocracy, the Grecian culture of humanity, and the aggressive Roman force were drawn, to be blended and diffused in the radiance and vigor of modern civilization. Criticism handles the Christian record with small regard for pious sensibilities. It shows that, so far as the gospel narratives are concerned, they were made up long after the events related, from defective documents and oral traditions that were surely distorted, because plainly inconsistent. They were written after the builders of an ecclesiastical system had begun to deduce their dogmas from the floating material, and are suffused, more or less, according to the date of their production, with the tone and spirit of those dogmas. Instead of being the source of doctrines, they were made, unconsciously or consciously, to support doctrines that originated elsewhere. So much critical students already know, though with the surviving data it will never be possible to reach an analysis that shall precipitate the actual residuum of solid fact. The miraculous and the preternatural are, however, bound to be rejected. They are not peculiar to the Christian record, but belong to all ancient accounts that deal with exalted natures and exceptional events, especially such as awaken the awe of the mass of men in a time of little learning and less philosophy. They pertain no more to the Hebrew theocracy than to the Assyrian paganism and the Greek polytheism, no more to the Christian record than to that of Buddhism and Mohammedanism. In short, they are the invariable product of mental ferment in the darkness of superstition, and are doomed to extinction in the light of knowledge and reason. Yet who shall venture to pronounce with presumptuous positiveness upon the

actual effects of the wonderful psychological endowments of Jesus of Nazareth, and the magnetic ascendancy that he acquired over those who came under his personal influence.

But the doctrine that what has been called the "divine record" is inspired, is not of the substance of a genuine religious faith. Belief in the miraculous is by no means necessary to a devout state of mind. The dogmas that have stood so long in the creeds of Christianity were the deductions of fallible men whose intellects were subdued to a devoutness of spirit natural and useful in its time and place. Is it not plain that religious development and adjustment have ever been the product of human need, and of human effort to supply that need? Like government and social regulation, religion has been a matter of intellectual and moral evolution, in which the spiritual instinct has worked its way toward the light. Forms of belief have been necessary in past ages, but subject to modification with the progress of knowledge and the expanding of the light of reason. Dogmas tend to fossilize, and creeds imbed them in the structure of human history, but life keeps on covering them over with new growths as they crumble.

Has not the time come when that branch of the Christian church that derived its life from the right to think and to protest, should cast off the shackles of creed? The Church of Rome is built upon superstition and still finds support in it. It recognizes knowledge and reason as its enemies, and with the instinct of self-preservation insists upon keeping education and the intellectual guidance of its votaries within the grasp of its hierarchy. Is there any longer room in the civilized world for two organizations resisting the rule of reason and refusing to recognize the accession of common sense to the throne from which superstition has been dislodged? When men reason and think, they inevitably differ. Why not leave them the privilege of honest difference, without assuming that the line that divides intellectual opinions is the boundary between moral right and wrong or a barrier separating religious truth from error? Doctrines and creeds are the results of differences compromised by agreement. Their variety and the changes they have undergone are evidence of error, not of truth. Truth is one, and as men approach it they

draw together, not apart. The division of the Protestant church into many sects is conclusive evidence that the inharmonious dogmas that have been wrought into the fabric of theological belief are not of the original and enduring substance of the teaching of Jesus. They are but variations of human error, determined by the state of knowledge and of thought in which they were conceived, by men seeking sincerely and devoutly for the truth.

The messianic hopes of Israel and the dreams of apocalyptic writers were woven by the founders of Christian dogma with the obscure facts of the birth of Jesus, the luminous teachings of his lips, the marvelous power of his life and character as an example to mankind, the legends of his wonder-working, the appalling stroke of his atrocious death at the hands of established bigotry, and the belief attributed by tradition to his devoted followers that he had risen from the tomb and ascended into heaven to prepare for the coming of his kingdom in glory upon the earth. Out of these elements was produced the mysticism of early Christianity, at a time when no religious system could hope to gain a hold upon mankind without mysticism. With the intellectual and moral progress of later times, this mysticism has been modified by councils and by teachers, and gone through Protean evolutions to the production of forms of faith and sects innumerable; and in the great body of the church many doctrines that could by no possibility in the light of this day be deduced from the record or the facts, have been held sacred with the tenacity of a superstitious conservatism. But through all this fabric of man-made theologies, strikes the light of scientific and critical research, of knowledge and reason, in these waning days of the nineteenth century; and behind the flaming torch of enlightened thought follows the plain daylight of common sense, dispersing the owls and bats of ancient superstition, the specters and hobgoblins of a distorted faith. But the expanding light in no way obscures the central figure of that great teacher, who rose upon the world from the Galilean hamlet, and in golden words set the point of departure for a new religion of humanity. On the contrary, it dispels mists from around it, revivifies it from petrification, and makes it capable of a new power for the regeneration of the race.

"Believe in me and ye shall be saved," calls for no faith in doctrines of inspiration, of future rewards and punishment, of miraculous birth and death, of vicarious atonement, or in any of the other mystic dogmas that have been erected into an incongruous congeries of ecclesiastical systems. It requires no abnegation of the intellect or the conscience of reasoning men. Faith in that large doctrine of the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, purity of life, sacrifice of self, and devotion to the common good, can never be outgrown by the human race; nor is the race likely to have a higher exemplar of that doctrine to look up to than the marvelous man of Nazareth, who announced it with such confident and persuasive words, and who died a victim to the world's unreadiness to accept it. The world is yet far from reaching his ground.

What, then, is it to do? The changing and revision of creeds is a perplexing task. But there is no occasion for undertaking it. The world does not want new creeds devised by fallible men to stem the tide of progress. It wants the "ever open door," the ample page of knowledge freely spread, the full light of reason, and the liberty to believe what it finds to be true. There is no occasion to dig out the strata of the earth's crust and to get rid of the fossils of ages past, in order to utilize the fruitful surface where life goes on. Let the church of universal humanity, built up through the ages with the materials that each age afforded, open wide its doors to all who seek the true and the good, who wish to promote right conduct in themselves and others, and who desire to co-operate for the elevation and improvement of mankind; and let no test for membership be required except the ordinary evidences of good faith. Leave to men absolute liberty to study, to think, and to believe that only of which they are honestly convinced, and invite them into church fellowship without mental shackles, and Christianity will start into new and vigorous life. That free thinking should be regarded as inconsistent with true religion, is a strange anomaly for an enlightened age. Free thought is an essential factor in true religion, and should be encouraged out of consideration for the good of mankind. The fullest attainable knowledge of what is and what has been, the freest exercise of the faculties with which man has

been endowed, and the clearest results of our best reasoning, cannot but lead toward the everlasting truth, and can by no possibility be inconsistent with the will of the Supreme Power of the universe.

What common sense dictates to the Christian church to-day, is not to revise its creeds and amend its dogmas, but to cast off altogether from them as a test of the fitness of men to teach religion, or of the right of men to associate in its work and share in its benefits. Let membership depend upon character and purpose, not belief, and let the creeds drift into the "dark backward and abysm of time," with the Delphic oracles and the mummeries of the middle ages. Let men learn what they can and believe what they must, with the record of the past and the knowledge of the present to aid them. What then would the church gain and what would it become? It would gain the best intellect and the highest zeal which the living generation can afford, and it would open its bosom to the currents of light and of progress that the expanding revelation of science and reason is emitting. From these it would draw life and strength for its great work of elevating and purifying human character and conduct. For that is its proper work in the world. It should return to the idea of salvation as originally proclaimed—salvation from sin in this world, and not from punishment in another. For it is a fundamental rule of common sense that whatever may be the truth about immortality and a life to follow death, the condition of the human soul hereafter must inevitably depend upon the condition it attains here. If it can be made sound and healthy for this life—here on this bank and shoal of time, it cannot but be safe for the life to come; for if the soul is released from corporal bonds to live on in eternity, it can undergo no transformation by the process, else were the experiences of this life without purpose. Right conduct and pure character must needs be the condition of happiness in all possible worlds, and should therefore be the sole object of religious teaching. It is a grievous waste of force to "jump" this life, and to draw motives from the hope of reward and the fear of punishment "beyond the veil." If the gospel of salvation be directed to the saving of the human race from vice and crime, from wrong-doing in its

many forms, and from the miseries of poverty, ignorance, and misfortune consequent upon the weakness of human nature, through the application of that all-embracing doctrine of the sacrifice of self, and of doing good to others, it will manifestly hasten the coming of the kingdom of God on earth, and promote the safety of surviving souls, regardless of beliefs about the "undiscovered country."

The need of this day is to proclaim liberty from the temple doors of our religion—liberty for all earnest and sincere men to study, to learn, to think, to reason, to adopt conclusions, and to teach that which according to their best lights they find to be true, ever holding fast the rule of right conduct and pure life, the golden rule of self-subjection and help to others. With that trumpet blast, let the crumbling barriers of creed and dogma go down, let the light of reason and common sense freely pervade the domain of religion, and the breath of a new life will animate the Christian church, giving it fresh power to conquer the forces of evil and to promote the elevation of man. Its divided ranks may then unite, or at all events co-operate as a single host, and it may bring into its service the best intellect and the most ardent zeal of the living time; but, best of all, it can then reach the sympathies, and awaken the better instincts and impulses, of that mass of men that most needs a regenerating and saving influence. It can be converted into an effective instrument for uplifting, purifying, and strengthening human society, and can draw to its use the superb energies of modern life.

AMOS K. FISKE.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

WHAT is it? Whence is it derived? To whom does it attach? How may it be regulated? What are the limits of State and national power in regard to it? In what manner may it be asserted? To what extent may it be restricted? By what authority may it be conditioned or extended?

These are serious questions; none more serious have ever occupied the attention of the American people. None approaching them in difficulty have ever been peaceably determined. State sovereignty—the doctrines of the paramount prerogative of the State, and the paramount allegiance of the citizen to the State—is said to have been “settled by war.” These doctrines are not even yet obnoxious to any constitutional inhibition. Their correlates, secession and nullification, are not punishable offenses, nor even constitutionally-negatived theories. The doctrine of State sovereignty rests to-day upon precisely the same legal basis that it did one hundred years ago. It is not a violation of any law for men to advocate secession, or to organize the people of any State or States for withdrawal from the Union, unless they actually take up arms to resist its authority. To some this will seem, perhaps, a surprising fact; but it serves to show how little we learned, as well as how little was settled, by war.

The theory that any State has a right to elect whether it will remain in the Union or go out of it, is no more inconsistent with loyalty to the Constitution to-day than it was in Webster’s time. The Supreme Court has, indeed, declared that an ordinance of secession does not serve to take a State out of the Union, or to affect the relations, rights, and duties of its citizens to the United States, even when a state of war supervenes and is maintained for years. The reason assigned, like the declaration itself, seems to result from a curious blending of moral and physical conditions, rather than to constitute any extension of the previous

argument. Secession is pronounced impossible, rather than distinctly unlawful, because this is "an indestructible union composed of indestructible States." As a theory, the doctrine of federal supremacy stands upon the same logical ground as before, unless the double predication of indestructibility may have tended to inspire doubt in regard to it. The only thing affecting this dogma that the war really did settle, was that under certain circumstances the people of the United States will drive back into definite relations with the Union the people or the States that try to ride out on a secession horse, without regard for any theory that may exist in reference to the scope and purpose of the Constitution, and without stopping to decide what may have been the notions of "the fathers" about the relative rights of State and nation.

Constitutionally considered, the war of rebellion resulted in the unquestionable determination of the following previously-undefined or controverted dogmas: 1. That slavery, or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, can no longer legally exist in the United States.* 2. That all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States in which they reside. 3. That no State shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. 4. That no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.†

These are unquestionable constitutional advances. To this extent the nation has indubitably asserted its control over the constituent States, and its purpose to establish and defend individual rights not previously within its declared jurisdiction. Some of these powers are curiously defective in their definition, as the failure to prohibit States from extending indefinitely the area of State citizenship. The "privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States" are also left to judicial construction; and just what constitutes a denial of "the equal protection of the laws" of any State is likewise a matter yet to be determined, and opens perhaps one of the knottiest problems arising

* Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

† Fourteenth Amendment, Sec. 1.

out of our dual system of government. It is more than probable that congressional definition and assertion will have to precede any settled construction of these two phrases. At all events, it is admitted that none of these provisions contains any extension, restriction, or modification of the right to vote, as it previously existed.

We may safely premise with regard to this particular right, therefore, that it remains precisely as it was previous to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, July, 1868, save as it may be affected (1) by the provisions of the second section thereof; (2) by the terms of the Fifteenth Amendment, adopted March, 1870; and (3) by the action of the several States in regard to the said right to vote. Previous to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, the only portions of the Constitution of the United States bearing upon the right to vote were the following provisions of Article I.

“The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.” *

“The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.” †

“Each house shall be the judge of the election, returns, and qualifications of its own members.” ‡

It will be seen that these provisions not only left the right to vote in all State elections to be determined and defined by State legislation, and administered by State officials; but also expressly authorized the several States to define by law the qualifications of voters for members of Congress, and the way and manner in which those having a right to vote might exercise the same in choosing members of the House of Representatives, and to provide the official machinery for determining the result and making return thereof. Of this grant of power there were two important restrictions: 1. The Constitution reserved to the Congress the right to take away from the State the power to determine the “times, places, and manner” of holding elections for

* Art. I., Sec. 2.

† Art. I., Sec. 4.

‡ Art. I., Sec. 5.

members of the House of Representatives. 2 It also reserved to the House alone the power of reviewing and ultimately deciding in regard to the election of its own members and the returns made of the same. Neither of these reservations, however, amounts to an assertion of the power of Congress to define the right to vote, that is, to declare the qualifications even of the electors of members of the House of Representatives in the various States.

Congress may determine when, where, and how the electors in the several States may exercise their power in the election of congressmen, and may also provide the machinery for such elections, for determining the result, and for making return thereof, without the intervention, co-operation, aid, or sanction of any State authority. But so far as these provisions are concerned, the law-making power of each State has the sole, unquestionable power of defining the qualifications of the electors, or, in other words, of determining who shall have the right to vote and who shall not, even at such elections.

The fact that electors of president and vice-president are now chosen by ballot, has led to the general belief that they can be chosen in no other way. To prevent misconception, merely, it may be well to call attention to the fact that the Constitution authorizes the States "to appoint" these electors; and there seems to be no good reason why they may not still be legally appointed by the Legislature of each State, as they were by one, at least, as late as 1860. The right to vote for such electors is nowhere conferred on any *individual* by the Constitution of the United States or by any law passed in pursuance thereof, nor are the qualifications of electors of these official electors anywhere defined by federal enactment.

Up to July, 1868, therefore, we see that the several States had an unquestioned right to prescribe the qualifications of voters—which is the power to determine who shall be allowed to exercise the right to vote—in the following cases: 1. At all elections for State, county, and municipal officials held in the State. 2. At all elections for members of the House of Representatives. This power was undisputed in theory and unrestricted in practice, until after the institution of the so-called Confederate

government, and the forcible assertion of the right of a State to secede. Has it been changed since, and if so, to what extent?

Until the outbreak of the war, each State defined the right to vote; determined who should be entitled to exercise that right; in what manner, and subject to what restrictions, it should be exercised in all elections, national as well as State. The result was that the classes entitled to exercise the right to vote in the several States, were as distinct and various as the soil and climate of these different subdivisions of our territory. In no two of the States were the conditions precisely the same, nor are they now. In thirteen of them, persons not citizens of the United States may even yet legally vote for congressmen and for electors of president and vice-president, as well as for State officers. The possession of specific property, the ability to read and write, and in one case good character, are among the various qualifications of those on whom alone the right to vote is conferred in different States.

In the first attempts at reconstruction, made in 1863, the qualifications of voters under the provisional governments organized by military authority, were prescribed by executive order, or by order of the military commander acting for the president. Under the reconstruction acts of 1866-67, the class to whom the right to vote was allowed in elections held under authority of those acts, was both affirmatively and negatively defined. These provisions, however, applied *only* to the elections for choosing delegates to constitutional conventions in the various States, to the elections held to pass upon the adoption or rejection of the constitutions submitted thereby, and to the first election of officers thereunder, occurring simultaneously with the election for ratification of the constitutions. The power to decide who should afterward be allowed to exercise the right to vote, was left to be determined in the various States by constitutional action. With these two exceptions, the power of the State over the qualification of *all* voters had remained unimpaired since the foundation of the government, until the Fourteenth Amendment went into effect.

Until the adoption of the new constitutions of 1868, the colored population, in all the recently rebellious States, as well as

in many others, were expressly excluded by State constitutional provision from the class on whom the right to vote might be conferred. By the reconstructionary State constitutions, the colored race in those States was included in this class upon the same terms as the whites. When the Fourteenth Amendment went into effect, in July, 1868, therefore, in all except four or five States of the Union the "distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" had already been, so far as legal assertion of the right to vote is concerned, removed, and the males of this race, twenty-one years of age and having equal qualifications with whites of the same age, were accorded the right to vote by State constitutions and State laws. In all the other States, with perhaps one exception, the same condition of affairs has since obtained by constitutional amendment.

What, then, is the legal force and effect of the term, "right to vote," as it first appears in our constitutional terminology in the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, in effect since July, 1868, and in the first section of the Fifteenth Amendment, in effect since March, 1870? The following are the parts of these sections in which this phrase occurs:

"But when the *right to vote* at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is *denied* to any of the male inhabitants of such State being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way *abridged* except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State." *

"The *right* of citizens of the United States *to vote* shall not be *denied* or *abridged* by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." †

It will be observed that in the Fourteenth Amendment it is provided that if the right to vote is denied or abridged to any male inhabitant of any State who is (1) a citizen of the United States, and (2) twenty-one years of age, for any cause except those mentioned, "the basis of representation therein shall be

* Art. XIV., Sec. 2. Italics are used here to call attention to the titular term and its correlation with "denied" and "abridged."

† Art. XV., Sec. 1.

reduced." Whatever may be the effect of this provision, it is evident (1) that it does not *confer* the right to vote on any one; (2) that it distinctly recognizes the power of any State to deny or abridge the right to vote; and (3) that it does *not* condition the denial or abridgment of that right, as to those not male citizens of the United States, or for certain specific causes.

This analysis shows us that whatever this right to vote may be, it may be denied or abridged by any State, to any individual, or for any cause. Now the term "deny," in legal phrase, when applied to a right, means wholly to refuse to recognize that right, or to permit its exercise; and the term "abridge," in like manner, means to restrict or disadvantageously to condition the exercise of a right. In the event either of the denial or the abridgment of this particular right, unless such denial or abridgment be for the causes specified, the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment makes it the express duty of Congress to reduce the "basis of representation" in the State offending. And that is all it does. This brings us to the consideration of the question, What is the right to vote? Is it a right attaching to citizens of the United States, as such, merely because of that citizenship? Does it mean a right which a citizen of the United States has *to be made* a voter, or *to be allowed* to become a voter in any State on arriving at a certain age? Is there any such right inhering in one not an actual voter? The Constitution of a State declares, perhaps, that all male inhabitants twenty-one years old shall have the right to vote. Suppose it should substitute "forty" for "twenty-one," whose right to vote would be denied thereby? Evidently, every male inhabitant who was twenty-one years old, but less than forty, when the change went into effect, would lose an actually-vested right—a right with which the law had already clothed him. But would any male inhabitant under twenty-one years of age have lost any right to vote? Had he any right to vote? If he can be said to have any right touching the elective franchise at all, is it not merely the contingent right, that if he shall live to be twenty-one and comply with certain conditions, he shall be allowed to become a voter? But is this the right defined by the Fourteenth Amend-

ment? It says "the right to vote . . . of male inhabitants . . . *being* twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States." Is it a denial of the right of a male inhabitant twenty-one years of age, to say that one who is to-day only ten shall not become a voter at all; or is it an abridgment of the right of any "male inhabitant being twenty-one years of age," to say that a child yet unborn shall not vote until he is forty years old, or owns a thousand dollars' worth of property, or can read Greek?

We may, perhaps, gain some light upon this subject by recalling the fact, that before the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment it was the custom of the various States to contract, as well as to expand, the limits of the class having the right to vote therein, at will, both by direct denial of the right already admitted, declared, and exercised, and by indirect abridgment of such right. As instances of the former, it may be noted that in many of the southern States the free blacks, after having obtained and long exercised the right to vote, were expressly deprived of this right by State constitutional amendment. In other States, property or educational qualifications were added, by which those having theretofore a vested and undeniable right to vote were absolutely debarred thereafter from its exercise. In still other instances, this right was abridged by the imposition of new and onerous conditions, such as the payment of specific taxes, required as a condition precedent of the exercise of a right previously unconditioned. This exercise of power was wholly beyond the jurisdiction of any federal tribunal. The right to vote having been conferred on the individual by the law-making power of the State, its exercise, deprivation, and control were subject solely to the adjudication of the State courts, unless the right to inquire into this denial or abridgment of a lawfully-vested right were expressly conferred upon the federal government, as it is by this section.

The power to revoke this grant of right or onerously to condition it, was at all times a very dangerous thing to be left wholly in State control. If a majority in a State had the power to deprive a small minority of an already-vested right to vote, for any specific cause, it is difficult to see why they had not the power to debar the entire minority for any cause they might

see fit to allege. In other words, if they had a right to disfranchise actual voters for being poor, and other actual voters for being unlearned, there was no good reason why they should not disfranchise other actual voters for being colored, and still others for not owning real estate.

To illustrate: but for this provision of the Constitution of the United States, the State of North Carolina might now disfranchise the colored voters who were enfranchised by the Constitution of 1868, and who constitute 38 per cent. of her voting strength. She might then disfranchise all her white voters who cannot read and write, amounting to more than 25 per cent. of the *white* vote. A majority of those remaining would then be landowners, and they in turn might disfranchise all who were not landowners. After this an income limit might be fixed, and the controlling oligarchy still further reduced in number.

The qualifications for the exercise of the right to vote have been enhanced in many States by requiring voters to pay taxes within a certain time, as a condition precedent of the right they had before exercised without such condition. This was by action of a majority. The result was to disfranchise every voter who did not fulfill the new condition. These restricting conditions applied to an actually-vested right to vote, and were in flagrant violation of the principles of the common law, but were cognizable only by State tribunals. We say, an actually-vested right to vote, because, whatever may be the significance of this term in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, it cannot be doubted that a man who has once been legally authorized by the Constitution or laws of a State to vote, has a right to vote, if he shall see fit to exercise it; and this is a legally-vested right, which attaches to him personally, and which the principles of the common law ought to protect.

The power to deprive an individual voter of the right to vote, either by direct or indirect means, was, therefore, a dangerous one to be left in the hands of constituent States, since they might by its exercise seriously impair the relative power of individual voters in other States, in the control of the national government; or establish, as has been seen, an oligarchy within their own borders. This power became peculiarly and evidently serious on

account of the revolutionary tendencies manifested after 1868, and the repeated and continuous threats of disfranchisement of the Negro voter made throughout the southern States after his first authorization to exercise the right to vote, under the reconstruction acts. The whole purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment seems, therefore, to have been to restrict and limit the pre-existing powers of the several States in regard to the "rights of citizens of the United States," or to guard against the possible harmful effects of their action in relation to such actually-vested rights. The first section defines national citizenship; provides that no State shall by law abridge its "privileges or immunities," and that no State shall deny to any person the equal protection of the laws. As the right to vote is not, however, either a privilege or an immunity attaching to national citizenship, the second section provides that if this especial right, when the same shall attach to male citizens of the United States, twenty-one years old, shall be denied or abridged, "the basis of representation shall be reduced" in the offending State, in order to prevent an undue proportion of power in the national government being exercised by a limited number of its inhabitants. Sections 3 and 4 merely restrict the previous rights of States in regard to the qualification of their officials and representatives, and in regard to assuming or annulling certain financial obligations.

Until the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, therefore, any State had a right to enlarge or restrict, at will, the class having the right to vote, the only limitation being that, if this were done for other than specific reasons, Congress should reduce the basis of representation of such State. As to the meaning of the phrase, "right to vote," in the Fourteenth Amendment, it may be well to note that the permitted denials of that right for which no reduction of "the basis of representation" shall follow, apply *only* to individuals who have once been legally authorized actually to exercise the power of a voter, to wit, for engaging in rebellion and for conviction of a crime. Neither provision touches the minor, who has never been authorized to vote.

The Fifteenth Amendment goes a step further. It declares that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not

be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This Amendment was proposed in 1869 and adopted in 1870, a period during which that unprecedented epidemic of crime known as the reign of the Ku-Klux Klan was at its height, and the threat that the Negro should be deprived of the exercise of that right to vote conferred by the new State constitutions upon all who were twenty-one years of age, was a matter of daily iteration.

It will be seen that the right to vote is treated in both Amendments as a right which may attach to "citizens of the United States." Yet it is universally admitted that the right to vote is neither a natural right of the individual, nor a right inherently attaching to United States citizenship. Not one fifth of the citizens of the United States in any State ever possess that right, while in many States persons not citizens of the United States do possess it. So, too, it is evident that no part of the Constitution of the United States defines that right, or declares what citizens of the United States shall be entitled to exercise it in any State. A right that is neither a natural right, nor one inherent in the individual because of the relation of citizenship, must depend upon some grant of power to him as an individual, by some competent authority. Whence is this right derived? Evidently, from the action of the several States. Is the Fifteenth Amendment intended as a limitation of the power of the State to grant the right to vote, or a restriction of its power to revoke such grant when once made? If we accept the former view, it becomes a restriction upon the power to grant the right to persons not in being, as well as a restriction upon the power to take away a right already vested. There is no doubt that it is a restriction of the frequently-abused power of divestment; is it also a restriction of the power of investment?

Suppose a State should provide that, on and after a certain date, only *white* males should become voters on arriving at the age of twenty-one years. What then? Can it be said that a citizen of the United States who has never possessed the right to vote, has any right to vote which can be denied or abridged? Must not the right of a citizen attach before it can be either denied or abridged? If so, whence is such right of the minor citi-

zen of the United States who has never been entitled to cast a ballot, derived? How was it granted? What are its limits? Does this right apply to all citizens of the United States, or only to some of them? And if to some only, to what classes? Can the term, "the right to vote," be made to include the expectancy of a minor—be construed as the equivalent of a chance to become a voter?

It would have been competent for the Constitution to provide that neither the United States nor any State should make any distinction in conferring the right to vote on account of race, color, etc. But it did not do so. It treated the right to vote as a thing already fixed, created, vested—attaching *in presenti* to "citizens of the United States." But, it will be said, the purpose of the congressmen who supported this Amendment, of the legislators who ratified it, and of the people who willed it, was to provide that a colored man should, in every State and for all time, be entitled to become a voter upon the same terms and conditions as the white man. This is probably true, at least in part. But how shall a court ascertain the intent? From the words used in the legislation, or from extraneous declarations? Shall it declare that the Congress was affected with heterophemy, saying one thing and meaning another, but that the individual members were not so affected? Shall the court infer a construction plainly at odds with the legal intendment of the language, merely because there was a popular opinion that something more was being effected?

If the phrase, "the right of a citizen to vote," were vague or indefinite in its meaning, or if it were necessary, in order to give the Amendment any effect, to inquire what may have been the personal desire of its advocates, this would be the true method of ascertaining the intent—of construing the term. But, unfortunately, the phrase itself is not indefinite. It is so explicit that, when one considers the attendant circumstances, it seems almost impossible that any other construction should have been deemed possible. If the term, "right to vote," was ever held by any court, up to the time of the adoption of this Amendment, to mean anything more or less than the vested right of a duly-qualified voter, such fact has never been pointed out. It would seem well-

nigh impossible, even for the unprofessional mind, to declare that a citizen's right to vote means any right that a baby in the cradle *can* have. The baby is a citizen, indeed, but whether he will ever have a right to vote or not, depends on ten thousand possible haps and mishaps. Does the Constitution mean this vague, contingent happening, by the sharp, incisive, positive phrase, "the right of citizens of the United States to vote"? An appeal to individual purpose and contemporary construction might also be made, if it did not appear that a good, desirable, and useful purpose, quite in keeping with the ordinary legal use of the term, was to be effected by the Amendment, even as thus interpreted. But take the established legal and grammatical sense of the term, "the right of a citizen to vote"—not implying, that is, that a citizen has a right which he does not possess and may never be entitled to exercise—and the Amendment yet remains a remedial measure of vast importance, an evident restriction of State power, and a valuable assertion of individual right. It prevents any State from disfranchising, for the causes mentioned, an individual who has once been enfranchised. As to other causes, it leaves the matter of disfranchisement of the voter in the hands of the State, except that, as had already been provided in the Fourteenth Amendment, if voters are disfranchised for any cause whatever, save the two therein mentioned, the Congress "shall reduce the basis of representation therein."

Again, it should be remembered that the rule of construction adopted by our Supreme Court, which constitutes that tribunal a unique feature of our system of government, is that it will never strain the clear import of words to give federal jurisdiction; in other words, that the Constitution must be strictly construed as a grant of federal power; but when jurisdiction is once established over a subject-matter, it will be liberally construed as to the means by which the power shall be exercised. If the construction herein suggested be sustained, therefore, it follows that while any State has the right, so far as federal interference is concerned, to provide that only white inhabitants shall become voters at a certain age, Congress has very extensive power to provide remedies for the denial or abridgment of the right of those already entitled to exercise the right to vote, and the

same are within "the clearly-defined powers" to which the President in his recent message alludes. There is as little doubt that the present Congress has the power almost entirely to prevent the denial or abridgment of any citizen's right to vote in any State, as there is probability that it will exercise this power effectually.

The fact cannot be ignored that the Supreme Court of the United States has, at least incidentally, considered this question.* The construction of the Amendment, as to its scope at least, was not in that case a controverted point, and the discussion of it by the justices who prepared the opinions was, therefore, very largely *obiter*. The language of the usually clear and perspicacious Chief Justice Waite is singularly conflicting in the two definitions he incidentally attempts of the term, "right to vote." So far as the decision itself is concerned, it would not have been affected by the construction herein suggested. The writer admits, also, that the view now presented is one that has not been taken by juridical writers, and, so far as he is aware, is accepted only by some professional friends to whom he has submitted it.

It is quite unnecessary for the writer to state that the construction here indicated is by no means what he believes the Constitution should have provided. His views as to what ought to be, are too well known to require even the briefest mention. That this construction gives the true legal import of the Amendment, is not with him a new idea, or the result of brief study of the language or conditions. Twenty-one years ago, while the measure was pending before the Senate, he suggested the same construction in a letter to a member of that body. To his professional friends he has presented this view from time to time, more or less fully. A misapprehension by a recent commentator of the reasoning on which it is based, has made this fuller elaboration necessary. Unless some argument more conclusive than has yet been advanced, shall convince him that he has misconceived the legal force of the phrase, "the right to vote," he must abide in regretful confidence that when the precise point shall be presented to the court of last resort, it will be found im-

* Especially in *United States vs. Reese*, 214, 92 U.S.R.

possible to sustain the previous *dicta* of the learned justices as to the scope of this Amendment.

This belief has constituted one of the grounds of the writer's oft-expressed conviction of the failure of the nation to do plain and substantial justice to the colored race, which some even of the most liberally inclined have been accustomed to regard as extravagant. Sentiment, however, is not a guaranty of justice; and hasty and ill-considered legislation is not improved by mere individual intendment. Like the "enforcement act," designed to carry this Amendment into effect, it seems as if this provision had been shorn of half of its efficacy by a failure to study the legal effect of its terms.

The author submits these views in the hope that they may at least serve to stimulate the conscience of a people professing justice, to a fuller comprehension of the obligations resting upon them as the debtors of the most wronged race of which history gives us any knowledge; whose friends have been only less harmful through indifference and neglect, than their enemies by set purpose to subordinate and control. He is also inspired by the hope that future legislation intended for the benefit of this race may be subjected to the test of common sense as to its effects, and to the closest scrutiny of the terms employed as to legal intendment.

ALBION W. TOURGÉE.

WESTERN MORTGAGES.

THIS article relates generally to mortgages on real estate lying west of the Mississippi River, but particularly to such mortgages in Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado.

It is impossible to say how much has been invested in the West on real-estate securities, but the amount is enormous. Five mortgage companies at Topeka, Kansas, report that the loans made by them and still outstanding, amount to \$22,000,000. Of this sum, 90 per cent. has been invested in Kansas. Five companies at Kansas City report \$68,000,000 outstanding. This amount has been placed in a dozen western States.

What has been done with this vast borrowed capital? Labor has been employed. Thousands of villages, towns, and cities have been built. Thousands of miles of railroad have been constructed. Millions of acres of land have been subjected to private dominion, have become a part of the estimated wealth of the country, and have been set to producing what the world wants. Farm buildings of all sorts have been constructed, and farm machinery purchased. The cattle industry has been enormously developed. Mines have been opened. Churches and school houses have been erected. States have been founded. The growth which occupied a hundred years in the older States, has been here crowded into ten. The mortgage did this. The people were an industrious, hard-working, ambitious people. The money that has been loaned them has not been squandered. If the loans made to the West have been large, the increase in the wealth of the West has been astounding. The money advanced to the West is all there—represented by property, real and personal, which is rapidly giving back its increase. It is all there, engaged in producing wealth. Here, for example, is a table giving the assessed value of real and personal property in Kansas for various years:

Year.	Lands.	Personal.	Railroads.	Total.
1861,.....	.....	.....	.....	\$24,734,459
1870,.....	\$65,044,412	\$26,601,456	.....	91,645,868
1875,.....	89,843,775	19,422,637	\$12,277,932	121,544,344
1880,.....	108,101,123	31,921,836	20,547,802	160,570,761
1885,.....	161,291,641	56,502,133	30,367,817	248,161,591
1888,.....	243,586,772	56,641,263	52,829,664	353,057,699

To ascertain real values in Kansas, assessed values must be multiplied by four. Thus, in 1870, the total wealth of Kansas subject to taxation was \$366,583,472; in 1880, \$642,283,044; in 1888, \$1,412,230,796. This enormous increase in wealth is due in large part to mortgages, free public lands, and immigration.

The following table shows what this growth has been during the last decade. It exhibits separately the increase in city property and farm property, and in the number of acres of farm land subject to taxation in various years. It will be noticed that since 1880 the assessed value of farm lands has doubled, as has also the number of acres subject to taxation.

Year.	No. Acres Land.	Value Land.	Value Town Lots.	Value R.R. Property.
1880,...	22,386,435	\$87,510,028	\$20,922,021	\$20,547,802
1881,...	23,764,052	91,207,146	22,493,321	22,675,710
1882,...	24,926,553	96,741,025	26,203,733	25,091,980
1883,...	25,889,907	99,899,599	27,739,203	27,290,215
1884,...	27,710,981	117,325,342	34,836,990	28,460,905
1885,...	29,787,647	122,871,339	38,420,301	30,367,817
1886,...	33,481,024	142,668,463	46,967,260	32,453,776
1887,...	36,913,344	152,200,666	56,646,873	41,222,605
1888,...	40,743,796	168,558,547	73,862,136	52,829,664
1889,...	43,171,473	173,801,010	76,330,671	57,494,849

The western mortgage business was begun by individual brokers, who invested on their own judgment, based on personal knowledge of borrowers and securities. Their profit lay in the margin between the low interest capitalists would accept and the high interest borrowers would pay. Capitalists sent their money for investment, and mortgages were made to them directly, so that the brokers required no capital. The business of bringing borrower and lender together has always been profitable. The broker of the community becomes the capitalist

of the community. The western mortgage brokers have been no exception to the rule. One of them in Kansas has made nearly \$10,000,000 since 1870. The business developed rapidly. As increased capital has become necessary, individual brokers have given way to corporations. There are probably two hundred such corporations now operating in Nebraska and Kansas alone. While the individual broker confined his operations to his own and adjoining counties, the corporation took States for its field, established local agents, and adopted the plan of taking all mortgages in the company's name. Then the process of securing a loan would be about this: the borrower applies to the local agent, who requires him to fill out and sign and swear to the truthfulness of an "application," in which he sets forth the exact description of the property offered as security; how much of the land is under cultivation; when he bought the land and how much he paid for it; what improvements are upon it—fences, houses, barns, cribs, etc.; the cash value of the improvements; the present cash value of the land; the crops of the previous year and the current year; the rental value; the location of the land with reference to railroads, towns, schools, churches; the assessed valuation; the tax thereon; the cattle on the premises; the purpose for which the money is borrowed; the total valuation of the borrower's property, real and personal; the state of the title. In a word, he is made to give all the information which can be of any conceivable use in determining the value of the real and personal security offered. Then the local agent and two or more disinterested residents indorse on the application a sworn appraisement of the land. This application is sent to the company, and an agent from the home office is sent out to inspect and report. If his report is favorable, a bargain is struck as to rate of interest, which is usually the lowest rate that will float the security in the East at par; and as to the amount of the commission, which is the company's profit. As to the payment of the commission, various plans are in use. The most profitable method is this: out of the proceeds of the note and mortgage the negotiator receives all the expense of making the loan, and his commission. For many years this commission was enormous. The companies located at St. Paul, Omaha,

Des Moines, Kansas City, St. Joseph, Topeka, Denver, or Dallas, sometimes received as high as a fifteen-per-cent. commission on a five-year loan, and for many years the home company never received less than ten per cent. The local agent exacted all that he could above this amount. Another custom as to commission is to secure it by notes and a second mortgage. This commission is usually made payable in ten semi-annual installments. On default in the payment of one installment, the whole sum becomes due.

Embodied in the note or mortgage are all conceivable provisions for the protection of the lender. Interest is made payable semi-annually, and is represented by interest coupons that bear interest from maturity at the highest legal rate. The borrower assures the payment of the taxes, and agrees to keep the buildings insured for the benefit of the mortgagee. On default in the payment of interest or in the performance of any of the agreements of the note or mortgage, the lender may declare the whole amount of principal and interest immediately due. Such being the contract, other sources of profit besides the initial commission will immediately be perceived. The transaction may have such a history as this: the first interest coupon is paid; the second is defaulted. The company remits to the eastern investor, and then declares the whole debt due on account of the default. The borrower wishes to pay up and have the loan reinstated. The company then collects the amount of the defaulted interest, with interest compounded thereon at the highest legal rate, and a further commission, or bonus, for reinstating or renewing the loan. Or perhaps the company insists upon payment of principal and interest. In that case, the borrower borrows elsewhere; the company is paid in full; the amount is reinvested, earning another ten per cent. commission; and the new mortgage is sent to the investor and the old one canceled. The borrower who for any reason desires to pay off his mortgage before it is due, must do so on such terms as the company may prescribe. He cannot treat directly with the eastern owner of the mortgage, for he cannot ascertain who that owner is; the assignment from the company to the investor is not recorded. The borrower is usually allowed to anticipate his

obligation on payment of a bonus of two per cent. per annum for the unexpired time.

Of course it is not always to the interest of the company to take advantage of a default. The security may be so large as to cover principal and interest for the entire term of the mortgage. In such case, should taxes be unpaid, the company will either redeem in behalf of the owner, or buy at the tax sale for itself. In the former case, the amounts paid for taxes under the terms of the mortgage will bear the highest legal rate of interest. In the latter case, such amounts will, under some statutes, bear interest at the rate of 24 per cent.

If a foreclosure becomes necessary, the company secures it at the lowest possible cost—at a wholesale cost. In case of foreclosure, if it has not guaranteed the loan, the company is in this position: it can repay the debt and interest to the eastern investor, who is always ready to receive it, and itself take the land; or it can leave the land in the hands of the investor. This option, in case of non-guaranteed loans, has been made a source of considerable profit to some companies. Many companies, however, adopt the invariable rule of taking the land. The best and most conservative companies have made large profits by the sale of lands, by themselves taking title to all foreclosed tracts.

Various means have been adopted for negotiating these securities in the East. As stated above, the mortgage is sometimes made directly to the investor; sometimes to the company, and then assigned. In the latter case, it is sometimes assigned without guaranty, sometimes with a partial guaranty, and sometimes with a full guaranty. Of late, what is called the debenture system has been much in vogue. The company issues its own promises to pay, and secures them by assigning to a trustee bonds and mortgages whose par value somewhat exceeds the face value of its promises.

The eastern investor in western mortgages runs some risks. He must depend on the judgment and honor of others. The real estate covered by the mortgage he purchases may in the beginning be inadequate security. This may be by the deliberate fraud, or by the carelessness or bad judgment of the company. Deliberate fraud is rare. Still there are cases like this: the

owner of a quarter-section of land, having made final proof, is willing to sell. His price is \$500. The agent of some loan company comes to him and says: "We wish to purchase. We will give you your price on one condition. You will first execute to us a mortgage upon the premises for \$500, and then make a deed." This is done. The mortgage is sold in the East, without guaranty. The manager of the loan company has title to the land, subject to the mortgage, which he has not agreed to pay. He is thus in a position to profit by a rise in the value of the land without having invested a penny. This is called buying with a mortgage. Errors of judgment are not infrequent. This is especially true in making loans upon town or city property. "Booms" are started. Lots come to have a market value that is purely artificial—independent entirely of rental or productive value. It becomes, one may say, a matter of fashion to own lots, for instance, in Kansas City. A large number of investors get the idea that it will soon be a Chicago. The supply of lots being limited, it is obvious that prices will rise, regardless of rental value, and in proportion to the number of men who have become imbued with the Chicago idea. It requires extreme caution to make safe investments in the midst of such conditions. It is related that an old German contracted to sell his farm (which, it was supposed, was needed for city purposes) at an enormous figure, one half to be paid in cash and one half to be secured to his satisfaction. The cash and a mortgage upon the property sold were tendered, but promptly refused. The security was far from satisfactory. Caution of this sort is needed in making real-estate loans when the speculative fever is on. Farm lands fluctuate, of course, but not so much as city property. Speculative values will be given, however, to farm land at first in a new country, before experience has determined its real interest-earning value. This has been shown in many counties in eastern Kansas and Nebraska, where values are now lower than when settlement was first being made.

Again, the mortgage-loan company itself is constantly in danger of being imposed upon. Many local agents work on commission. Their earnings depend on their making loans, and the size of the commission depends upon the size of the loan.

This system is objectionable in many ways, even when checked by careful examinations from the home office. Many are the local agents of the stamp of that one who said to the president of the company he represented: "In this matter please understand that I am a rascal. I want to make loans. Take care of yourself." Local agents and examiners from the home office are sometimes bribed to overvalue the land. The sworn appraisal by householders resident in the county where the land lies, by no means secures in every case what it is meant to secure. The dishonest borrower always knows who in the community entertains the wildest notions about the future of his county or town, and this man makes the sworn appraisal; and there is a wide difference between the appraisal made by really honest men "for loan purposes," and the appraisal made by the same men in their actual buying and selling. Bad loans made and foreclosed, injure good securities by throwing upon the market properties to be sold below their real productive value.

The risk of the investor from failure of title is small. The titles are simple. With few exceptions, they may be traced directly from the federal government. Every investment company employs an attorney to examine titles to the properties that are to be pledged. Complex and difficult conveyances rarely appear in new countries, where land is cheap, and the western States generally have by statute simplified conveyancing as much as possible. Descriptions are simple and definite.

Many companies make loans upon land as soon as the government has issued its final receipt. While, of course, loans so placed are not so safe as they are where patents have been issued, yet the losses through them are insignificant. The only titles that are as a class doubtful, are titles of lands formerly held by the Indians. Some of these titles present difficult questions, not only of law, but of fact. All kinds of frauds have been practiced to induce such Indians as held lands in severalty to part with them. A man who was thoroughly acquainted with a certain Indian tribe, was appointed administrator of the estate of seventy-two *live* Indians, and, as such administrator, sold their lands to pay bogus claims. Questions of heirship among Indians are very difficult to determine. No one is familiar with the facts

except the Indians themselves, and there is rarely any difficulty in obtaining testimony tending to establish any relationship that one with a few dollars to spare may desire to establish. But lands derived from Indians are a very small fraction indeed of the total area under consideration. As yet, in most of the western States the laws are more favorable to the lender than they are in the eastern States, and courts are in the main fair.

Another risk that an eastern investor incurs, is the risk that a loan after it is made will be neglected. The interest must be collected, insurance policies must be renewed from time to time, the land must be protected from waste, and occasionally a foreclosure is necessary in order to secure the principal. All reputable companies, whether they have guaranteed their loans or not, undertake to do all this free of charge. This is an easy matter so long as people are prosperous, but in hard times it requires vigilance and perseverance.

An exceedingly large proportion of these mortgage investments, as compared with investments of like magnitude in other lines, is entirely safe; and this not alone because they have been made wisely, with reference to the present and evident facts and conditions of the business communities where they are made, but for other and more fundamental reasons. There are no more free lands fit for general agriculture. In June, 1880, the government still had 17,800,000 acres of arable land. In June, 1883, only 5,000,000 acres remained; and this has long since become private property.

It is clear that, in a general way, land fit for agriculture can no longer be had from the federal government. It seems to the writer that the prostration of the farming industry, and the low price of the older farm lands everywhere in the United States, are partly due to the fact that they have been competing, in a sense, with the practically free arable lands of the public domain. This competition has now ceased, and it appears reasonable to anticipate a substantial rise in the value of agricultural lands everywhere, and especially in the western States. This will be one substantial protection to western farm loans, whether they were wisely or unwisely made in the first instance.

The increase in the area under actual cultivation will go on

rapidly for many years. Western farming methods will be much improved. Many western farmers are now supported more by the natural goodness of the soil than by intelligently-directed industry. Western farms will not require fertilizing for a long time. They will continue, as now, to yield much larger returns than eastern farms, with the same outlay of labor and capital. They may fairly be expected to increase in value, while eastern farms will do well if they hold their own.

It is to be noted, further, that while the obligations of the West have increased very rapidly, its interest-paying capacity has also increased very rapidly. In 1880, Dakota's wheat crop was 2,830,289 bushels; in 1885 it had reached 38,166,413 bushels; in 1887, 62,553,449 bushels. The following figures show the Kansas corn product in bushels, by five-year periods, commencing with 1864 and ending last year:

Years.	Bushels.
1864-68,.....	32,575,675
1869-73,.....	142,509,000
1874-78,.....	371,628,825
1879-83,.....	629,677,425
1884-88,.....	752,336,062

According to the December report of the United States Department of Agriculture, just issued, it appears that the aggregate wheat, corn, and oats yield of the country is 3,354,877,000 bushels. The aggregate of these three cereals in Kansas was about 372,000,000 bushels, or one ninth of the total product.

The exact rate of increase in mortgage indebtedness cannot be ascertained, so that it is impossible to say whether interest-paying capacity is increasing *pari passu*. But it is known that the mortgage-holding in the West itself is rapidly increasing. Bits of information from here and there indicate also that, in the older portions of the new West, the mortgage indebtedness is steadily decreasing, or that assessed values are increasing much faster than mortgage indebtedness.

Of the loans recklessly made in uncertain regions, many have been, and will be, redeemed by newly-discovered productive powers, or newly-created demands. The wonders worked by irrigation in Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Cal-

ifornia; the constant process of adapting crops and soils, such as the growing of alfalfa where deep moisture is plenty, though the surface may be dry; the determination that sugar-making from both beets and cane can be successfully carried on in Kansas; the securing of deep water for Texas sea-ports; the increase of trade with southern countries; the growth of mineral industries in Colorado; and the natural increase of population, are examples of what is meant.

Some suggestions as to how investments in western mortgages may be safely made, will not be out of place in concluding this article. Certain eastern investors have already adopted the plan of hiring trustworthy salaried agents, to make and to take care of their loans. This plan is not practicable for the ordinary investor, who must depend largely on some trusted middle man. It is first in order, therefore, to select an honest and capable broker. Here and there may be found a private broker who has clear notions of duty toward his correspondents; who makes investments for others on his own judgment, based on personal knowledge; who is content with a fair profit for himself; and who can truthfully say that he has never lost a penny of his clients' money. When such a man can be found, he is a treasure. His honor is of a higher sort than the honor of most corporations; and, doing a business which is strictly under his own personal supervision, he is less likely to be imposed upon by dishonest borrowers. In judging of a loan company, a number of points should be kept in mind. What is its history, and how long has it been in existence? Are its methods of placing money the best? Does it do business in a safe territory? What is the standing of its officers and stockholders? Where do its officers and stockholders reside? Does it offer high rates? Does it give good reasons for offering high rates? Does it guaranty its loans? If so, is it because the loans are good, or because the guaranty is worthless? How is it regarded by the people among whom it makes its loans? Some of the foregoing hints may be enlarged upon. The investor must discriminate as to the territory in which the company does business. A company that loans in the arid belt is a more venturesome company than one that does not. A company whose officers and stockholders reside in

the East, is probably not doing as safe and careful a business as a company whose officers and stockholders reside in the territory where the investments are made. The offer of an unusually high rate of interest is *prima facie* evidence of poor security, but not conclusive. In new, comparatively unknown, and rapidly-developing countries, rates are often very high, and securities at the same time very good. The offer of a high rate, however, calls for an explanation. It must be kept in mind that, in a new country, where public land adapted to agriculture is being rapidly settled, unskilled laborers without capital, but with such opportunity to secure farms, can pay high rates of interest, at least for a few years, and still profit by the operation. Borrowers soon find out what companies make safe loans, and what companies make extravagant loans. If the investor can get some word from the people as to the character of a loan company, he will do well. The fact that a company is reputed to be fair and just in its dealings with the borrower, should recommend it to the investor.

Let it be remembered that, because the business has proven very profitable, many wild-cat companies have been formed within the past four or five years. Such companies, managed by irresponsible and inexperienced men, have invested much money. They are ready with their guaranties and they offer high rates, but there is no soundness in them. Tempted by high commissions, they have loaned largely in excess of the security, so that the settler who desired to go farther west, or to return to the East, could realize more money upon mortgage than upon sale. The wild-cat company runs a brief but pernicious course. It demoralizes borrowers, plunders investors, and seriously prejudices legitimate mortgage business.

The middle man being determined on, care should be taken in selecting among the securities that are offered. On the whole, it is a mistake to depend much on the guaranty. Select such obligations as are amply secured by real estate in the first instance. Let the real estate lie in a region the future of which is assured. Let it be improved real estate, so that if the mortgage be foreclosed, rentals can be collected. Look at the character of the borrower. Is he a citizen or is he a tramp? Is he

married or single? Is he young or old? Is he harassed by other debts? Is it probable that he will pay his interest?

It is a much-mooted question whether farm or town property offers the best security. It requires more skill to make town loans than country loans; but when town loans are properly made, they have some points of superiority over farm loans. However, taking the loans as they have been made, it is probable that there will be more loss on the former than on the latter. The chief trouble with farm loans, is that if the investor is obliged to take the land, he may not be able to sell readily; and good tenant farmers are very rare in the West. In spite of the mortgaging and the foreclosing that has been going on for twenty years, the West is a land of small farmers still.

The universal practice of loan companies has been to sell land bought on foreclosure sale as soon as enough is offered to repay debt, interest, and costs, with a reasonable profit. The oldest of these companies hold but little land to-day. There is no perceptible increase of large holdings of land; rather the reverse. The large holdings do not pay. It takes much efficient cheap labor—if cheap labor ever is efficient—to make large holdings pay; and cheap labor is not abundant in the new West.

In eastern Nebraska and Kansas, and western Iowa and Missouri, there were more large farms twenty years ago than there are to-day. There appears to be nothing in the new West to justify what has been said about the decline of the small farmer. It is the big farmer that has declined. It may be said, almost without qualification, that all industrious and capable and honest farmers in the West till their own farms. What few tenant farmers there are, are lazy, dishonest, and incapable, as a class. The eastern investor who has to take a farm on foreclosure, often finds it difficult to have his land properly cared for and kept productive. Good town property is more easily rented and cared for than farm property. Good town property means well-located residence or business buildings in prosperous towns. The most dangerous of all securities are lots in small towns and lots adjoining cities.

The chief objection to what is called the debenture system is that companies are likely to secure their debentures by a poorer

class of mortgages. The trustee never vouches for the character of the securities upon which debenture bonds are based. He only certifies the face value. Bad securities taken for large commissions are likely therefore to be put into the hands of the debenture trustee. There is nobody to inspect or to criticise. Another objection is that the investor under the debenture system is without speedy remedy. He is part of a series. He cannot move independently. The advantages of the debenture system are that the investor is not compelled to stand or fall with one mortgage or one piece of real estate. Each debenture bond is, in a sense, insured by all the rest of the series. The debenture, too, is an absolute guaranty by the mortgage company.

The western mortgage business is the outgrowth of unprecedented economic conditions. Within a brief period, an unusual amount of capital has been devoted—not directly but indirectly, by way of mortgage loans—to the development of a vast area of agricultural country. The amount of capital advanced has been great, but not out of proportion to the results achieved. The purpose was legitimate, and not of the nature of a South Sea Bubble. Great advantages have resulted to the settlers, the brokers, and thus far to the capitalists. Losses to capitalists have been small, compared with losses in other lines of investment. Present conditions and future prospects seem to justify caution, but not alarm.

JAMES WILLIS GLEED.

THE PRACTICE OF VIVISECTION.

EVERY little while an article appears in the daily press telling of some discovery or some advance in medical science that, it is claimed, is due to some experiment upon animals. An answer showing the fallacy of the claim is addressed to the editor of the journal in which the article appeared, with a request that he allow it to be published in his paper. He declines to do so, and takes care to make no allusion to the fact that any answer has been received; consequently the assertion of the writer of the article goes unchallenged, and the public is deluded into the belief that great benefits are derived from vivisection. If we who hold the opposite view could but be heard, we have no doubt that we could before long make a revolution in public opinion upon this subject. That revolution is already beginning in England, where there is a law restricting vivisection, and where such eminent and estimable men as the late Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Mount Temple, Lord Coleridge, Cardinal Manning, the Archbishop of Tuam, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, the poets Robert Browning and Alfred Tennyson, and a number of the bishops, all are, or were while they lived, members of the society that has for its aim the total abolition of vivisectional experiments upon animals. The anti-vivisection movement has not made so much advance in this country, but that is to be attributed to the fact of of which I have just spoken—that we are not allowed to show the American people what vivisection really is. We are not disposed to admit that our country-men are less humane than their English brethren; but they have not yet had an opportunity to hear both sides of the question.

An article having lately appeared in one of our best and most widely-circulated periodicals, on the recent progress of surgery, in which the writer, W. W. Keen, M.D., attributes that progress in a great degree to experiments upon animals, I propose to show, by citation of some of the highest authorities upon the subject,

how mistaken are his views and how preposterous his claims. When we began this controversy, some eight years ago, we were met by our opponents with an astonishing enumeration of immense benefits gained for the human race through experiments upon animals. "How can you," they said, "object to vivisection, when to it we are indebted for the discovery of the circulation of the blood, of the double function of the spinal nerves, of the treatment of popliteal aneurism, of vaccination, and of the anæsthetic properties of ether and chloroform?" When it was shown that not one of these discoveries was due to experiments upon animals, they were forced to quit the field for the nonce; but rallying under new banners, on which are inscribed Pasteurism, Listerism, ovariectomy, brain localization, microbe theory, etc., they seem prepared to do battle again on new ground.

In regard to the discoveries of Harvey and Sir Charles Bell, it is from their own words we learn that experiments upon animals had nothing to do with the matter. Says Robert Boyle:

"I remember that when I asked our famous Harvey, in the only discourse I had with him (which was but a little while before he died), what were the things that induced him to think of a circulation of the blood, he assured me that when he took notice that the valves in the veins of so many parts of the body were so placed that they gave free passage to the blood toward the heart, but opposed the passage of the blood the contrary way, he was incited to think that so provident a cause as Nature had not placed so many valves without a design, and no design seemed more probable than that, since the blood could not, because of the interposing valves, be sent by the veins to the limbs, it should be sent through the arteries, and should return through the veins, whose valves did not oppose the course that way."

So this discovery was the result of the study of anatomy. In the same way, Sir Charles Bell, when speaking of what he had ascertained of the action of the motor and sensory nerves, says:

"In a foreign review of my former papers, the results have been considered as in favor of experimenting on living animals. They are, on the contrary, deductions from anatomy; and I have had recourse to experiments, not to form my opinions, but to impress them upon others. It must be my apology that my utmost powers of persuasion were lost while I urged my statements on the ground of anatomy alone." *

With regard to the cure of popliteal aneurism, it was claimed

* "On the Nervous System."

at first that it was the result of Hunter's experiments upon a stag; but it has been clearly proved that the method of treating aneurism employed by Hunter, viz., tying the artery above the aneurismal sac, had been practiced before Hunter was born, so that it could hardly have been discovered by him from the vivisection of a stag.*

The claim that the discovery of vaccination had anything to do with experiments upon animals, is quite as easily disposed of. It is now well known that it was the result of observation on the part of Dr. Jenner. He observed that many of the people in the dairy districts of Gloucester enjoyed a remarkable immunity from small pox. On investigation, he observed that cows had occasionally a pustular eruption on the udder, that those who milked them contracted similar pustular disease on their hands, and that such persons were proof against the contagion of small pox. These observed facts formed the basis of that discovery, which has been of such incalculable benefit to the human race.†

Anæsthetics also were discovered, not by experiments upon animals, but upon human beings. The use of chloroform was the result of a trial made by Sir James Simpson upon himself; and the value of ether as an anæsthetic was found out by experiments made upon himself, by Dr. Morton, an American dentist.

Let us now turn to some of the later claims to benefits arising from vivisection. Dr. Keen maintains that great advances in surgery have resulted from the experiments made within the last ten years, and says: "Had vivisection done nothing else than this, it would be amply justified."

He claims that the most marvelous advances have been made in the treatment of diseases of the abdomen and head. Let us see how much this treatment has had to do with experiments upon animals. The most common surgical operations on any of the organs of the abdomen, are those connected with the ovaries, and this branch of treatment is called ovariectomy. That its discovery has nothing to do with vivisection, is evident from a work by Sir Spencer Wells (one of the most eminent of the English surgeons

* Mr. Edwin Adams's "Physiological Fallacies," chapter xviii. Sir Wm. Fergusson's testimony before the Royal Commission.

† Dr. Macaulay's "Prize Essay on Vivisection."

of the present century and a celebrated ovariologist), published in 1872, in which he described the rise and progress of ovariectomy, tracing it as far back as the "*Deipnosophistæ*" of Athenæus, and thence down through the centuries till the year 1808, when McDowell, the American surgeon, for the first time performed the operation successfully. In this long history vivisectional experiments are not mentioned in any way, until chapter xv., where, in remarking upon the treatment of the "pedicle" of the excised tumor, he refers to some German vivisections performed upon rabbits; and this is Sir Spencer Wells's comment thereupon:

"If we could hope in human patients for the same series of changes as have been observed in healthy dogs and rabbits, we might agree more completely with the conclusions of the German experimenters; but it is one thing to remove this or that portion of intestine from a dog or a rabbit, and a very different thing to remove a large internal tumor from a human patient whose general health has been more or less affected by its growth."

Some years afterward, Sir Spencer Wells claimed that he had learned something from experiments upon animals, viz., the including of the peritoneum in the stitches by which the abdomen is closed after the operation; but this was of little use when applied to human beings, on account of their susceptibility to peritonitis, a disease from which animals rarely suffer.*

Now with regard to the so-called discovery of the successful treatment of diseases of the brain upon the theory of brain localization adopted by Professor Ferrier, in consequence of his experiments upon monkeys, I would say that in no department of the animal economy is it so difficult to arrive at any certain inferences as in the brain. The seat of human or animal intelligence, the receptacle of the divine spark, is of most delicate construction, and the obstacles it presents to those who would inquire into its mysteries are well-nigh insurmountable. Consequently, all the investigators who have made the brains of monkeys and dogs the object of their experiments—Hitzig, Fritsch, Munk, Ferrier, Goltz, Schiff, Soltmann, Nothnagel, Carville, Duret, and several others—all contradict one another.

If I were to mention all the instances I could adduce to prove

* "Physiological Fallacies."

this statement, instead of an essay, I should have to write volumes. I will cite one extract from the third lecture of Professor Munk, my reason for so doing being to show the public how little confidence can be placed in the theories or deductions of Professor Ferrier, from whose experiments Dr. Keen claims that we have gained so much. Prof. Munk writes:

“All these statements, and what depended on them, as to the character of the disturbances induced by the operations, and recovery from them, were, as I said before, worthless, capricious interpretations of the phenomena, for the animals were examined by Professor Ferrier in a quite inadequate manner, and scarcely at all except at the time of general depression of the functions of the brain. If I had gone too far in making this declaration, when I had only glanced through Ferrier's work, I should at once have repaired the wrong. But, instead of that, as the experiments have turned out, I said rather too little to you then, for Ferrier had not been lucky enough in his guesses to hit the mark even once, and all his statements have proved themselves false.”*

Is it any wonder, after this, that the operation made on the basis of Ferrier's investigations was a failure? Dr. Keen announces that the surgeon, Mr. Goodlee, opened the head of the patient in the London Hospital for epilepsy and paralysis, and removed the tumor from the exact spot in the brain where Dr. Bennett had stated in his diagnosis that it was situated. In this he differs essentially from the London “Lancet,” his own authority, which announces that Mr. Goodlee did not find the tumor at the spot indicated. In its issue of November 29, 1884, that journal says:

“The tumor was diagnosed as lying in the upper part of the fissure of Rolando, but was subsequently found under the gray matter of the ascending frontal convolution”

—the one place being separated from the other by at least the whole breadth of the anterior ascending parietal convolution.

I will say in passing that I should think it would touch a heart of stone, to read of the torturing of the poor mutilated monkeys on which these experiments have been performed by Ferrier and others. Having lost the power of calculating distances, they fall helplessly to the ground from tables or chairs, and when they

* “*Die Functionen der Grosshirnrinde*,” quoted by Mr. Edwin Adams in “Physiological Fallacies.”

move about the floor, they strike violently against the walls, or against objects in their way. They are then averse to moving, and remain passive until forced by their persecutors, with blows and torture, to walk around, when they again strike against the walls. What inhumanity, to deprive a creature of its brain, and then to beat it because it is unable to perform the functions that it can discharge only through that organ!

So much for the diseases of the abdomen and brain, and for our debt to vivisection in regard to their treatment. Another operation mentioned by Dr. Keen, is the removal of gall stones by opening the gall bladder. To show how little we owe to vivisection on this account, I will quote from Lawson Tait, F.R.C.S., in his speech made at the annual meeting of the Anti-vivisection Society in London, June 12, 1885. He says:

“Now within the last seven or eight years, we have been compelled by the desire that we all have to advance the profession that we practice, and our means of relieving suffering, to resort to certain new devices, which, curiously enough, are of very old date. It is now nearly 150 years since a very eminent French surgeon, looking at the appearance of a body on the *post-mortem* table, the patient having died from the disease known as gall stones, said: ‘Why are not these gall stones removed by surgical operation?’ And he, without any vivisection, gave us the details by which this operation could be successfully performed. I think this was in 1746 or thereabouts. Now in the profession of medicine, as in every other phase of human life—because I fancy that doctors are neither much better nor worse than their neighbors—we are eminently conservative; and although this brilliant idea was given to us in the middle of the 18th century, it was not until the year 1878 that it was put in practice. It was put in practice in all its details by the late Dr. Marion Sims, as completely as it was described by its originator; but not till then, so slowly do we move in medicine, as in other things.”

Mr. Tait goes on to say how many times he himself has performed the operation, and with what invariable success; and then cites this very operation as an instance of the different results which are produced by the same cause upon men and animals, and consequently of the misleading nature of vivisectional experiments. He says that the operation is precisely the same as that performed by Professor Rutherford, of Edinburgh, in his celebrated experiments upon dogs, viz., establishing a biliary fistula. In the case of the dogs the mortality is about 50 per cent., while in that of human beings it is nothing, death never having resulted from

it but once, and then the operation was not performed under proper conditions. His own words are:

"Now I want to show that the conditions in dogs and the conditions in humanity are, from some reason which I cannot pretend to explain, so altogether different, that you cannot perform this operation (I do not suppose I could myself) upon dogs without a very heavy mortality, while the human mortality has not yet appeared."

It must be borne in mind that this surgeon, Lawson Tait, the first ovariologist in the world, and one whom Dr. Keen freely quotes, has come out strongly for the total abolition of vivisection, and is one of the active members of the English society.

In view of all these facts and of many others that I could state, I maintain that surgery has not been materially benefited by vivisectional experiments, either during the last ten years or the last ten hundred, and that its progress is in no way owing to that cause. It is very easy to account for this progress by other means. All the sciences and all branches of learning are advancing; why should not surgery advance as well as the rest? Let me cite the views of some of the most eminent modern surgeons. Sir Charles Bell, of whom I have before spoken, says:

"Experiments have never been the means of discovery, and a survey of what has been attempted of late years will prove that the opening of living animals has done more to perpetuate error than to enforce the just views taken from anatomy and the natural sciences." *

Sir William Fergusson, one of the most noted of the English surgeons of the present day, said in his evidence before the Royal Commission:

"I may perhaps speak more confidently regarding surgery than other departments in my own profession, and in surgery I am not aware of any of these experiments on the lower animals having led to the mitigation of pain or to improvement as regards surgical details."

Later on in his examination he said:

"I have thought over it [this subject] again and again, and have not been able to come to a conclusion in my own mind that there is any single operation in surgery that has been initiated by the performance of something like it on the lower animals. I cannot myself understand these experiments as a surgeon. I do not see of what value they can be, at all."

Lawson Tait, in a letter to the Birmingham "Daily Post" of December 12, 1881, writes:

* "On the Nervous System."

"Like every member of my profession, I was brought up in the belief that by vivisection had been obtained almost every important fact in physiology, and that many of our most valued means of saving life and diminishing suffering had resulted from experiments on the lower animals. I now know that nothing of the sort is true concerning the art of surgery; and not only do I not believe that vivisection has helped the surgeon one bit, but I know that it has often led him astray."

Dr. Henry J. Bigelow, who stands at the very head of American surgeons, in an address delivered at Harvard College some years ago, before the Massachusetts Medical Society, says:

"How few facts of immediate considerable value to our race have of late years been extorted from the dreadful sufferings of dumb animals, the cold-blooded cruelties now more and more practiced under the authority of science."

Here we have the opinions of four of the greatest surgeons of modern times; and I might also quote Mr. G. Macilwain, F.R.C.S., a successful surgeon and a pupil of Abernethy, who when the subject of vivisection was being investigated by the Royal Commission, offered to prove that experiments on living animals were not only useless and hindered more philosophical modes of research, but that they have been misleading and therefore productive of great practical mischief in the practice of surgery. The opportunity was not afforded him then, but he has since written a book, from which, had I the space, I would quote some instances of the mistakes to which vivisectional experiments have given rise, and of the consequent injury to the human race. Lawson Tait, in the same letter to the Birmingham "Daily Post" to which I have already referred, relates a somewhat similar experience. He says:

"Very many years ago, at the request of my master, the late Sir James Simpson, I undertook a series of experiments on the lower animals, to determine a doubtful question in the method of closure of arteries after surgical operations. His restless genius had incited him to efforts for the improvement of our means of arresting hemorrhage, and he introduced what he termed 'acupressure,' to replace the ligature. My experiments were conducted under the advice and guidance of one of the most eminent physiologists, still alive. The poor animals, chiefly dogs, were operated upon under chloroform and were spared as much suffering as possible. But of course they suffered, and I have often thought of those poor dogs with bitter regret. The conclusions of the experiments seemed absolutely perfect, and my observations were quoted far and wide, were translated into for-

eign languages, and everything looked as if 'acupressure' was to reform the art of surgery. It did not ; it speedily died out, and has been, I think, almost forgotten. The explanation of this lay in the simple fact that the closure of a dog's artery is altogether a different process from that seen in the human vessel, and my experiments were not only needless, but they were absolutely misleading. Simpson's inquiry, as we all know now, was altogether in the wrong direction, and the perfection to which this part of our art has been brought, has not been obtained by the aid of vivisection, but actually in spite of it. Here, then, is the great difficulty, an *a priori* one, but so far as I can see, absolutely insurmountable. If we cannot apply the facts observed in so simple a matter as the closure of an artery, from the dog to man, how can we, in reason, apply facts from the same sources, in so difficult and complicated a subject as the action of the brain?"

The outcome of these experiments shows how little we can rely upon observations made by means of vivisection. If experiments could be tried upon human beings, the results might be very valuable; but when they are performed upon animals, all deductions are liable to prove erroneous, owing to the difference in construction between men and the lower orders of creation.

Another fact that speaks volumes, is the action of the Royal College of Surgeons in London a year or two ago. The president, vice-president, and council of this college had received a memorial from the anti-vivisectionists of England, a few months before, urging them not to allow the new institution that was about to be built with the bequest of the late Sir Erasmus Wilson, to be used for experiments upon animals; but no decisive action was taken until the following winter. A meeting of the council of the college was then held, and the "British Medical Journal" of December 5, 1888, said:

"The Museum committee recommended that in reply to applications for permission to make use of the college workrooms, the applicants be informed that the council are not in a position to permit any investigations that involve experiments on living animals, nor the retention of living animals on the college premises; nor can they defray any expenses incurred in connection with such experiments made elsewhere."

Is it likely that this action would have been taken if surgeons generally had been impressed with the great value to their profession of vivisectional experiments?

Our opponents are in the habit of speaking of the terrible suffering caused by these experiments as trifling, or else they

ignore it altogether, and never use the word pain, except to say, as does Dr. Keen, that in certain experiments there was no pain of any consequence. When there is intense, excruciating pain, as there must be in many of the investigations to which I have alluded, and in many others that I must forbear to describe lest I hurt the reader's sensibility, they take care never to allude to it at all; such, at least, appears to me to be their general practice.

One vivisector, I am glad to say, has had the candor to come out boldly and speak the truth. Dr. F. Borel, a French physician, happening to be in London last summer, and to read Mr. Pasteur's letter in which he denied the charge that he inflicted torture on any animal, wrote the following letter to the "Pall Mall Gazette," which appeared in that paper on the 5th of last August:

"Will you permit a vivisector, past and present—and future, if it were necessary for the good of science and mankind—to tell those good people who believe seriously that the animals experimented on by Mr. Pasteur do not suffer, that they are deceiving themselves. My personal experience of fifteen years' practice gives me the right formally to deny that. I have vivisected birds, horses, frogs, rabbits, monkeys, and, above all, dogs; and I can affirm three things: 1. That it is nearly completely impossible to employ anæsthetics upon them so as to render them insensible; as, for example, ether, chloroform, chloral, opium (morphine, codeine), cannabis indica (haschich), etc. 2. That the sufferings of the animals are so great after the experiments that they are altogether stupefied. The most ferocious dogs allow themselves to be used, later on, with the indifference of a sheep. One must not absolutely confound their tranquillity with the relief given to a man after a necessary surgical operation, but as the apathy and indifference of a martyr. . . . 3. The employment of curare, far from diminishing sensibility, augments it exceedingly; more than that, the use of it necessitates tracheotomy beforehand to make them respire artificially, because the curare totally paralyzes all voluntary movement, and they would otherwise suffocate. Any one who is accustomed to a laboratory, to physiological, or to pathological experiments, knows that animals suffer when vivisected, and greatly, until death comes to deliver them."

In this paper I have not spoken of the objections to vivisection on moral grounds. I have not alluded to what I consider the strongest arguments on our side, viz., the impossibility of defending it morally any more than we can defend the torture of human beings in the middle ages, for purposes which at that time were often considered good and legitimate; and the demoraliza-

tion and hardening of character which is its almost invariable effect upon those who practice it. I have endeavored to confine myself to the one issue, whether it is true that it has been the means of advancing surgery. That it has not done so, I trust that I have been able to prove to the satisfaction of my readers. That there is at least great doubt upon the subject, must be evident to every unprejudiced person. Should not the poor animals then have the benefit of the doubt? In view of what I have stated, though it is not a hundredth part of what could be said against this most atrocious practice of vivisection, can it be possible that any citizen of the United States would give or bequeath his money for the purpose of founding what is euphemistically called a "physiological laboratory," but what is, in plain English, a torture chamber for the helpless animals that Almighty God has placed under our charge? Rather do I believe that every one of my humane fellow countrymen, even assuming that vivisection has been the means of gaining some knowledge, would exclaim with Dr. Bigelow, the great surgeon of whom I have spoken: "Better that I or my friend should die, than protract existence through accumulated years of torture upon animals, whose exquisite suffering we cannot fail to infer, even though they may have neither voice nor feature to express it."

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THE DEGRADATION OF OUR POLITICS.

UNDER the early presidents, appointments to office were made in the true spirit of the Constitution. A certain service was to be performed in the interest of the public, and a man possessing the requisite capacity and tried character was looked for to perform it. Appointment as a reward of partisan service, and removal as a punishment for difference of political opinion, were unknown. In the first division of parties, the strength was with the Federalists, and George Washington, their candidate, was elevated to the presidential chair. But George Washington was first of all a patriot, and only in the second place a Federalist; and his earliest executive act was to appoint to the leading place in his cabinet his most conspicuous political opponent, since known as the father of American Democracy, Thomas Jefferson; while Alexander Hamilton, the champion of the party which had just triumphed in his own election, was assigned to a lower seat at the same council board. And in this large and liberal and magnanimous spirit were made all the appointments to office during the administration of that great man. If under his earlier successors the same noble magnanimity was not the invariable rule, there was at least no large departure from it for more than thirty years. There came a time at length, however, when the chair of state was filled by a man who chose to make himself the chief of a party and not of the country, or, rather, in whose view no country ex-

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isted except the party supporting him. Under the iron rule inaugurated by this energetic chief, every incumbent of a federal office, no matter how insignificant, who was presumed not to have been favorable to the revolution which brought the new dynasty into power, was unceremoniously ejected from the public service; and in filling the multitude of places thus vacated, the qualifications demanded were no longer honesty, competency, and fidelity to the Constitution, but, instead of these, activity and zeal in the service of the party and devotion to the party chief.

From that time to the present, the character of the civil service of the country has been steadily falling lower and lower. Among the servants of the public, the public interest is the last thing thought of. Rather, on the other hand, the public treasure is regarded by those into whose hands it has fallen not otherwise than as the merchandise of a rich caravan is regarded by the Bedouins of the desert—a legitimate booty, to be seized with favoring opportunity and divided among the members of the successful band. Not even in the beginning was any attempt made to conceal the mercenary character of the new system. It was even defended as a just system in the highest legislative council of the nation, by a very prominent leader of the party which first profited by it, whose pithy enunciation of its fundamental principle will never pass from the memory of man—"To the victors belong the spoils." But it is no longer the system of a particular party. It has become the recognized system of all parties, until the continually-recurring political struggles by which the country is agitated have ceased to be contests over great questions of constitutional law or governmental policy, but have degenerated into discreditable squabbles to determine which of two bodies of political cormorants, both equally unworthy, shall be permitted to prey upon the public. Under its operation the very character of our government has been changed.

This violation of the spirit of the Constitution in prostituting the power of appointment to be an instrument of reward and punishment, originated, as we have seen, in the will of a single man, strong enough in an abnormal popularity to force his own measures upon the country in spite of a hostile legislature, and to convert the government for a time into a practical despotism. He

was accustomed indeed to speak of the government as "my government," and of himself as one "born to command"; and had he been asked to define the state, would, probably, like Louis XIV., have answered, *L'état c'est moi*. But his imperial mantle fell upon a successor fashioned in a far inferior mold and infinitely less daring in temper, who, though not suited to the bold role of an avowed dictator, was possessed of an astuteness which amply compensated for this defect. It was his boast to tread in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor, and in some respects he certainly improved upon the example his predecessor had set him. To him is believed to have been due an important discovery, if not in the science of political economy, at least in the economy of scientific politics—that the power of governmental patronage may be indefinitely increased by the ingenious expedient of employing middle men in its dispensation. The middle man, who must be a man worth buying, is bought by the privilege of bestowing the benefaction; the final recipient is bought by the benefaction itself. The men most worth buying by this participation in the power of appointment are naturally to be found, and they were found, among the members of the legislative body; and by firmly attaching a sufficient number of these, in interest as well as in sympathy, to the recognized head of the party in power, there was secured to the executive the incalculable advantage of a never-failing and indiscriminate support, in that body, of all his measures. The system thus introduced speedily and effectually took root, and has since become the established system of American politics. No matter what party is in power, it is always practiced. But it has wrought, in the experience of years, a consequence which the inventor certainly never anticipated; for the privilege which the middle men at first received with thankfulness, they now, in virtue of a long-undisturbed possession, boldly demand as a right. The spoils of victory are claimed as the common property of the victorious band; the right of the chief to control its distribution is set at defiance; and thus the executive, with which the system originated, has been shorn by it of the power to name its own subordinates, and the government of the Constitution has practically ceased to exist.

In its place has grown up something which admits of no classification among systems of government, ancient or modern. Republican in form, as nominally representative, it is yet not a republic; for its representatives, though chosen by the people, are not the people's choice. Democratic in methods, as seemingly resting on universal suffrage, it is yet not a democracy; for the periodical appeal to the popular voice is a ceremony as empty and unreal as a *plébiscite* under the Second Empire. Though the government of a class, it is not an aristocracy; for it is largely composed of elements least of all deserving of respect. And though the government of a few, it is not an oligarchy *de jure*, though it is such *de facto*; for it exists by no recognized right, and its existence is not even confessed. The imperfection of language has necessitated the invention of a new form of words to describe it; and this has been supplied, by those most familiar with its workings, in the felicitous expression, "machine government." No phrase could have been better chosen. A machine is a contrivance in which numerous separate elements are combined for the effective application of force to a determinate object. Such is the political machine. It is composed of a class of men who make politics a profession, and whose ruling aim in life is to make their profession profitable. In order to do this, it is necessary to secure the possession of all places of trust and emolument under the government to men of their own class. And in order to this again, it is further necessary that the people shall be deprived of the option to choose other men. The effectiveness of the machine is most strikingly illustrated in the thoroughness with which this object is accomplished. So long as forms of popular election are maintained, party divisions among the people are, of course, inevitable. And it is as true of parties as of armies, that without organization, unity of purpose, and concert of action, there can be no success. To control the party organization is therefore the aim of the professed politician, and experience has shown that this is comparatively easy. The process is a curious combination of fraud and farce.

The first step in it, is what is known as "engineering the primaries." The primaries are in theory assemblies of the sover-

eign people. Their province is to select delegates to a representative convention, having for its function to set forth publicly the principles for which the party ostensibly contends and to name its standard-bearers. The primaries are easily engineered. Their business is carefully prepared for them in advance, even to the designation of their own officers. At the appointed hour, the captains of tens and the captains of fifties are prompt in attendance; a machine politician is called to the chair by a vote without a count; a machine politician proposes the nominees; the nominations are declared to be adopted; and the engineering of the primary is complete. The management of the convention is almost equally simple. Being made up of machine politicians, it knows very well what it has to do, and it does it. The really important part of its work has been prepared for it in anticipation of its meeting by a process conducted in secret, known among machine politicians as "making up a slate." In general, the slate, after the observance of certain decorous formalities, is duly ratified; but occasionally, as there will now and then be factions within factions, the slate may be broken, and a new one produced—a result, however, of no importance to the country, since it is perfectly understood that the winning party in any case shall have the use of the machine. The portion of the work of the convention which is designed for popular effect, is the declaration of principles, technically called a "platform." This is a beautiful piece of composition, glowing in every line with patriotic and virtuous sentiment, setting forth with earnest emphasis a variety of indisputable propositions, and embellished with a choice selection of those glittering generalities which sound so well and, when we think of it, seem to mean so little. These may be varied from time to time according to circumstances; but there are one or two specifications which, as being always in place and particularly well-sounding, are quite indispensable to any properly-constructed platform. These are, first, a peremptory demand for the retrenchment of the public expenditure; and, secondly, a proper denunciation of the ungrateful miscreants who would rob our brave soldiers and sailors of their well-merited pensions. The platform being duly promulgated, the work of the convention is done.

In the meantime, the opposing party has been going through with a performance entirely similar; and the result is that the simple citizen, or the "man outside of politics," has no alternative but to stay outside altogether, or to choose the machine with which he will run. There remains, of course, the expedient of independent action; but such action is only labor wasted, unless it be so wisely concerted, so thoroughly organized, and so energetically prosecuted as to become powerful enough to break both machines. It must be attempted, if at all, under enormous disadvantages. The advantage of experience is against it; it must oppose raw volunteers to disciplined and veteran troops. The advantage of position is against it; one of the parties is already in possession of the government. The advantage of instrumentalities is against it; the custom house, the post office, the internal-revenue bureau, the land office, and all the other ramifications of the civil service, are so many engines in the hands of the enemy. And, finally, the advantage of access to the public ear is against it; for the periodical press is largely either subsidized by existing parties or in sympathy with them.

In certain party exigencies it is sometimes found to be a stroke of good policy to elevate a man to high position who is not a professional politician. We have seen such a man made even president; and we have seen him in taking office avow his deep sense of the wrongfulness of the existing state of things, and his determination to effect a radical reform. The people outside of politics—that is to say, the great mass of the people—looked on with delighted satisfaction; the more so as the politicians affected to catch the glow of their chief's enthusiasm, and prepared in their very next platform a conspicuous plank inscribed "Civil-service Reform," in large letters. There was nothing surprising in this. The professional politician always favors the thing that is good, only he never does it unless it is good for himself. On this occasion, after throwing the civil-service tub to the great public whale, he simply let it severely alone, and it soon drifted out of sight. The President, disgusted with the ill success of his project, abandoned further effort, and let the machine grind on as before.

When the corrupt use of the public patronage for party ends

first began to be practiced, it was not regarded as necessarily involving, in those who employed it or in those who were benefited by it, any personal dishonesty or lack of integrity. Personal morality and political morality were esteemed to be two quite different things. But the practice is intrinsically and essentially dishonest, and no man can participate in it without shortly losing sight of all the ordinary distinctions between right and wrong. The man who sought office for the emolument it brought, rather than for the honorable functions with which it clothed him, would hardly hesitate to use the opportunities and the powers of office to increase his gains. And history has painfully demonstrated that the corruption involved in the original distribution of office is insignificant and trivial, contrasted with that infinitely larger corruption which has grown out of the prostitution of office itself to mercenary ends. It is only by occasional glimpses that we get sight of this moral rottenness. How much of it remains hidden we know not, but what we have seen is more than enough to demonstrate that it infects the public service more or less completely in all its departments, State, municipal, and federal, and in all its grades, from the highest to the lowest. When the officers appointed to guard the revenue are themselves discovered in a conspiracy to defraud it, and when the conspiracy is found to spread its ramifications over half the territory of the Union, the state of the federal civil service needs no further comment; and so long as I am an inhabitant of a city in which a public debt of one hundred millions of dollars, contracted in the brief space of five years, is a monument commemorating the colossal robberies of its own chosen rulers, I shall not think it necessary to seek out any other example of what is possible in municipal misgovernment.

Nor are our legislative councils more exempt from this widespread moral contamination than our civil service. Rather, as the high trust committed to them is capable of larger perversion, as they hold in their hands the power to grant or to refuse privileges, monopolies, charters, franchises, and claims, and as the solicitants for these things are usually as unscrupulous as they are eager, and are always ready to buy where they cannot persuade, the members of the legislature have been pre-eminently

exposed to temptation, and have been found too often sadly weak of resistance. So notorious indeed has the fact of legislative corruption become, that in every calculation upon the probable fate of any important measure pending before such a body, this fact is one of the elements invariably considered. There is a story told, I know not how truly, of a well-known capitalist, whose interests were liable to be seriously affected by the possible action of a legislature just about to be chosen. He was solicited to contribute to the expense of the canvass, and the argument was reinforced by the suggestion that a sufficient sum judiciously applied might secure to him a friendly majority. "Possibly it might," replied the millionaire, "but in my judgment it would be cheaper to wait till after the election, and then buy the legislature ready-made."

However this may be, the following phenomena are of undeniable occurrence. Honorable members, though miserably compensated by the State, in many cases grow rapidly rich. Possibly they are saving, but if so the saving seems often to be greater than the income. Secondly, there invariably clusters about every legislative body a peculiar class of men, who so actively concern themselves in the proceedings as almost to form a third house. These are known as the lobby. They are chiefly interested in a class of measures described as "bills which have money in them." Their principal business, in the jargon which they use among themselves, is "to see men." And the men they are most eager to see are such as are understood to be "on the make." There must be something singularly efficacious in their power of sight, for the member whom the lobby man has once thoroughly seen, is as completely subdued as was Coleridge's wedding guest by the glittering eye of the Ancient Mariner. The bill which has money in it is speedily "put through"; and the lobby man, as he puts the money into his pocket, remarks that some of it had already in advance been "put where it would do the most good." In the third place, while these important matters are busily transacted, the measures which really concern the general welfare are either neglected altogether, or allowed to accumulate in an unregarded heap upon the speaker's table, where they lie forgotten until the

closing hour of the session, when, in the midst of a Babel-like confusion, they are either hastily dispatched without reading, or else cut off altogether by the fall of the speaker's hammer, and so finally lost.

And this is the deplorable condition into which the public affairs of our country have fallen. It is not the spectacle to which the hopeful patriot of the earlier years was accustomed to look forward. It is hardly a realization of those glowing visions of purity and virtue, and noble disinterestedness, and unselfish devotion to the public good, and large and lofty statesmanship, and generous and fervent patriotism, so often, in the rapt imagination of orator and poet welcoming the annual return of Freedom's natal day, beheld adorning our country's future annals.

It would be an office wholly ungracious thus to set forth the evidences of our moral and political decadence, were there not a hope behind, that, out of the unpleasing exhibit, there might grow some suggestion of good. It is only by portraying the evil in its fullest magnitude that we can be thoroughly impressed with the lesson of its accompanying danger. For there is before us a danger greater and graver than any we have yet encountered. Hitherto the forms of our Constitution have been respected, though the spirit has been perverted. Hitherto our personal rights have been secure, though our political franchises have been practically lost. We need but travel a little further on the downward road, and even these relics of our liberties will be swept away. In the grand corruption which made for a time the commercial metropolis of our country an illustration of the ills the people suffer when the wicked bear rule, we had almost reached the point at which law itself ceases to have efficacy, and the most sacred rights of person and property become the sport of the caprice of any adventurer bold enough and bad enough and strong enough to throttle justice in her own temples. The example of that tyranny was typical of the system which rules the country. It was only a little in advance of the general progress. But nothing is more surely written in the book of destiny than that, unless effectual remedies be speedily devised to arrest this downward tendency, what was true of New York in 1870 will, long before the close of another century, be true uni-

versally; and more than that, the career of defiant corruption will culminate inevitably in the downfall of all law, and a sea of anarchy and a social chaos will engulf all rights of the citizen, personal or political.

Are there, then, remedies for these evils? Undoubtedly there are, but they are remedies which, if applied at all, must be applied by the people themselves, and which can only, or will only, be applied by a people thoroughly aroused to their danger and their duty.

The wide departure from the principles of the Constitution which is the source of all our woes, has been owing to the abuse of power in the hands of the men who hold it. We need, therefore, no change in the Constitution, but a return to the Constitution; no change in the laws, but a great change in methods of administration; and to this end we must have men in power not wedded by habit to existing abuses, or bound to them by interest. How shall this object be secured?

In the first place, we may safely assume that the great body of the people are honest, and are earnestly and sincerely desirous of reform. It is impossible that it should be otherwise. It is impossible that official corruption can even by indirection penetrate deeply into the ranks of private life. If there are public robbers, there must be a public which is robbed; and the victims can have no sympathies with the thieves. It follows that if any practicable means of purifying the government, or to any degree improving its character, can be pointed out, these must beyond all question command the support of a formidable multitude. Such means must exist, or republican government must be pronounced a hopeless failure. The experiment of such government can never be tried again under circumstances so singularly favorable as have been afforded it here. Now, in endeavoring to organize the public sentiment of the honest masses of the people into a power which shall make itself felt in this matter, it is by no means certain that the attempt to break up and trample out existing parties would be the most judicious. The people generally are attached to these organizations, and cannot easily be made to believe that the evils under which we suffer necessarily inhere in them, or are created by them. Many are

even under the singular illusion that their own party is honest, and that all the corruption is on the other side; and those who are not under such illusion, still cling fondly to the belief that reform within the party is quite as practicable as reform without. To organize a new party, therefore, with the avowed design to crush the parties actually existing, would be to invite unnecessarily the antagonism of many good men, who by the adoption of a less defiant policy might be conciliated and induced to act harmoniously. But there is certainly already in both parties an immense and daily-increasing number who are prepared to shake themselves wholly free from the trammels of party discipline, and though these may not be enough to make a new and independent party a success, they are amply enough to hold the balance of power between the two existing parties. They will willingly accept good government at the hands of either. Let these pledge themselves to each other to withhold their suffrages from any candidate for office whose known character and past record do not furnish a satisfactory assurance that he will discharge his duties honestly and firmly, and defiantly, if need be, of the malign influences which have controlled his predecessors; and let them, on the other hand, resolve to give their votes to that candidate, no matter by which party presented, who offers this security in the highest degree; and the managers on both sides will be compelled to bring forward good men, and the triumph of either will be the triumph of good government.

But supposing public life purified, the republic redeemed, the Constitution restored, what is to be our guaranty that the evils from which we have succeeded in extricating ourselves may not return to plague us again? History teaches that nations easily forget the sharpest lessons of experience. How shall we prevent the causes which have once so nearly wrought our ruin from operating to engender the same pernicious consequences a second time? We must seek this preventive in the education of our youth. Hitherto our higher institutions of learning have neglected almost wholly to instruct the young men whom they undertake to train, in the principles of the government under which they are to live, and of which they are to be a part; and in the duties which are to devolve upon them as citizens, as

freemen, and as constituent elements of the popular sovereignty. Every other branch of their culture has been sedulously cared for. They are taught a great deal about the properties of matter, but very little about the passions of men; much about the perturbations of the planets, but very little about the interactions of parties; much about the constitution of the solar system, but very little about the Constitution of the United States; much about the laws of the universe, but very little about the laws of the land; much about universal gravitation, but very little about universal suffrage; much about the Grecian democracies and the Roman republic, but next to nothing at all about the republic to which they themselves belong. Indeed, so far is the teaching of our colleges at present from being suited to prepare young men for the proper discharge of what, under our Constitution, is really the most important duty before them in life, that it almost seems to have been purposely planned to evade that object.

Thus the political education of our youth, after we have given them the highest degree of intellectual culture our institutions are capable of providing, is turned over to the worst of all possible schools, the worst, at least, at present—the school of practical politics. Such of them as enter public life imbibe there the habits and fall in with the practices which they find there prevalent. They learn by imitation, as children learn to speak. They rarely refer any of these matters to principle, or make them questions of conscience. They even accustom themselves to look with lenient eyes, or at most with only mild disapproval, upon palpable frauds in politics, such as false registration, false counting, repeating, and ballot-box stuffing, provided such frauds do not result in injury to their own party. And thus the men who are destined to stand foremost in the ranks of party, and to wield the largest influence in political affairs, are regularly trained from the beginning to familiarity with, toleration of, and finally willing acquiescence in, the worst vices of the system that has brought us to our present low estate. Destined, I say, to stand foremost, and to wield the largest influence. Certainly of the men of high culture as a class this must be true, or the theory that it is well to be educated is a fallacy, and what we familiarly call the advantages of education are illusions. It

is true that there are individuals exceptionally endowed by nature who rise by force of genius, and supply to themselves the culture which has been denied them in schools; as there are also some whom the schools can never raise above the level of mediocrity; but, other things being equal, the advantage of the educated man is immense. When the adage, knowledge is power, was first uttered, it was intended, no doubt, in a merely material sense, as expressive of the truth that knowledge furnishes its possessor with a magazine of resources which the ignorant man has not, for the application of means to ends; but knowledge is power in a higher and a moral sense—in the fact that it lends to opinion the weight of authority, and commands the respect always involuntarily rendered to recognized superiority. Genius, no doubt, is power, but culture is a power also; and in genius and culture combined, humanity attains its grandest and noblest aspect. Inequalities of political rank may fall before the spirit of democracy; inequalities of material wealth may be swept away by the wild breath of communism; but in cultivated intellect there is an indestructible aristocracy, which will still survive, in spite of all the elaborate provisions of human constitutions, and in defiance of the delirious rage of human passions.

The class of educated men, therefore, though comparatively small in numbers, is, in the inherent power to control the course of human affairs, immeasurably superior to all the rest combined. That it is not distinctly felt to be the ruling class always and everywhere, in public and in private life, in the state as in society, is owing to the fact that it is not an organized class. It has no concert of action; on many questions it is divided against itself and neutralizes its own influence, and toward some it is too indifferent to be disposed to use it. Unfortunately it is in regard to the affairs of political life that this indifference is most frequently manifested. Though some few of the youth who emerge from our schools of higher culture engage actively in the political strifes which they find going on about them, and do this at present, as I have already remarked, under circumstances of great disadvantage; yet by far the greater number, either through insensibility to their duties as citizens, or through un-

consciousness that they have any such duties to perform, hold themselves throughout all their lives entirely aloof from the political field, and look upon the struggles of politicians with something of the same kind of interest with which they might regard a bull fight or a gladiatorial conflict. Their feelings are to some extent enlisted, indeed, on one side or the other; but it seems not to occur to them that it is any part of their business to make the fight their own.

I do not mean to say that the majority of this class are so indifferent to political affairs that they do not even vote, though that is certainly true of many; but it is true of nearly all of them that they do nothing more, and even this simple duty they perform in an unreflecting way. Their party affiliations they inherit from their fathers, as they inherit the family name and the family estate; and the propensity to vote on one side or the other might, from the point of view of a Darwinian philosopher, be regarded as the manifestation of an acquired instinct; while the persistent act of so voting would seem to furnish a happy illustration of what is called automatic reflex action. Ought it not to be with us a matter of serious concern, that the vast flood of potential energy unceasingly poured forth upon the country from our institutions of superior education, powerful enough if properly directed, in spite of the opposing eddies and currents of meaner and muddier streams, to keep the great engine of the Constitution in its normal majestic action, should continue year after year to run almost wholly to waste; while the small portion of it which becomes really effective is expended in aiding to turn the wheels of a miserable and ill-conditioned machine, devised by crafty inventors to operate for their own benefit, and to supersede the great engine which was designed to operate for the benefit of the whole people. And is it not time that we endeavored to provide against this enormous and ruinous waste? How shall we do so? How, but by making the science of government, the Constitution of the United States, and the duties of the citizen, a part of the regular course of instruction in our colleges.

1. The science of government—the theoretic basis of the supremacy of the state, the varieties of form in which sover-

eighty may be embodied, and the actual development of governmental institutions as illustrated in history.

2. The Constitution of the United States—not merely its actual provisions, which are soon learned, but the reasons why they are what they are, the lessons of past experience of which they are the succinct expression, and the anticipations of possible dangers which their wise precautions were designed to avert.

3. The duties of the citizen—practically the most important topic of all, but one for which the others are an indispensable preliminary. For the duties of the citizen derive their character from that of the government under which he lives. Under a despotism the duty of the citizen is to be submissive, obedient, and quietly attentive to his own affairs, leaving those of the state in the hands of his masters, to whom they belong. But under a republic the citizen is himself an element of the supreme authority, and the ruler is his representative and his servant, and not his master. For the character of the rule he is responsible, and his responsibility, which is not the less real that it is shared with many, consists in this, that if the government is bad and he has done nothing to prevent its being so, or is doing nothing to make it better, he is justly censurable as a bad citizen.

Our young men must therefore be taught that as citizens they are sovereigns, with the duties and responsibilities of sovereigns; and that unless they make practical assertion and actual exercise of their sovereignty, it will be usurped and wrested from them. It is not enough that the Constitution makes the people supreme. Unless they make themselves so, their supremacy is merely a paper fiction. A constitution is not a government, any more than the verbal expression of a law of nature is a force; but as behind this verbal expression there is an ever-active living energy, so beneath the forms of the Constitution the sovereignty of the people should be no less a living and substantial reality. We should teach our youth, therefore, that the first duty of every good citizen is at present to use his most energetic efforts for the breaking up of machine government; for it is through the political machine that the people have been practically divested of their rights, and subjected to the rule of a usurping and unscrupulous oligarchy.

In order to this, effort must begin at the bottom. If the system of what is called regular nominations is to be continued, the nominations must be honest nominations of honest men. The primary meetings in which they originate must be really meetings of the honest voters, must be organized and controlled by the honest voters, and must express the will of the honest voters; instead of being what they have so long been heretofore, close caucuses of petty pot-house politicians, employed to give the outward forms of regularity to corrupt arrangements already perfected in secret. And this they will be, so soon as honest voters do their duty, by direct and personal participation in the selection of the men who are in turn to name their rulers.

Our young men should also be instructed as to the nature and use of parties in political affairs, and taught to distinguish the limitations within which the action of such is healthful, and beyond which it may be destructive of the ends of good government. Upon every great measure of public policy, and upon every great question of constitutional interpretation, opinions will necessarily be divided; and on these divisions will inevitably arise opposing parties, which, in spite of their differences, may be equally honest and equally patriotic. But it is in the nature of things human that these points of difference cannot be eternal. Questions of public policy cease with the occasion out of which they grew. Questions of constitutional law must in some form or other be at length adjudicated. But though with the disappearance of the original cause of difference the reason of their being is itself removed, it is rarely the case that parties recognize the fact that their usefulness has ceased, and voluntarily dissolve themselves. For while the questions dividing them were living questions, it was unavoidable that the struggle over these should take the practical form of a struggle for the possession of the government, and these being lost, the possession of the government becomes itself the object of contention, the greed of gain becomes the bond of union, and selfishness takes the place of patriotism as the ruling motive.

F. A. P. BARNARD.

EDUCATION IN BOYHOOD.

THE question has recently been proposed to me by some thoughtful friends interested in the matter of studies and teaching, What should a boy who is moving along the lines of the higher education, and whose good fortune it is to have the best chances, know at the age of eighteen? As I attempt to answer the question, my mind turns backward to the time when I was myself at that age; and I ask myself, in turn, what I knew in those days, and what I did not know; and again, what, in the light of the after years, I wish I had known beyond what I did, and how much I should thereby have gained which I have now lost; and still again, what were the possibilities of knowing then, as compared with the possibilities now. Suggestive questions I find them to be, laying hold upon reality and experience and life in many lines, and calling up many regretful thoughts and many happy ones. The happy thoughts are that I knew so much; the regretful ones that I knew so little. The wish that they both alike inspire is that, by some wonder of an Arabian Night—such as no dull dream of our western world brings to our sleep, and far less to our waking—I might, in a single bright hour or bright moment, live over the years between the then and the now, gathering in for myself the fruitage of all the learning and all the chances which would be open for me to-day, if I were a hopeful, joyous boy of eighteen. I should understand then, by reason of a blessed experience, what to say to my questioning friends, and should say it with the emphasis which belongs to a life. Would that I could do so!

But, alas! I must move with a more sluggish step and in a less certain way, thinking or believing only what otherwise I might be assured of beyond a doubt. I must answer my friends, or my readers, by telling them my thoughts simply as thoughts, which some taste of a life's experience such as I have pictured might change, and which those friends perchance—since they have had

such experience no more than I have—may feel to be of little value, because they differ from their thoughts. As I must tell them, however, if I am to say anything, I shall content myself with the knowledge that they are my own, and that they have been brought to me by the years.

When the older men of the present time were in the school days, from eleven to eighteen years of age, the thought of teachers and of parents was almost wholly of those studies by means of which the youth could then be fitted for entrance upon the college course. The classics and mathematics were held to be all that the schools needed to teach, or the boys needed to learn. If enough of these could be secured in the time assigned for preparation, the purpose of the educational system for the earlier period was regarded as satisfactorily realized. Five or seven years were not considered too many to be devoted to this work. In the pursuit of these studies, moreover, what was called mental discipline was especially insisted upon, while all that which lay beyond or outside of the limits of this, as the conception of it was then formed, was lightly esteemed, or assigned to a secondary position. The wrestling with intricate problems, or the struggle with the construction of sentences in their minuter shades of difference, was looked upon as the one true work of the student. His accuracy of thought, fairness and soundness of judgment, and keenness of insight would be developed if he gave himself to these things, and this development would be that strengthening of the mind itself which was needful for life. The entire school and college systems were adjusted in accordance with this idea. The continuous movement through both of the courses, school and college, was a movement along the one line and toward the one end.

Far be it from me to speak slightly of what the fathers and mothers did for us in those days, or of the work and influence of the teachers to whom they sent us. They laid hold of some of the fundamental ideas of education, and consecrated life and energy to the realization of them. They saw clearly the value of the primary things, and insisted upon them as vital and essential. They made us men by what they did for us—thinking men, who could use our powers and could know something

of the glory of living. They imparted to us the great truth, and made us apprehend it, that intellectual strength is better than mere acquisitions. They taught us much, and awakened within us the desire for more. They set us forward on the pathway toward what was beyond themselves. But they lingered, as most men do, under the power of their own ideas, or those which had come down to them from an earlier generation. They were also limited in their vision by the possibilities of their time. They failed to discern all that could be accomplished.

The first and fundamental error into which they fell—and into which many fall now—was, as it seems to me, that they placed too low an estimate on what they regarded as of secondary importance or even of no moment. They repressed enthusiasm, by insisting too exclusively upon the idea of discipline. They kept the student away, as we may say, from the refinements of learning, by shutting him up so completely to the harsher and, as they thought, stronger things. The student thus became a manly worker, but less often an enthusiastic one. He knew the outlines of the field, and some of the deep things hidden within it; but he lost sight oftentimes of the rich and beautiful on every side, while seeking for what seemed to him the chief treasure.

The second thing which they failed to appreciate, and the failure to apprehend which became the source of error for them in their plans and working, was the length of the preparatory time. They fully understood the value of any other period of seven years in human life, as they moved forward through their earnest and busy careers; but they rarely comprehended all the possibilities and uses of this period. Their descendants of the present generation are, with few exceptions, like them in this regard. That a boy does as much as he can do, or as he ought to do, if he prepares himself for his freshman year before he reaches his eighteenth birthday, is an opinion which has come to most parents and many teachers from the past, and is firmly held by them. To go out into wider fields, to lay hold upon new studies, to grasp the secrets of other languages, is thought to be too great a strain for the mental powers, or, if not this, too great a one for the physical strength. These precious formative years are, therefore, partially wasted, and the young man at eighteen

is only partly educated as compared with what he might be. The waste of life arising from this cause is a grievous one, to my thought, because the early years have such a promise in themselves. The Spring time is the time for the sowing. The harvest in the Autumn is rich, and full, and abundant in blessing, just according to the largeness of the sowing and the perfectness of the Spring and the Summer.

My thought, then, is that, in our planning for the school years, there should be a wide outlook upon knowledge and a filling to the full of the time and opportunities. We need to make the men of the coming generation truly-educated men; touching the world's life with a refining and elevating influence, because they know many things; inspired themselves by all that is good in the intellectual sphere, and therefore able and ready to inspire others. Is there anywhere a true man of the older generation who, in his thought of life and power for good, does not give thanks for all that he knows, and wish that he knew far more? Is there one who does not perceive, in his own personal thinking, how often he might be an inspiration to men about him, and how his life force for good might be multiplied, if he had only learned in the *abounding*, or even the *wasted*, hours of the early time what he failed to learn? Our ministry to the youth who follow us, is to give to their lives what would have glorified our own; to lead them into the possession of the blessing which would have been so large and full for ourselves.

And now, before I move onward and outward from these thoughts, let me linger near them for a moment longer, and say that the teacher who starts the youth on the course of his higher education has, as I think, a grand privilege and a great duty. His office is a chief one, because the first step is the one that determines the direction of the journey. This teacher has the secret of success in his grasp, for it is from him that the youth may learn how to study, and may gain enthusiasm. These are the two things which the youth ought to know at the beginning. They are to be the regulating and impelling forces of all his student life. The rule for the accomplishment of this end, however, it is difficult to give, for so much is dependent on the individual characteristics of the learner and the teacher that every case has what

is distinctive and peculiar to itself. When the inspiring guide and helper meets the pupil who is possessed of a joyous love of knowledge and an open heart, there is little to be done or thought of, except that both should move on together under the impulse of their own sweet wills. But where the gift of gifts is found in neither of the two, it is hard to impart the living power, and plans and devices are too apt to fail because of the absence of the inner force. And between these two extremes are all differences, and all half-adjustments, and all measures of irresponsiveness, such as hinder the perfect working of human things everywhere, and rob our wisest schemes of their success. Yet, notwithstanding all, a youth of eighteen, who is to have the best chances, should know how to study, and how to do it with enthusiasm also, because he has learned the lesson at least five years before. With these things already made his own, he has gained more than all that books and teaching can give him apart from them. Without the gifts which they bestow, he may be a laborer in the field of knowledge, but he cannot become an effective or a happy worker. Enthusiasm, guided and controlled by knowledge as to the use of the powers, is the true life of a living man, alive with the spiritual forces. Everything else is in sleep, or is dead.

The question what a boy should know at eighteen, includes of necessity the question as to what he should learn on the way toward that age. I make my starting point and my guiding thought in my answer—the thought that he should learn how to study, and should gain enthusiasm, at the beginning. If we turn our question toward its details, also, I should say that the order and plan of his studies should be so arranged that these ends may be secured in the earliest season. Those studies should be placed first which are adapted most readily to secure them. The beginning of which we here speak, is the beginning of the movement toward the higher education; the beginning of the secondary school life, if the boy is sent to school thus early—the age of eleven or twelve. At this age, enthusiasm may be awakened and right guidance may be given; and the object in view should be attained by carefully observing the mind and its workings.

In the first place, as I think, the study of language may be most hopefully and successfully started in these earliest years.

The boy as yet retains much of that eagerness and curiosity which belong to childhood, and which render the acquisition of his own language so pleasant a thing for the child. Forms and words and the construction of sentences do not present to the mind either the difficulty in the matter of learning them, or the dryness in the matter of interest, that is experienced in later years. The boy moves joyously where the man finds only labor and weariness. He lays hold so easily upon what the man has to learn by strong effort and many repetitions, that when his mental powers are thoroughly awake, he sees only the possession which is beyond or within the forms, while these become for him the readily-acquired means by which he enters into the enjoyment of it. The mind is as truly adapted for the study of language in this early time, as it is for the study of mental science, or other studies of the deeper sort in its maturer stage. The era of this adaptation should be made use of with all carefulness and earnestness. Is the question pressed upon me whether I think a boy of twelve can be made enthusiastic for the declining of nouns, or for the construction of the genitive or ablative case? I answer, Some boys can be, and some cannot. But this is not what I mean. No language should be studied simply for its datives or genitives. It should be studied for itself. The bright eye of the child, which beams with satisfaction as the name of a new thing, or the meaning of a new word in his own language, is made known, would lose its brightness or be dimmed with a tear, if all which the word or thing involved should prove to be but a half-comprehended abstraction. Our mother English would have no motherly element in it, were there nothing offered as its gift but the rules of its grammar. The child learns English eagerly, because every word and sentence which is gained helps its life and thought. Thought and life are ever awakening; and enthusiasm enters the mind in the sphere of any language by the same door by which it enters in the sphere of our own. Place yourself at the right door, and open it, and the enthusiasm will be there.

The study of which I am now speaking has been wonderfully developed in the true line within the last twenty-five years, so far as what we call the modern languages are concerned. It is a

melancholy retrospect to me, and I presume it is also to many others, as thought turns backward to the old days, and I see how we could not learn these languages, most of us, until the Spring and joy of earlier youth were past; and how, even then, we had no choice but to begin according to the worst of all systems, and wrestle with a hard fate, as, in the emphatic expression of the Apostle, we were ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. It was a weary task for months or years, and as long as it was weary; and effort and precious time were hopelessly lost forever. The retrospect becomes only the more melancholy when we discover how needless the task was. The children of our households to-day may gain the same thing that we gained at five and twenty, and far more than we gained, when they are ten or twelve; and the progress is like the joyful song of their childhood, when they are led along the rational method. They grow up into French or German, as it were, as they grow up into English, and talk, and read, and sing in these languages just as they do in their own. They know words, because they want them or read them, and they open the grammar and the dictionary of the foreign language when they do those of their own language—after they have learned to speak and to read. Why should they not breathe in enthusiasm with every breath of their learning? It was with a great price, indeed, that we obtained this freedom. But they were free born.

Whether the ancient languages can be taught in precisely the same way, has been doubted by many, and I would not discuss the question here. But the thought method, rather than the method of mere dry details, can be adopted in any language. The forms, even, can be enlivened by their relation to thought, and the student can be made to see that the form has life because language is a living thing. The boy, when he begins, can be led to the apprehension of this, according to the measure of his development and his progress. He can have his mind opened to the idea that language has a meaning, and that all within the sphere of his grammar is part and portion of its meaning. Enthusiasm comes with ideas. The boy who is to have the best chances, has his mental powers, or can have them, awakened. When they are awakened, he will move happily along the pathway. And as

we look at the first stage of his development and the peculiar adaptations of the early years, we may see, at once, that with the right teaching in the sphere of language, the enthusiasm of the generous spirit may be most easily and most universally aroused. There is no better sphere than this, also, for the development of knowledge as to how one should study. Language leads us along by easy and gradual steps, and everywhere keeps the mind pleasantly and steadily fixed upon the true line of movement.

Let me say here that, in my judgment, every boy who has the best chances ought to have the mastery of the French or German language (I should say of both) before he is eighteen years of age—a mastery kindred to that which he has of English. He should also have such a knowledge of Greek and Latin as will mean power in and over those languages, and will enable him to read them with ease and with satisfaction as he enters upon his college course. The man who knows the ancient languages as he ought to know them, will never contend against their holding a place in the education of all widely-educated and roundly-educated men. He will know that they are full of thought and meaning, as truly as his own, and more full of disciplining power and refining influence than his own. It is because we did not learn enough to lay aside our Greek and Latin dictionaries before we graduated, that we of the earlier days laid them so often aside when we graduated. The men who failed to learn truly and fully to use the languages, indulged themselves, for this reason, in the thought that they were *not useful*. The grammarians of the old time, if I may so call them, almost lost the cause. But the most beautiful languages of the world's history are not orthoepy and orthography, etymology and syntax; and if they are only opened to the student after the right method—the thought method—they will awaken his enthusiasm by the very manifestation of their beauty.

In the second place, as it seems to me, the boy who has the best chances ought, in the years between twelve and eighteen, to be set forward on his course in history, and the beginnings, at least, of the literature of his own language. I mention these studies next in order, because they are so fitted to excite enthusiasm, and so adapted also to open for the student the true method

of study. The importance of beginning these studies at this period lies in the fact that the true love of reading (and by reading I mean the reading of what is good), if not aroused in the early years, is likely never to be aroused in its fullness at all. It lies also in the fact that the more the youth acquires in these lines of study in the school period, the farther on is his starting point when that period is ended; and not only this, but the greater the momentum with which he moves on ever afterward. The loss of the first days is a loss which can never be fully recovered in the subsequent ones. I know of no man more to be envied in the matter of education than the one whose youth was filled with the best reading. He has rich resources with which to begin his manly life—resources the possession of which will be a blessing to himself in whatever sphere his work may be assigned him, and will place him above and beyond others, his contemporaries, who failed to use as wisely the opportunities which youth offered. The object of education is to make the cultured man. Surely the knowledge of history and literature is a chief element in the best culture.

But what a dry and uninspiring thing the study of history was in most of our schools and colleges a generation ago, and how little the boys were taught the true way of studying either it or literature. The carrying of the student through *memoriter* recitations of some text-book lessons, or of the pages of some compendium, was called the work of instruction in those living and life-giving branches. The mind, also, was forced to the attempt to take into itself more at once of the unconnected or half-connected facts and details than it had power to absorb. It lost its hold, therefore, even as it was trying to gain it. The significance and inspiration were taken out of what was offered for the learning, and the dry outline slipped away from the memory, because it had no interest for the other powers. I know of no more dismal recollection of my student life than that of some of the books on literature and history which I tried to read. They left me less of an intellectual man, after I had attempted them, than I was before.

But what richer field is there for a teacher to work in than history, and where can he more surely and immediately find a

responsive enthusiasm on the part of his pupils? I do not know that I ever saw a bright-minded youth, with his intellectual eyes wide open, who could not at once be awakened to strong and lasting interest in this study. And for myself, I have long felt that, if I could regard myself as equal to it, there was no department of instruction which I should so rejoice to make my own as this; no department in which the results could be secured earlier in the pupil's career, or more continuously or more joyously both for himself and his teacher. So, too, is it with literature. The blessing of these studies, if I may so express it, is in the continuousness of their working for good. They start with the boy in his course, bearing a rich gift in themselves according to his ability to receive it, and they move onward as he moves, enlarging the measure of what they have to bestow as he becomes, by his culture and acquisitions, prepared for the greater things. But there are no studies wherein more than in these—none, I had almost said, wherein so much as in these—an inspiration on the teacher's part must ever be ready to meet and fill the capacity for it on the part of the scholar. The teachers of literature and history must be, by way of eminence, men of inspiring power. Such men will know how to make history live, and, through their guiding of the study of their pupils, how to place them in the life and movement of the age which they are studying. The contact with an inspiring and magnetic teacher is one of the chief goods which heaven bestows upon us in the Spring time of our life. If it is bestowed, there is always time enough for the following of those studies to which he leads us. History and literature are studies in which he leads us most easily.

My belief, in the third place, is that the boys who have the best chances should know something of music, and should, at least, see the opening of the door toward art studies. The opinion is now well established, I suppose, that all persons—or so nearly all that the exceptions only prove the substantial universality of the rule—can be instructed in vocal music with a measure of success. I believe that the same thing can be accomplished in the line of instrumental music. If so, the refinement and satisfaction which result from it for the after life cannot easily be estimated. One needs but to enter the home of any family where

the members are all gifted or instructed in music, and where, with the accompanying power of different instruments, the voice of song brings the hearts together and elevates the tone of feeling, in order to appreciate the value of such education for every youth in the early years. The man who has himself enjoyed the privilege of culture in this sphere, will know from his daily experience what its worth to his personal life is. The lost hours of the by-gone time would have been vocal with melody, in the remembrance of them, to many of us, if they could only have been filled with the gifts which such teaching and such learning would have given.

So, too, with the rudiments of art. The boy should at least be taught the art of drawing, which is the introductory branch of art, and be practiced in it. It is not necessary that we shall make our life the artist life, in order that we may justify ourselves in art study. The art sense, in any measure of it, is an illumination and exaltation of the mind. The art power, even in its minor developments, is an enrichment of our ordinary living. It is a constant influence for our happiness and well-being. We may use the power oftentimes, or only sometimes, but it is a power of which we are ever conscious, and which bears witness of its presence indirectly, if it does not directly. How much, also, do both of these gifts—of music and of art—even in their beginnings and their more limited measures of development, accomplish for us in turning the thoughts toward what is pure and good, instead of what is evil. The youth's safety and welfare depend on the impulses and movements within him, far more than they do on his outward surroundings, or the rules which are laid down for the governing of his conduct. The way to expel what is wrong, is to fill the soul with the beauty of what is right. The lower things lose their power when the love of the higher is awakened to its true life. The evil passions of every sort pass away when a holy song, or a lofty strain of grand, inspiring music quickens the thought of the beautiful and the good. And every soul which can be truly educated, can hear such a strain or such a song with some appreciation of its power, if only in the early years it has acquired the sensibility to melody.

That the mathematical studies should be pursued energetic-

ally before the youth has reached the age of which we are speaking. I may add, fourthly, is admitted by all. The men of the former generations and the men of our day agree at this point. These studies carry within them the means of intellectual discipline which cannot be either safely or wisely disregarded. I will not attempt to argue for such discipline, for, on one side at least, it is the basis of all education. It may be permitted me, however, to suggest the question whether the general thought has not been too exclusively centered, in the past, upon the disciplinary idea, even in the sphere of these studies. An admirable mathematical teacher, a friend of mine, affirms that imagination has the widest range in his science, and that imagination is even the largest element in mathematics. As I pass from the old routine of my early lessons to what he explains to me of what he is doing and teaching, I begin to believe what he says. The darkness retires, and the eye of the mind sees clearly. What was once the purest abstraction becomes alive with something of a living existence; and I can behold in form and picture that which seemed before to have *truth* in it, indeed, since no flaw was discoverable in the reasoning, but yet scarcely seemed to have *reality*. Enthusiasm in mathematics was a thing reserved in the former days for certain singularly-constituted minds, which were supposed to have no capacity for enthusiasm in any other sphere. But in the presence of our best teachers now I believe it may be stirred in many souls which have other sympathies and which share in the most common life of men.

Of natural science it is perhaps hardly becoming in me to attempt to speak at length, since my special studies have been in quite a different field. I may venture, however, in a single word to say that, as I think, enough should be done in the earliest days to awaken the boy's powers of observation and his interest in this department of knowledge. In the years of his school discipline, also, his education in science should be carried so far, at least, that his most successful progress after he has entered upon the later stage of his course, in the college or the university, may nowhere be hindered. I would most heartily respond also to the words of the gentlemen of the Society of Naturalists, who have addressed a paper to the teachers of schools and colleges, in which

they commend with special emphasis the study of botany and physical geography for the years of the school life. The knowledge of botany gives a joy which should be the possession of every educated man, and should be gained, as it easily can be, in the early youthful season. Science everywhere brings us into a close relation with nature. The boy, in his first days of growing boyhood, is open to all the sympathies which this relation bears with itself. Let him, by all means, have the sympathies awakened. He may not, indeed, be able to penetrate very deeply into what nature has to reveal to him, but he may see with delight all that he can as yet understand. And if he will see joyfully, let the revelation be unfolded as far as the possibility shall allow. The beginning is never to be lightly thought of because it has not the fullness of the end. We are to rejoice rather in the beginning, if it is a bright one, by reason of the promise that is in it of the realization of the end. There is cheerful hope for the youth whose mind and heart are stirred with love for all the truth and beauty hidden in the natural world.

Science and language, therefore, music and mathematics, literature and history I would teach the boy in his boyhood; and I would bid him, in the possession of the beginnings of all these things, go forward, with a benediction, into his manhood.

If these studies are all to be offered to the boy in the earlier years, the question what he should know when he is eighteen will be determined by the possibilities of progress which may be open to his individual life. These possibilities lie partly in the capacity of his mind for acquisition; partly in the ability which he has to lay hold upon certain special lines of learning; partly in the rapidity with which his mental powers can work; partly, of course, in the comparative advantages which he may enjoy in respect to his teachers or the various external things which bear helpfully upon his education. But it will follow of necessity from the fact of such a beginning and such working as have been referred to, that he will be ever advancing as the years pass, and that, at the age mentioned, he will have realized much in all the spheres of study. Whether, as we view the matter from the present college standard, he should already have included within these earlier years the studies now allotted to the freshman class,

is a question which it may be difficult to answer. This is, after all, a matter of detail. But that he should have put behind him some of the rudimentary things—using this term in the widest extent of meaning—which now burden the freshman year, cannot be doubted. Such progress should even be the inevitable result of what has been suggested.

The growth and advancement, also, would be in all studies alike, the movement everywhere being, as it were, in parallel lines: for the enthusiasm of the teacher and of the pupil would impel the mind everywhere. This, in my view, is the true idea and ideal. The mind is to be built up and built out on all sides.

The evil to be greatly apprehended, by reason of the tendencies of opinion in the popular mind of late, is, as it seems to me, that we shall bring forward a generation of imperfectly-educated specialists in this country. I mean by this expression—which I use in the less restricted rather than the more restricted sense—not specialists who are half trained in their own particular department, but specialists who are imperfectly educated as men. No result within the limits of admitted progress beyond the time of the fathers is, in my judgment, more to be deprecated than this. Indeed, it may be doubted whether, in every sense, such a result could properly be regarded as progress at all. The fathers had, at least, a wide outlook, as far as their field of vision reached. They believed in men, not in mere workers in the great human workshop. They believed in individual men, full-grown and matured in their whole manhood, and not in mere scholars or practitioners in some one section of life or knowledge, whose mental culture should be limited to that one section. Men are what we need in this country; not lawyers, or physicians, or ministers, but men—men who, whatever may be their profession, are more than their profession; men who, whatever may be the extent of their knowledge in their own peculiar science, know much that is beyond their science, and see the glory of all knowing and of all truth. Education, according to the true view of it, is like religion. It seeks the individual that it may bestow upon him, in himself, the fullness of its blessing. It strives to perfect the world in its own sphere by making perfect the individuals who form the world. It desires and tries, therefore, regarding

this as its first and foremost work, to give completeness to each one whom it approaches.

But this work of developing the individual on all sides must, in the sphere of which we are now speaking, be largely done in the early season. The necessities laid upon us in the subsequent years bring limitations with them, and we must gain our general education, in great measure, at the beginning, because of the particular demands of the life afterward. In the consecrated period of the school and college course—consecrated to studies which work simply to the end of mental growth and of preparation for intelligent manhood—the forces must be set in motion which will keep the wider thought and wider education alive through all the narrowing influences of the future and its special occupations and duties. These forces are the knowledge of the wide-extended field, acquisitions large enough to make secure the possession of the knowledge, and an ardor that cannot be quenched. This period which is consecrated to the more general education does not end, according to the view of many among us, and, I may say, according to my own view, until an age later than that of which I am now speaking. It does not, in the opinion of any wise educator in the lines of the higher education, as I suppose, end before this age. We all may unite, therefore, in the thought that the progress which I have indicated should be in the line of an open-minded, large-minded, rapid, enthusiastic movement of the intellectual powers until the youth is eighteen, and that what he should know then is what, by means of the best teaching and the best opportunities, he can know at that age in all the various departments which have been mentioned. If I am asked, therefore, what a boy who has the best chances ought to know at eighteen, my answer is—of course, bearing in mind the limitations which my thought and the nature of the case suggests—he should know everything. This is the richness of the blessing which education has to give, and which it may give—the richest of all the blessings which our human life knows, or can know, except that of the personal union of the soul with God.

I have made my starting point everywhere, in the offering of these suggestions, to be enthusiasm. I have done so because this is the active and impelling force in study, which imparts to it its

happiest life. Discipline gives the man the use of his powers. It almost creates them. It is of infinite importance, and is the fundamental necessity in all true education. But enthusiasm sets the powers in motion, and fires the soul with the love of knowledge, and carries the man forward as on joyful wings. Discipline was the gift of the old education—that which the fathers received and handed down to their children. Enthusiasm is, and is to be, as I think, the added gift of the new education; and the two things, working together and in harmony, are to bring the realization of the truest and widest culture.

And now, if some one says to me, Where is the time to be found for all these studies—a wide circle of them, even according to the hints and suggestions which you have given, but seeming to become still wider as the hints are followed out in every line? I answer, Within the years from eleven to eighteen. The ordinary boy of our educated families lost, in my judgment, under the old system of school education, from two to three years out of the seven that were allotted for his earlier studies. He moved along his course by a hard road and a hilly road. He moved, also, at a stage-coach rate of journeying. The world runs faster now, and the boy's motion can be quickened, like the man's. New methods can do much for him; new opportunities can do more; new possibilities of inspiration yet more; newly-awakened enthusiasm most of all. Enthusiasm creates time. It quickens every energy and power of the mind. It makes work a thing of love, not of necessity, and therefore a thing to be easily accomplished. It gives continual inspiration and hope and victory.

Why should the children of our educated households to-day have no more than their fathers had? With privileges and studies and modes of teaching of which we knew nothing, they need only to have their minds as much awakened to life as ours were, in order to gain in knowledge and culture twice as much—I mean in the wideness and roundness of knowledge and culture. The same efforts which we made will result in far more for them, for the very variety of the studies to which they may turn will give rest and refreshment to the intellectual powers. The varied joy of their acquirements will lift the spirit above weariness, and the body also. Physical health moves parallel and in even pace with

mental health, and mental health comes and abides, like all healthfulness, through the happy exercise of the mental powers. Why, then, should they not acquire more than we did from the seven years of opportunity? Why should not the hours lost for us be hours gained for them?

I turn my thoughts backward at the end, as I did at the beginning, and I ask myself what would have been the greatness of the blessing for the past and the present, if that which I have endeavored to set forth in outline here had, in my own earliest life, been realized.

With the wide outlook in the early days, how much further would the vision and thought have extended now? With the manifolded possibilities of culture and refinement in different spheres of study then, what would have been the progress and the enjoyment of the years that have followed? With the more abundant gifts at the beginning, how would the usefulness also of the subsequent years have been enlarged?—for the many-sided mind and soul have influences and lessons for men of every sort. And so the regretful thoughts bring me the teachings for the time to come; and, as I think of what I might have known, had I learned in the school days all that I now see opened in these days for others, I speak with earnestness my word for wide studies and awakened enthusiasm on behalf of the boys and the girls. My happy thought also, that I knew what I did, unites with my sorrowful one, that I knew no more; and the two together form themselves into the hope and prayer that the richer blessing of which I dream and which I have tried to picture faintly, may be the assured inheritance of the early future

TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

WOMAN'S POLITICAL STATUS.

THE article by Prof. Goldwin Smith in the *FORUM* for January, on "Woman's Place in the State," is a well-written presentation of his opinions in opposition to the movement to admit women to participation in the affairs of government. No friend of woman suffrage, I presume, will object to such an article. "Who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" I shall attempt to meet and answer his views with equal candor. There seems to be a necessity attending all measures of reform of a public and general nature, that the arguments in support of them should be repeated until success is finally attained; and the movement in favor of the enfranchisement of women is no exception to the rule. This is not to be regretted, however. It is all the better that the measure should be thoroughly and impartially discussed. Its friends invite for it the fullest criticism.

Prof. Smith is an Englishman, and writes from an Englishman's point of view, forgetting that while the movement in England and the United States has the same goal, the paths that lead to it are different. Whether the law should be changed and women be enfranchised, is in England a question of expediency. In the United States, on the other hand, as was well observed by Mr. Madison in the "Federalist,"

"The right of suffrage is justly regarded as a fundamental article of republican government. It was incumbent on the convention, therefore, to define and establish this right in the Constitution."

This was accordingly done, and with us, therefore, suffrage rests upon the basis of right, and not of expediency. It follows that much of what Prof. Smith has written is better suited to English than to American readers.

The article commences with a reference to the movement in England and Prof. Smith's connection with it. About thirty

years ago, he and John Bright signed John Stuart Mill's petition to the British Parliament for the political enfranchisement of women. They were led to do so, he tells us, partly by their general prepossession in favor of any extension of human rights, and partly by their respect for Mill. They both subsequently changed their minds, and John Bright, as is well known, became a determined and bitter opponent of the measure. Prof. Smith was led to revise his opinion by finding that those women whom he had always regarded as the best representatives of their sex among his acquaintance, were by no means in favor of the change; and he is confirmed in his impression by a recent protest put forth by some of the foremost women of England.

It is of course right and proper that those who oppose a measure, as well as those who favor it, should be heard. Nevertheless, in forming an opinion on a question of public policy, or on a measure in which the interests of millions of people are involved, it is better to err, if error must result, on the side of progress and reform. It is not at all likely that a law having for its object the extension of human rights and liberties would be harmful, while the defeat of a measure of this character might result in incalculable injury.

Women need the franchise because the ballot clothes its possessor with the dignity and authority of law. It cannot be too strongly urged that no class of persons can rise above the position in which the law places them. The law determines their "place in the state"; and if it be one of inferiority, by no possible exertion can they reach a higher level. It is for this reason that suffrage for women becomes a necessity, and that necessity appeals with irresistible force to the friends of freedom everywhere. As a rule, women do not themselves realize their position. That requires time. They have been so long kept in a subordinate condition that they do not feel its degradation. They accept their actual situation as being the true and normal one. Surely, this is a thing to be deplored—the victims of slavery themselves indifferent to their lot! The only remedy for this is law. The law is at once an emancipator and an educator. Its operation may be silent, but it is universal. The second and third generations after the change to freedom would witness the

result. Women would then have far wider views than at present; and the change, in benefiting one sex, would correspondingly benefit the other also; for, as has been said, the position of women under the law is the true criterion of civilization.

When the question of woman suffrage was first agitated in England, it was intended to enfranchise only widows and spinners, and for many years this feature was alleged as an argument in its favor. Of late, however, many of the leading friends of the measure are desirous that it shall include all women. I agree with Prof. Smith that, to be logical, the movement should embrace all women. It is unnecessary, however, to discuss this phase of the movement, since it does not enter into the consideration of the question in the United States.

The protest by certain ladies, to which Prof. Smith refers as confirming him in his withdrawal from the movement, is, I presume, the one that appeared in the "Nineteenth Century" for June, 1889, and that contains precisely one hundred and four names. It was admirably answered in the July number of the same review, by Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Ashton Dilke. And the "Fortnightly Review" for July, 1889, in addition to an excellent article in reply to the protest, contains a declaration in favor of woman suffrage, which was signed by more than two thousand women of all ranks and conditions of life. The "Fortnightly" publishes the names and addresses of about one fourth of the signers. It should be remembered, also, that many thousands of women have annually petitioned Parliament for an extension of the franchise. Meetings are regularly held, papers are published, and associations formed throughout the kingdom, to promote this object. So far, then, as women in England have expressed themselves, the number is overwhelmingly in favor of the franchise. As regards the United States, it was stated on the floor of the Senate that more petitions had been presented to Congress in favor of woman suffrage than upon all other subjects combined.

It is but reasonable to suppose that there are thousands and tens of thousands of women, in the various walks of life, who feel and know that this measure for their elevation is just and right, and who hail its advent with delight, but who, for many

reasons, cannot give expression to their opinions. It is all the more important, therefore, that those who can speak, or who can aid the movement in other ways, should do so.

The report of Senator Blair, chairman of the Senate committee that recommended the adoption of a resolution in favor of the submission of an amendment of the Constitution, enacting that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex," and that is commonly referred to as the "Sixteenth Amendment," is thus commented on by Prof. Smith:

"The resolution assumes the existence of a right, thereby begging the whole question. . . . If there is a right, the denial or abridgment of it is, as a matter of course, a wrong. According to one theory, the right has already been recognized by the Fourteenth Amendment; but, as the committee says, 'the great misfortune of those who thus believe is that the Supreme Court holds just the contrary opinion.' For holding the contrary opinion, the Supreme Court has had vials of wrath poured upon it; but surely it had common sense on its side."

There can be no doubt that the form of the proposed Sixteenth Amendment implies the existence of the right to vote; and, according to the most recent decision of the Supreme Court, which will be noticed more at length further on, the right does exist, and is therefore no longer a matter of implication. But the form is the same that was agreed upon in Congress, after much consultation, as the proper one for the Fifteenth Amendment; and as such it has become a part of the organic law, and remarks upon its phraseology are hypercritical and in bad taste. It was evidently the intention of those who framed it, to make the denial of the right, on account of sex, an impossibility.

But, according to Prof. Smith, the whole question is one of "muscle," not of right:

"Muscle has a great deal to do with the matter. Why has the male sex alone made the laws? Because law, with whatever majesty we may invest it, is will, which, to give it effect, must be backed by force; and the force of the community is male. As Gail Hamilton quaintly but forcibly expressed it, 'every ballot is a bullet.' Muscle is the coarse foundation on which the most intellectual and august fabric of legislation rests. Divorce the law from the force of the community, and the law will become ineffectual."

The answer to which is this: the fact that men alone make

the laws, is the very evil complained of. Men alone make the laws, for the simple reason that men only can become legislators. In an assembly composed of both sexes, it would be impossible for either sex alone to enact any law. No one ever thought of questioning the fact that force lies at the back of every law. If women do not form a part of this force, they *pay* for it, in the shape of taxation; which is as much as many men do, and even more. And such is the respect for law in all civilized communities, that this force is rarely needed, but when called for, has never yet failed to respond. As to the saying of Gail Hamilton, "every ballot is a bullet," its charm consists in its alliteration. It is certainly far from being universally true, for multitudes of men who, from physical disability, are exempt from military service, still continue to vote. Where are the bullets in such cases? The truth is, the ballot takes the place of the bullet. The bullet represents brute force, while the ballot represents law, order, and intelligence. Intelligence is slowly but surely taking the place of force. Ultimately, arbitration will furnish the method of settling difficulties, at least those of a public character. Every difficulty that we have had with foreign powers in late years has been settled by arbitration. The United States have no standing army of any consequence, and do not need one.

We are assured by Prof. Smith that although "women do not vote or take a direct part in politics, their influence is already powerful, and nowhere more powerful than in the United States." History abundantly testifies that there can be no greater danger to a state than influence that is irresponsible. It is woman's irresponsible influence that has worked harm, in cases where harm has befallen a nation or a community. An instance comes to hand while I write, which may serve to illustrate what I have said. In the town of Lathrop, Missouri, an organized band of women destroy the liquor and other property in two saloons, pouring the liquor into the streets. Every one remembers similar doings of the "Crusaders" in Ohio, a few years ago. Such lawless proceedings would never have occurred if the women had possessed a legal means of redress through the ballot. This movement for the enfranchisement and consequent elevation of woman, proposes that she shall have a direct and personal inter-

est in government and public affairs, and be held responsible for her actions.

Wherever woman suffrage has been tried, it has proved a success. The testimony from English sources is abundant, that since the complete enfranchisement of women in the Isle of Man, the condition of public affairs there has improved; and this fact is used as an argument to show that parliamentary suffrage should be extended to women in England also. In the Territory of Wyoming women have enjoyed full suffrage since 1869, a period of twenty-one years. Governor Campbell, who was in office in 1869, in his message two years later, said that the women had conducted themselves in every respect with as much tact, judgment, and good sense as men. Two years after, he repeated that the system of impartial suffrage was an unqualified success. His successors, Governors Thayer, Hoyt, Hale, and Warren, have all borne witness to the same effect, and M. C. Brown, United States attorney for the Territory, says that "woman suffrage in Wyoming has accomplished much good, and has harmed no one." Pages might be filled with similar testimony, not only as to Wyoming, but as to the other Territories where woman suffrage has been tried. Mere theoretical views in opposition are but as "small dust in the balance," compared with these actual facts.

The stale argument that because woman is a non-combatant she should not vote, I supposed had been abandoned by all sensible people. The right of men to vote does not rest on any such basis. No government makes the right to vote dependent on the possession of physical strength, or the ability to bear arms. Is the ballot denied to the lame, the halt, the blind man? Certainly not. Some one has said that "the ballot is both sword and shield"; woman, then, is as capable of wielding it as man. We are told that the United States military statistics show that of men examined for military duty during the rebellion, more than one fourth were found to be unfit for service. Yet they were not disfranchised on that account.

Nothing shows the necessity of suffrage for women more plainly than the unwillingness of men to grant it. For woman, everything is involved—life, liberty, property, marriage, children;

and yet she must not be consulted as to these important interests, simply because of her sex. The mere accident of sex deprives her of a right to which she would otherwise be entitled. We must either renounce the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, or make them a practical reality; which they are not, in the case of women. History shows that one class cannot justly legislate for another.

There is nothing in the Declaration or in the Constitution of the United States to indicate that women were to be excluded from participation in the affairs of government. When the Constitution was framed, suffrage was limited to males in the constitutions of all the States but one; yet, with these examples before them, the framers of the federal Constitution omit all reference to the sex of the federal electors, and vest the right in "the people of the several States," neither men nor women, as such, being alluded to. This omission could not have been accidental. Manifestly, if it had been the intention to limit federal suffrage to males, that intention would have been expressed. As women constitute one half of the "people," will it be pretended that they have no interest in a government of the people? The ballot alone gives expression to that interest. Every man who casts a vote for a member of Congress, derives his right to do so from this clause of the Constitution, and yet the clause has no reference to the sex of the voter. His right is based on the fact that he is one of the people. He can show no other title to his franchise, and woman occupies exactly the same position.

Beyond all controversy it is now settled that women are citizens. The Fourteenth Amendment declares that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside"; while the Supreme Court, in the *Minor* case, expressly affirms that women are citizens. It would be easy to multiply citations to this effect, but it is not necessary to do so. That this citizenship carries with it the ballot, is equally clear. In what are termed the "slaughter-house cases,"* the court uses this language: "The Negro having by the Fourteenth Amendment been declared to be a citizen of the United States, is thus made a voter in every State of the Union."

* 16th Wallace.

The case of *Minor vs. Happersett* is usually cited as a decision against woman's right to federal suffrage, and in one sense it is; but it was not alone a decision against woman, its scope included manhood suffrage as well. The decision was adverse to the plaintiff, for the reason that at that time the court entertained the opinion that suffrage was exclusively a matter for the States. It announced that "the United States has no voters of its own creation in the States," and the judges were "unanimously of the opinion that the Constitution of the United States does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one."

Entertaining these views, they could not have rendered any other than an adverse decision. This was in 1875. Nine years later, the matter of federal suffrage was again before them in the *Yarbrough* case,* which led to the most recent decision on the subject, and the court declared that the right to vote for members of Congress *is* based upon the Constitution of the United States. Further:

"The States, in prescribing the qualifications of voters for the most numerous branch of their own Legislature, do not do this with reference to the election for members of Congress; nor can they prescribe the qualifications for these *eo nomine*. They define who are to vote for the popular branch of their own Legislature, and the Constitution of the United States says the same persons shall vote for members of Congress in that State. It adopts the qualification thus furnished as the qualification of its own electors for members of Congress. It is not true, therefore, that the electors for members of Congress owe their right to vote to the State law, in any sense which makes the exercise of the right to depend exclusively on the law of the State."

While rendering the decision in the *Minor* case, the court also said:

"If the right of suffrage is one of the necessary privileges of a citizen of the United States, then the Constitution and laws of Missouri, confining it to men, are in violation of the Constitution of the United States as amended, and consequently void."

The right of federal suffrage having, in the *Yarbrough* case, been decided to exist, it is necessarily one of the privileges of a citizen of the United States; and if the question were again presented by some woman, the court would doubtless decide in

* 110 U. S.

favor of the right. It could not consistently refuse to do so. In further illustration of the absolute equality of rights between all citizens, in the same case of *Minor vs. Happersett*, the court said:

"Other proof of like character might be found, but certainly more cannot be necessary, to establish the fact that sex has never been made one of the elements of citizenship in the United States. In this respect, men have never had an advantage over women. The same laws precisely apply to both."

To sum the matter up: the Supreme Court decides that the right to vote for members of Congress is based upon the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution vests the right in "the people of the several States." Men and women constitute the people. Men and women, therefore, are federal electors. The right that exists for one citizen, exists for all. "The same laws precisely apply to both." To deny women, therefore, the right to vote for members of Congress, is to deny to citizens of the United States a constitutional right.

When these important truths shall become impressed upon the public mind, and shall be received and acted upon, the Constitution will be vindicated. Then, disenthralled woman will occupy her true place in the state by the side, and as the co-adjutor, of man, in all that concerns the welfare of the republic.

FRANCIS MINOR.

HYPNOTISM AND CRIME.

THE medico-legal question arose, we may say, in the early days of hypnotism, or animal magnetism, as it was called in 1784. At that time, Louis XVI., moved by the rumor current about the new medical treatment discovered by Mesmer, appointed a commission to investigate animal magnetism. The secretary of this commission was Bailly, member of the Academy of Sciences, who a few years later fell a victim to revolutionary violence. Of his fellow members of the commission we may name Franklin, Lavoisier, d'Arcet, and the famous Dr. Guillotin, of Bicêtre. August 11, 1784, the commission made their report. Setting all theory aside, and confining themselves to the simple ascertainment of the facts they had observed, they laid special stress upon the "crises" and their hurtful consequences. Not only did Mesmer's treatment seem to them little deserving of encouragement, but they condemned it in the strongest terms. "These nervous disorders," said they, speaking of the crises, "when natural, are the despair of physicians; it is not for art to produce them." The exhibiting of these crises is no less dangerous, because of that imitateness which nature seems to have made a law of our being; therefore "all public treatment wherein the methods of magnetism are employed, can in the long run have only a pernicious effect." Thus the commission seemed to invoke the rigor of the law upon public treatments with magnetism. They went further still; for to this report, designed to be published, they appended another, which for a long time remained secret. It dealt specially with the dangers to which good morals were exposed in the *Sieur Mesmer's* house. The Lieutenant of the Police now intervened, and, addressing Dr. Deslon, Mesmer's assistant, said to him: "In my capacity of Lieutenant-General of the Police, I ask you whether in case a woman is magnetized or in crisis, it would not be easy to outrage her." Deslon answered affirmatively, and pleaded that his *confrères*

"pledged by their calling to honorable behavior," should have the sole right to practice magnetism.

In truth we may say that the royal commission, in their report, covered all the medico-legal aspects of hypnotism. Yet we do not find in it any remarks upon "criminal suggestion," so called, about which much has been written in our day; for at that time nothing was yet known of somnambulism, the period in hypnosis at which suggestion is most readily practicable. But if Mesmer never was able clearly to determine what were the phenomena he produced, it was not so with one of his disciples, the Marquis de Puységur, who, intent specially upon avoiding the crises that his master almost invariably brought about, discovered artificial somnambulism and drew up the first rules for hypnotic suggestion. It was even his fortune to observe and note the fact that the somnambule was not absolutely a mere automaton, but had an individuality of his own capable of withstanding suggestions of a certain class. This resistance to suggestions is highly important as regards the matter in hand, and it is worthy of mention that one of Puységur's somnambules said beforehand that he would have a crisis if he were compelled to carry out a suggestion that he did not accept.

This brief historical account premised, before I touch upon the present state of the question I deem it necessary to offer a few remarks needed for a clear understanding of the facts that are to follow. One point that to me appears to be established by incontestable observations, is that the persons, whether men or women, who are susceptible of hypnotization, are nervous creatures, capable of becoming hysterical, if not actually hysterical at the beginning of the experiments. Hypnotism and hysteria are very near of kin; and some hysteric disorders—those which assume a cataleptoid form for instance—have often been taken for hypnotic catalepsy by inexperienced observers. In the second place, it is to be noted that hypnotism is a genuine neurosis, not a physiological state; that it has its determinism, judged, in the physical order, particularly by the neuro-muscular super-excitability, which assumes two special aspects, the lethargic and the somnambule. In the lethargic form I have shown that the muscle or the nerve contracts or produces contracture under the

action of a direct pressure; in the somnambulic form cutaneous excitation alone causes the subjacent muscle to contract. Such is the case at least in the state which I call the major hypnotism, in contra-distinction to another state, the minor hypnotism, wherein, physical signs failing, the only criterion of the sleep is the greater or less suggestibility of the subject—an insufficient criterion and difficult to appreciate in a matter wherein simulation must ever be present to the mind of the observer. I would remark further that men, though hysterical, are seldom and only with difficulty hypnotizable—a fact that I have been able to establish in my service at the Salpêtrière, where cases of male hysteria are very frequent. Finally, I have proved that in hypnosis there are three states: the lethargy, the catalepsy, and the somnambulism. In the first two, and particularly in the lethargy, there is absolute unconsciousness; the subject is motionless, his will is in abeyance, there is no suggestibility. In the third state, on the other hand, the subject hears, sees what goes on, is capable of receiving and carrying out suggestions given him by the person who has hypnotized him. A specially important fact is that on awaking he recollects, outside of the suggestion given him, nothing of what has happened during the sleep; but he will recollect it in a second period of hypnotic somnambulism, unless a contradictory suggestion be given. This loss and this recovery of recollection under fixed conditions, play an important part in medico-legal hypnotism.

From what has just been said about the different hypnotic states, one readily infers that the *faits passibles* * that come up in the courts, in which hypnotism is supposed to have part, will be such as these: attempts upon the person during the periods when the will is in abeyance and the sleep complete; criminal suggestions and their consequences during the somnambule's period of mental activity. To these two categories I add a third, the most important perhaps of them all, namely, the mischief done by the ill-advised hypnotization of subjects predisposed to hysteria, and the responsibility thus incurred by the hypnotizer.

As was surmised by the royal commission of 1784, rape and attempts to rape are the crimes that are oftenest committed upon

* Acts, occurrences, transactions in which a person is passive.

hypnotized persons. That this should be so is readily seen, for in the lethargy especially, as I have said, the subject is, so to speak, so much lifeless matter offered to the lechery of the magnetizer. Dr. Gilles de la Tourette, formerly my chief of clinic, in his work on "*Hypnotism from the Medico-legal Point of View*,"* is able to cite five facts of this class developed in actions at law—a number comparatively large if we take account of the difficulties that in such cases attend the detection of the culprit. I must add that in these five cases the crime was not in every instance committed during the lethargic state. The somnambule can, as I have said, withstand a suggestion; but I must add that by the very fact of the somnambulism there arises often a quite special state of "affectivity" between the hypnotizer and the hypnotized. Thus, a woman who in the waking state would have been chaste, may during the somnambulism give herself up to the one who has hypnotized her, especially if the hypnosis has been repeated many times. In one case, that of Castellan, in 1865, the jury held these relations to be of the nature of rape, the moral force of resistance in the subject having been broken down by the magnetizer. A similar case was reported by Dr. Bellanger, in 1854, the accused being a physician, who by absconding saved himself from the punishment that awaited him.

In the cases just mentioned the hypnotized subject is the direct victim of the magnetizer. In the two that follow the question is different. Here the somnambule commits a crime at the instigation of the one who hypnotizes him. We thus come to the consideration of criminal suggestion, as it is called—a subject that has made a good deal of noise during the last few years. The problem to be solved is this: Given the suggestibility of a somnambule, can one use him to do a criminal act to which he would never have consented outside of the hypnotic sleep? It may be observed that, theoretically, the "suggestioner" can assure himself impunity by ordering the subject not to recall, on awaking, the name of the one who gave the suggestion. The order given by the hypnotizer may be carried out while the subject is in the somnambulic state (intra-hypnotic suggestion), or

* "*L'Hypnotisme au Point de Vue Médico-légal.*" Paris: Plon, 2d edition, 1889.

in the waking state (post-hypnotic suggestion). Let us study the latter variety and consider a case. I set a subject asleep and place him in the somnambulic state, satisfying myself as to the reality of this state by bringing into action the neuro-muscular superexcitability peculiar to this period of hypnosis. I then say to him: "You know A; he is a contemptible fellow and is ever trying to injure you. He must be put out of the way. Here is a dagger. To-morrow"—or the day after, or ten days hence, for the suggestion may extend over a considerable interval—"you will make your way to his home; you will wait till he quits the house, and will stab him without any pity. He must die. You are not to remember at all that I ordered you to kill him, even if you be hypnotized again." The subject takes the suggestion, and promises to kill the one who has become his enemy. At the appointed hour he will be at the place named, and will deal the blow with a steady hand. Whether arrested or not for the deed, he will find it out of his power to reveal the name of the one who put the dagger in his hand. The theme is an attractive one, but can the thing be done? Experimentally, yes; and there is hardly any one that has studied hypnotic suggestion that has not on his conscience many of these laboratory crimes, in which pistols go off only in the subject's imagination.

Let us consider the matter a little in detail. In the study of suggestion we find in the first place that all subjects are not equally available for successful experiment. Some subjects positively refuse to obey. "Why do you want me to kill Mr. A? He has always been kind to me"; or, "I do not know him; he has done me no wrong." Here we have resistance to suggestion, observed even by Puysegur, and criminals will find themselves confronted by this. The check is all the more serious because one does not by any means succeed, at the first hypnotizing *séance*, in putting the subject into a state of somnambulism so profound as to justify the expectation that such suggestions will be accepted. The training of the subjects is no easy thing and takes time; and besides, fit subjects are by no means so plentiful as some authors would have us believe. So then we have these points to take into account: fewness of the subjects, time and labor spent in their training, and possible resistance to suggestion.

Now let us attempt the solution of the problem. The suggestion is accepted; at the appointed hour, a thought that till then had lain entirely dormant suddenly arises in the brain of the "suggestioned" subject, and there overmasters all others—the thought of murder. The assassin, whose crime has been contrived and planned beforehand by the suggestioner, lies in ambush, with arm raised; he strikes when the victim passes. But if the victim does not pass, what then? Will he put off the crime till the next day? By no means. The victim must be there at the appointed hour, else, as I know very well from repeated experiments, a fit of hysteria will in most cases be the ending of the matter. Or perhaps the subject will have an attack of acute delirium, or of babbling mania, very unfortunate for the magnetizer; and this cannot be checked save by counter-suggestions that it is always very difficult to make the subject accept, as has been shown by my former pupil, Dr. Pitres, now Dean of the Faculty of Bordeaux. It is absolutely necessary, then, not only that the suggestion be accepted, but also that its conditions be realized. An odd sort of assassin this, who does not know enough to sheathe the sword he cannot use; who from the instant the hour is struck, is nothing but an unconscious automaton controlled by all the caprices of a fixed idea. Experimentally, when we furnish a subject with a crime already planned, arming him with a pasteboard dagger, or providing him with a poison consisting of a harmless powder, we may witness the carrying out, in all its details, of what I have called a "laboratory crime." But is it so, can it be so, in real life? I for one doubt it. For though writers who have treated the question have reported a plenty of experiments, they have not yet been able to discover one single crime of this kind actually committed; and that not because they have not sought to discover such crimes. What is it that the criminal desires above everything? To escape punishment for his crime. Can he imagine that he will make sure his revenge and conceal himself from prosecution by putting a weapon in the hand of a lunatic somnambule? A moment's reflection shows that in the matter of criminal suggestions there is a wide interval between theory and practice.

In this utter lack of real crimes attributable to somnam-

bules, the theorists of criminal suggestion entrench themselves behind the papers, contracts, deeds of gift, etc., that somnambules may fraudulently be made to sign during the hypnotic sleep. Well, suppose a somnambule signs a check, or a receipt for goods, is it to be supposed that the signer on awaking will part with his property and utter no word of protest? In the first place, having, as always happens in such cases, lost all memory of what took place in somnambulism, he will ask himself how it came about that he should sign such a paper. From that question to the explanation is but a step; and should an investigation be made, it might bring confusion to the holder of the check or receipt. An extra-lucid somnambule may, by means of lying allegations and fallacious predictions, prevail upon the unfortunates who blindly put their trust in her advice, to part with large sums of money; that has happened often, and unfortunately will happen again. But hypnotic suggestion has nothing to do with that sort of cheats, in which the robber sleeps or feigns to sleep, and not the robbed. It will, perhaps, be urged that in the matter of testamentary gifts, the testator will not be at hand to undo his act; but the tricksters who seek to win bequests do not find somnambules everywhere, and the courts will not fail to inquire into the mental condition of the testator. In such cases are involved, it seems to me, downright impossibilities, which relegate criminal suggestion to the lowest place as regards the perpetration of crimes and frauds with the aid of hypnotism. And yet, from time to time the newspapers publish accounts of just such frauds and crimes. But what ground of truth underlies these stories, always exaggerated and distorted? In December, 1885, the newspapers told of a woman at St. Lazaire having under suggestion committed a series of thefts. Now what did happen was just this: A woman of twenty-six years stole a cotton coverlet and sold it for eighty centimes. Arrested on this charge, she said that, being sick and unable to procure for herself the necessaries of life, she had committed the theft in order to get bread. To the committing magistrate her mental state appeared to be such that I was called in to investigate, in company with Drs. Brouardel and Motet. The result was to show that Annette G——, an hysteriac and morphinomaniac, had, in a

moment of cerebral disorder, caused by privation of her customary stimulant, committed theft in order to procure morphine. She was placed under my charge in the Salpêtrière, and is still there. I have at my leisure fully assured myself that she did not steal under the influence of hypnotic suggestion, inasmuch as she is not hypnotizable! I am of the opinion that stories of this kind very often have no better foundation. As in the fable of the floating sticks,

"De loin c'est quelque chose, et de près ce n'est rien."

The courts, I repeat, will very seldom have to take cognizance of crimes or misdemeanors committed either by somnambules or upon somnambules. There is danger nevertheless, but it is to be looked for in another direction, and in particular in the injurious effects of ill-advised hypnotizations produced by persons ignorant of the healing art upon predisposed subjects. Hypnotism is a two-edged weapon; wielded with judgment by experienced physicians, it may be a powerful means of cure; in reckless or incompetent hands it may produce disastrous results.

For several years the principal towns of Europe have been overrun by persons from no one knows where, who, bearing high-sounding titles, invite the people to hypnotizing performances given in the local theaters. Sometimes they operate upon subjects that they have brought with them; at other times they select out of the audience a few young persons who are willing to offer themselves as subjects of experiment. In these they produce, or try to produce, the different phases of hypnosis, and make them accept suggestions that of course have nothing at all to do with therapeutics. We can track a showman magnetizer of this sort by his victims everywhere. When he has gone, it is noticed that subjects with whom he succeeded best become nervous and irritable. Some of them fall of their own accord into a deep sleep, out of which it is not easy to awaken them; thereafter they are unfitted for the performance of the duties of every-day life. Others, and they the majority, are seized with convulsions exactly resembling the crises of confirmed hysteria. I have had occasion to deal in my clinique with several victims of these magnetizers. The observations are to be found in my

"*Leçons du Mardi à la Salpêtrière.*" I have shown that here we have to do with unmistakable hysteria, and that it is very clearly caused by the practices of the magnetizers. Considering how obstinate this neurosis is, particularly in men, as I have shown, ought not the law to intervene and to check these dangerous practices by absolutely prohibiting public exhibitions given by magnetizers? To protect human liberty is not to restrict it. It is quite plain to-day that, inasmuch as medicine, on behalf of both science and art, has in these later times taken possession of hypnotism, it alone can know how to apply it properly, whether in the treatment of disease, or in physiological or psychological research. Is it not right, then, that medicine should henceforth seek to reign as absolute mistress in this newly-won domain, and should repulse all intrusion?

Is it possible to define the rules of expert testimony in the matter of hypnotism? I do not think it is, for, as we know, the cases that come up in the courts are so varied that it seems difficult, under these circumstances, to give advice to the expert, who will have after all to find inspiration in the difficulties of the moment. With regard to responsibility in individuals subjected to the manipulations of the magnetizers, the expert has solely to find out whether there exist in the subject at the moment of his examination the signs of an affection—especially of hysteria—capable of having been produced by ill-advised hypnotic manipulation. In criminal causes involving rape, actual or attempted, the medical witnesses, in the cases we are acquainted with, have testified not only as to the signs of the assault, but also as to the hysterical, and further, the hypnotizable, condition of the subjects. This latter point, it seems to me, ought always to be investigated. Under these circumstances the physical marks of hypnotism are of very great assistance, for it is necessary to decide whether a woman who declares that she has been violated while in hypnosis, is actually hypnotizable. But the expert's conclusions ought not to go beyond this formula: The individual can (or cannot) be put into the hypnotic state. In the case of a male subject of hysteria, Dr. Motet proved in court the innocence of the accused by making him perform, in a second hypnotization, acts with which he was wrongfully charged, and of

which he could not exculpate himself, because on awaking he forgot all that had occurred; here the alleged offense was committed in a first period of somnambulism. So, too, Dr. Dufay, by hypnotizing again a girl accused of theft, reawakened her memory and procured her acquittal of the charge made against her. But, clearly, whatever oversteps simple ascertainment of the person's actual state, should be carefully weighed by the expert. The physician testifying as an expert will remember that he must never act the part of an advocate; he must not by artificial means procure either admissions or accusations. Yet, in one case, perhaps, his keeping silence might be blamable—when in the course of his investigation he discovers that justice is making a misstep, and that an innocent person is in danger of being pronounced guilty.

CHARCOT.

SECULAR CHANGES IN HUMAN NATURE.

THE civilization of each age and country has commonly been gauged by some such measure as military achievement, political organization, religion, wealth, commerce, advancement of learning and arts, refinement of manners, elevation of the status of women. We should, I think, be employing a sounder standard of judgment were we to measure, not so much these outward conditions and attainments of the men living at the given place and time, as the men themselves, so far as history has recorded for us their characters and behavior. It is human nature itself, as manifested at different epochs and in different lands, that is the supreme matter of interest and the only thing worth consideration, seeing that the utmost conceivable splendor of a state which should be compatible with the essential barbarity of the mass of the individuals composing it, would be the most ghastly of all parodies of true civilization. To dwell in a "golden house," with the Laocoön as a decoration of the hall of feasting, and to be a poet and a musician, and yet to be treacherous, bestial, the slave of uncontrolled impulses, delighting in the spectacle of men and women devoured by wild beasts or burned in fiery shrouds—this is to be a savage still, even on the throne of the world. A nation of Neros would be only a herd of swine and tigers stabled in palaces.

How, then, is genuine civilization to be measured? That can, I think, be done without much difficulty if we take with us the idea that, as man is built up of many elements, lower and higher, it is on the prepotency of the higher that his rank in creation depends; and that he is "civilized" precisely in the proportion in which his intellect, affections, and moral sense overbalance his animal passions.

That such a change in the relative proportion of its constituent elements has been really going on in human nature throughout the ages, is, I conceive, beyond reasonable doubt.

As his environment has been changed through his own labors, man has necessarily—by the well-established Darwinian law—changed in correspondence therewith. As surely as the flock of sheep brought from a cold to a warm climate acquires finer wool, so a human tribe which passes from tents or wigwags to palaces in London or New York will undergo a transformation at once physical and mental; and the longer the period taken by the change, if it be fifty generations, so much more complete and profound will be the resulting modification. Those elements of man's nature that had full play in the forest, become atrophied by disuse in the city; while others, of which only the potential germ existed in the savage, develop in the civilized man into the splendid characteristics of the philanthropist, the poet, and the philosopher. Let us consider, from this point of view, the stages through which our race has passed and is passing.

Humanity begins under the absolute thralldom of bodily wants. There is no forethought, only "carnal lusts" to be gratified as quickly as possible. It is the stage of infancy, of complete savaghood, and alas! to no small extent the stage of the "perishing and dangerous classes," all the world over.

But above this bare ground man rises, as his first step, to a stage wherein he no longer yields unhesitatingly to every spur of desire. He begins to weigh his interests of the morrow, as well as of the moment. He has become a Prometheus—a fore-thinker. The general level of each man's conduct (though broken by falls into passion or elevations into heroism) is that of a moderate and reasonable prudence. He endures toil and renounces immediate self-indulgence, having a sufficient power of projecting himself into the future, and estimating his well-being next week or next year as preferable to the particular gratification of indolence, covetousness, gluttony, or the like, which he might snatch on the spot. The degree, however, in which such prudence prevails in different races (for instance, in the Scotch and the Irish) varies so widely, that the legislator or reformer who calculates on it as a fixed quantity finds himself continually at fault. But it is on the (fortunately) wide diffusion of such ordinary prudence that all civil order rests, and to it all penal laws appeal. "Do not rob, for the proceeds of robbery will not give you as much

pleasure to-day as the jail will give you pain to-morrow. Honesty is the best policy."

Again, above the stage of prudence and forethought, where man stands beside every bird and beast, every ant and bee, he rises to a higher step when he freely postpones or abjures mere sensual pleasures for the sake of intellectual, æsthetic, and social delights. He has changed his tastes, the higher in him coming to the front, and the lower falling into the background. Did he take pleasure before in gluttony and debauchery? He now finds better joys in learning, in science, in art. Did he feel joy in the brutal excitement of the spectacle of blood and pain? He now finds a sweeter pleasure in sympathy with his kind and with all creatures. Was love with him mere animal passion? He glorifies it now into a sacred and beautiful sentiment, which in a thousand ways transforms his being.

But above this stage of true human civilization, which has been thus attained, there is yet a third, which is reached when a man's pleasures, lofty and refined as they may be, are subordinated to his sense of duty, his passion for justice and truth, his enthusiasm of humanity. The man who is willing to sacrifice, not only his present but his future, not only his lower pleasures but his highest enjoyments, to hasten the coming of the kingdom of God, the reign of righteousness, has reached the summit of true civilization. In him at last we find all the elements of human nature developed in their due rank and order, the lowest at the bottom, the highest at the summit. He is *rex denique regum*, master of himself, and for him the world's purpose is fulfilled. He has learned the lesson of earth, and is ready for the higher school.

Thus, beginning with the ground that we may call mere animality (though few if any of the lower animals are not above it), passing up through the stage of prudence and self-control to that of refinement and affection, and again to the summit of moral dutifulness and self-sacrifice, we are enabled to construct a kind of Nilometer whereby to mark the rising flood of humanity, from the mud of the bestial passions, wherein men wallowed like the "dragons of the prime," to the serene sunlight of holiness, such as shone around the Christ. The problem of the

future historian—assuming this interpretation of the meaning of civilization to be accepted—would be simply this: To ascertain where and when men did visibly and in largest numbers emerge from the slough of barbaric vices and become self-controlled, industrious, prudent; when, again (this is the real *cruz*), they have been found to rise superior to low and brutal pleasures, to sensuality and cruelty, and to manifest a preference for pure and refined enjoyments only; and, finally, when they have in any measure shown themselves inspired by the sense of duty, and by unselfish devotion to the cause of God and their fellows. In such a history of civilization, I believe that an interesting *excursus* might be made (and would in fact be called for), dealing with the changes which have come over human nature itself.

Subordinate to the vast progress I have indicated, there must be found a multitude of smaller variations leading up to each step, or consequent on the attainment of it; the tide rising, but the special waves of passions and sentiments seeming often to gather and flow in cross currents. I propose in the present paper to sketch lightly the outlines of a few such waves and billows, not with recourse to erudite sources for any specially fresh information, but simply transcribing the reflections which occur to an ordinary observer and reader. It is almost needless to say that any adequate treatment of the theme, taking account of the varied rates of progress and frequent retrogressions of different races of men (scarcely any general theories holding good of all nations at the same epoch), would demand more space than twenty magazine articles would occupy. I must limit myself to a few examples of the kind of study of human nature itself in its vicissitudes that I would fain see undertaken on a befitting scale, and that I cannot but think would infinitely outshine in interest and in the value of its conclusions the study of human circumstances, conquests, politics, inventions, laws, achievements of art, science, and literature, which are, after all, only the silken web which man has spun round himself in the lapse of the ages.

Let me begin by noting the place that the simplest physical wants occupy in the dawn of human existence, and compare it with that which they hold now among civilized nations.

No one who has been well fed all his life, can adequately con-

ceive the importance that the satisfaction of hunger takes in the minds of savages and of the famishing classes in our own lands. Under the lash of this heavy whip, wherewith Providence has driven man all along his road of progress, there is no pausing to cull the flowers beside the path of life. Only when provision has been made for the assured support of existence, will Nature allow us to indulge in any pastime.

But over and above the actual want of food, barbaric man, like every uncultured child, is disposed to be, not merely *edacious*, but *greedy*. Gluttony may probably boast of having been the very earliest vice of human nature, when "square meals" were yet undreamed of and a feast meant eating to repletion. Literature can scarcely go back to that stage of simplicity; but some hint of it may be found in the description of the grand festival in the "Râmâyana" (the second great Sanscrit epic), when

"Take! Eat! was the universal cry,
And, O, how full we are! was the exclamation all around."

The Israelites in the desert made themselves bilious with eating too many quails, and not inexcusably longed for fresh vegetables—the leeks and onions of Egypt. The Greeks were never a gormandizing race. The "rage of hunger" was always appeased quickly enough among the Homeric heroes, and they started up cheerfully to proceed to the next thing; while the banquet of wine and conversation was obviously the chief attraction to the Athenians in the age of Pericles. That the whole Spartan people for so many centuries after Lycurgus (no less than eight, it is said) consented to his austere *menu*, of which "black broth" formed the principal dish, is one of the marvels of history. But when Rome grew rich, her patricians at once began to feast, taking certain odious measures to increase their voracity, which speak sufficiently for their gluttony; till in the days of the Empire, passing over Lucullus and Apicius, we arrive at Vitellius, with his "Shield of Minerva" dish, filled with fishes' brains and flamingoes' tongues, and costing more than £4,000.*

Such was gluttony in "the grandeur which was Rome." Something almost as bad, though necessarily less costly, seems

* Suetonius, Life of Aulus Vitellius.

to have prevailed in mediæval Christendom. The Catholic Church made gluttony one of the seven deadly sins, and monks were specially tempted thereto, and are recorded to have had many a difficult passage with the particular devil who presided over the vice. Henry the Third of England died, we are told, of grief for the loss of his son *and* of a surfeit of lampreys; and Philip the Second of Spain signed the death warrant of the whole Dutch nation when (as frequently happened) he had made himself sick by eating too much pastry. By degrees such gormandizing seems to have improved into the elegant *gourmandise* of a Brillat-Savarin; and in the last century in France and England (notably with Quin at Bath) there were coteries of *bons vivants* whose members were by sour divines satirically charged with "living to eat instead of eating to live." Boileau's third satire is devoted to these gentry and their extraordinary dinners:

*"Sur un lièvre flanqué de six poulets étiques,
S'élevait trois lapins, animaux domestiques."*

The existence of fat canons, in particular, was generally described as a mere passing from one meal to another; the placid and dignified ecclesiastic, with hands crossed over the region "with fat capon lined,"

*" . . . muni d'un déjeuner,
Avec un léger somme attendait le dîner."*

But where is this kind of thing to be found now? Though great cooks still command enormous salaries in Europe and America and splendid dinners are still every-day affairs, there has been, I think, a certain advance further from mere gluttony, past even the stage of last-century gormandizing to that of the *gourmet raffiné*—the man who eats and drinks with the utmost moderation, but gratifies his delicate palate *avec recueillement*, just as he does his fine ear with good music, and his critical eye with beautiful forms and colors in decoration. For the modern Sybarite, the table is a mere detail of universal luxury, not the supreme concern.

Even this stage seems to me to be passing away. The length and profusion of London dinners have, in my recollection of thirty years, been greatly curtailed by improved taste; and in a

singular way the adoption, from one reason or another, of water-drinking habits by hundreds of men and women in society, is tending visibly to minimize the luxury of the table in England, and must, I should suppose, effect the same end in America. The old proverb that "Good eating deserves good drinking," is so far true that when "good drinking" does not take place, the eating, from instinctive choice, becomes more and more plain, and with a larger proportion of vegetable produce. If teetotalism should continue to extend itself further, I should expect to see comparatively frugal tables and a vegetarian diet adopted everywhere in English-speaking countries.

Thus, as, in the infant and the savage, the mouth is the most pronounced feature of the face, but retreats at last till it becomes thin-lipped and overshadowed by the brow; so the passion of gluttony, which the mouth represents, and which was once so prominent in human life, is becoming smaller and smaller, and will probably ere long be reduced to the narrowest dimensions compatible with healthy alimentation.

The first great animal passion is inspired by nature to secure the existence of the individual; the second to secure that of the race. And while the desire of food has passed through many stages of progressive refinement till its grossness has well-nigh evaporated, so sexual love has undergone a still more celestial change, and has been transmuted, in the higher races, till it is often less an animal passion than the most exalted and delicate of sentiments. The *subtlety* of modern feeling (of which I shall have more to say presently) is nowhere so manifested as in the literature of our time wherever love is the theme. The world has traversed a long space between sweet old Ruth and the "Sonnets from the Portuguese."

The original passion in man, as in the lower animals, is essentially selfish. The glorified sentiment that has risen out of it in Christendom, is self-surrender. When modern Love "strikes the chords of life with might," he

"Strikes the chord of self, which trembling
Sinks in music out of sight."

Here already lies one of the very richest mines of human happiness, undreamed of by the generations of old. Such married love as Tennyson has described at the close of his "Princess," or—let me say it—as Robert Elsmere and his Catherine felt for one another, is a sentiment as far superior to the simple instinct of old classic Cupid, as the fairest rose in our gardens is to the brier from which it sprang.

Indolence, broken at intervals by vehement activity in war or the chase, is the characteristic of all savage races. It is only under the goad of want, as applied by a pretty sharp climate, that man pricks forth briskly and steadily, till at last, after a hundred generations, the habit of activity is fixed, and becomes pleasant. The ideal of this earthly life to the greater part of mankind, is still "Kef"; and that of the next, Nirvana, or else "everlasting beds of rest." Only quite in modern times has it been recognized, not only that *laborare est orare*, but that for a man "to find his work and do it" is the indispensable condition of happiness worthy of the name, and that even in heaven there must be something to do for God's sake and our fellow creatures', or it will resemble the opposite region, with its curse of uselessness. Now, there can be no doubt that industry forms a far larger part of human character in this nineteenth century than it ever did before, and most conspicuously so in the higher races—Anglo-Saxon and French. We even carry it too far, and to a febrile extent. Leisure is well-nigh abolished, and fine ladies who, in the last generation, were compared to the lilies, which toil not, neither do they spin, now write articles in the magazines (*teste* Lady Catherine Milnes-Gaskell in the "Nineteenth Century," November, 1889) to call on the world to pity them for being overworked between society and housekeeping, literature and art, philanthropy and politics. As the earlier animals, saurians and mastodons and megatheriums and birds, were slow-moving, ponderous creatures, compared to the modern horse and greyhound, squirrel and humming bird, so were the earlier patriarchs of our race (even supposing them not to have lived to the centuries of Methusaleh), compared with the rapid, restless European, or the still more rapid and restless American, of to-day.

Passing now from the secular changes in human nature as regards the sensual part of man, to those which have taken place in the irascible passions, we enter a broad field. Anger, hatred, and revenge once played as large a part in the affairs of humanity as they still do in those of a poultry yard or a kennel of hounds. We should need to review all the records of past ages, to describe the murders (beginning with Cain and Abel), and to catalogue ten thousand wars and massacres, were we to attempt to exhibit the traces left by these baleful fires of vindictive human passion. It would be a waste of time to illustrate a truth that no one disputes; but we must concern ourselves with the question: Are these terrible explosions in the human breast as readily and as often excited now as of yore? We have, alas! anger and hatred with us still. But do they play as prominent parts as of old in the tragedy of the world?

It will, I think, be readily answered in the negative, if one will simply try to conceive a revival in modern Europe of some of the old scenes of fury. Let us think of a modern Achilles—say Garibaldi or Gordon—dragging the corpse of a rival commander after his carriage; or of a modern Homer describing such scenes *con amore*. Let us imagine the repetition of a Roman triumph after the Franco-German war, and the German Emperor Wilhelm entering Berlin, with the Empress Eugénie in chains, like another Zenobia, forming part of the procession. Let us picture the heroes of Inkermann or of the Army of the Potomac, after a victory, flaying or impaling their conquered foes; and Woolner and Boehm engaged to decorate Windsor or the White House with bass-reliefs perpetuating the awful spectacle, in imitation of the halls of Sennacherib.

No! Assuredly the frenzy of rage that must have inspired such deeds, and the still direr sustained pitilessness that could desire to contemplate them forever, were passions that, if they linger still anywhere on earth, are forced to hide themselves out of sight. Nations are no longer capable of them.

This sensible fall in the thermometer of the irascible passions may be traced to two sources: first, the direct influence of Christianity in Christendom and the influence thence reflected over the whole planet; secondly, the gradual diminution in or-

ganized human society of the need which existed in earlier ages, not indeed for cruelty and barbarity, but for the free bubbling-up of anger and the persistent zeal for retaliation in case of offence. In ages when no regular jurisprudence or police existed anywhere, and the court of a *cadi* or a lord-of-the-manor (very probably themselves the worst of oppressors) was the only refuge of the wronged, if private resentment did not exact retribution, the violence of the injured or covetous would have made them sole masters of the world. When we shudder at a Corsican vendetta, we are bound to reflect whether, when such things were rife, there existed any other machinery in the island whereby perfidious assassinations and rapes and arson could be repressed or punished? If Judge Lynch be not active on the confines of law and order, there will be no law and order at all.

But when civil order is at last established pretty generally, and the law undertakes to do what before was the business of each man for himself and his dependents, the role of the irascible passions is morally over as regards retribution, and confined within narrow bounds as regards the manifestations of anger. And practically we may, I think, see that, christian lessons of forbearance aiding, the actual history of the passions in question has, in a rough way, corresponded, first, with the obvious necessity for their exhibition, and now, with the partial removal of that necessity. Anger, the quickly-raised, quickly-swamped emotion, is still an every-day experience; but serious, revengeful hatred, when we chance to come across it, startles us like the apparition of a ghost in armor in a dark corridor. It is an anachronism. Our generation cannot spare time or earnestness enough for it in mid pursuit of wealth and pleasure. If a man has injured us once, we owe him a grudge, and perhaps are not sorry to pay him off if the chance falls easily in our way; but unless we suspect him of an intention to hurt us again (thereby exciting our fears, which are much sharper goads of hate than the memory of wrong), we have not leisure to abhor him or to plot vengeance. To brood patiently over our wrongs and to plan vendettas, is a thing possible only in times so uneventful that no fresh nail drives out the one knocked in. There is no exercise of christian virtue in our pacific behavior; we are

merely too busy to be vengeful. How surprising it would be to any nineteenth-century man who should read the Psalms for the first time at an age of reflection, to note how David (or whoever did that terrible cursing) was in continual collision with "enemies"! The word occurs ninety-four times in the 150 Psalms; thirty-five times joined with the possessive pronoun "mine." Can we conceive of Tennyson or Browning, not to speak of Charles Wesley or Whittier, giving enemies such a place in his hymns? Queen Victoria has a good deal larger frontier than David, and may be officially supposed to have enemies all over the globe; but even when we sing "God save the Queen" we are content to wish their "knaveish tricks" frustrated and their "politics" confounded, and do not want to take their little ones and dash them against the stones.

But not only may we congratulate ourselves on the waning of the dread passions of hatred and revenge; we may also, I feel sure, rejoice in the positive development of the converse sentiments of benevolence and sympathy. The enthusiasm of humanity is a truly modern passion. Very little trace of it appeared in the western world (Buddha had inspired it widely in the East) before the christian era. Xenophon tells with wonder of Socrates, how "his benevolence even extended to all mankind"; and beautiful altruistic sentiments are to be found in the Greek poets; but not till the age of the Gospels, of Plutarch and Marcus Aurelius, does the feeling that we call philanthropy seem to have emerged into conscious activity. Through all the intervening centuries it has slowly grown, till in our time we no longer wonder at a Howard, a Fry, or a Joseph Tuckerman, a Florence Nightingale, an Octavia Hill, a Louisa Schuyler, a Miss Dix, a Miss Carpenter, a Charles Brace, a Lord Shaftesbury. They, and hundreds of men and women with less power but equal self-devotion, are quite normal products of our christian civilization—early fruits of a whole harvest of benediction yet to ripen on the human tree. And further, it is not only among practical philanthropists that a new sentiment has arisen. As I have elsewhere (I venture to think conclusively) shown,*

* "Hopes of the Human Race." "The Evolution of the Social Sentiment."

human nature does not begin, any more than brute nature, with any feeling of sympathetic pain at the sight of another's pain, or joy in his joy, but quite the reverse. The instinctive feeling of the savage, and of many children of civilized parents, at the sight of pain, is the same as that of the birds that peck and kill, and of the brutes that bite and horn their sick and dying companions. The sentiment that I call "heteropathy" is the very converse of sympathy, and is the source of a great deal of cruelty even to the present hour; as when a drunken husband is infuriated at the sight of his wife's tears and his hungry children's pallid faces. By degrees this first sense of anger and hatred toward the sufferer softens so far as to leave only aversion—the desire to turn away from the sight and sound of misery, deformity, disease, and death. Only at last, and very imperfectly even yet among the most advanced of mankind, are both heteropathy and aversion utterly subdued, and does sympathy, alike with suffering and with joy, become habitual and unfailing. Philoctetes, had he endured his misfortune in pre-historic times, would have been shot to death with arrows by his comrades. The Homeric Greeks marooned him on Lemnos, and Sophocles took it as a matter of course that he should have been deserted in his anguish and despair. Had he been a British soldier on those shores in the Crimean war, Florence Nightingale would have gone out to nurse him.

There is, however, one sentiment closely allied to the irascible passions; I mean the non-selfish form of anger, namely moral *indignation*, which is slipping from us along with the self-regarding passions, and the decline of which is not a gain, but a most serious loss. Nothing, says that keen observer, Amiel, manifests the blunting of our consciences so plainly as the disappearance from society of healthful indignation at evil. Certainly it is a fact that the tone now commonly assumed toward even heinous guilt is one of feeble and pitiful curiosity rather than of wholesome abhorrence. Whether the lawyers have dissipated such a feeling by their long-drawn-out trials, where every quibble is brought into play, and the mind of jury and public is distracted from the simple issues to weigh a hundred collateral questions; or whether the doctors, with their perpetual plea of insanity have taught us

to regard all crime and vice, as in Butler's "Erewhon," as merely a disease; or, finally, whether we have grown too subtle to perceive anything clearly as black or white, and can see only gray—in either case the result is the same, and equally deplorable.

The sentiments complementary to moral indignation were *shame*, felt by the guilty in the presence of another man's indignation; and *remorse* and repentance, felt also by the guilty when his actions had incurred his own indignation. With the blunting of the first has come a deadening of the second and third. It is impossible to blind ourselves to the fact that men are less ashamed than in former years when detected in swindling and (notably) in lying, though (public opinion having been educated in the matter of drunkenness and brutality) they would blush more than did their fathers at being found drunk or known to ride horses to death.

As to remorse, whether it ever existed in the past as poets have depicted, I will not take on myself to argue. To me it seems that before a man can have committed heinous crime deliberately and repeatedly, the spiritual organs by which remorse could be felt must be paralyzed and numb. It is the innocent child who has disobeyed some trifling behest or hurt its little companion who is remorseful, not the villain who has ruined a thousand confiding clients, or the murderer who has poisoned a score of victims. But whoever felt remorse of old (as Aurungzebe is recorded to have done for slaying men, and Haller for torturing animals), it is pretty clear that the sentiment troubles few in our days. The masters of the gaming tables at Monte Carlo, the saloon-keepers of the United States who teach boys to become drunkards, the panderers, male and female, who, in all our great cities, lure unhappy girls to perdition—these wretches, whose crimes ought to draw down the indignation of every honest soul in the world, till they hid their guilty heads in sackcloth and ashes, are never known to exhibit the sentiment remorse. Even when public justice, which ought to be an expression of public indignation, condemns a murderer to death, he does not, in these days, show any symptom of genuine remorse—either horror of his crime or the anguish of contrition. On the contrary, he invariably writes letters from the condemned cell

in which he announces his certain hope of going straight from the gallows to heaven, and his deep concern for the souls of other people who have not committed murders.

Space fails me to pursue further this very superficial analysis of the various passions of humanity, and the changes that have come over them; how avarice, for example, has almost died out and given place to a covetousness not incompatible with vast profusion, and how this again (other causes aiding) has developed the rage of gambling to an extent altogether unparalleled in former generations.

In a previous article in the *FORUM* I endeavored to show that the old desire of fame (*i.e.*, of being known for something to our advantage) has degenerated into love of notoriety, or the simple desire *to be known*, whether advantageously or otherwise.

Again, the love of inanimate nature, the delight in the beauty of forests and mountains, especially of the wilder kind of scenery, is, as Macaulay remarked, altogether a modern development of humanity. Homer only once represents one of his personages as admiring a view, and that view is of a garden of lettuces and onions. In the days of Pope, the contrast between the savage wildness of Glencoe and the smiling reaches of the Thames at Richmond, was supposed to be all in favor of Richmond. But our generation has "discovered nature," and revels in it as perhaps almost the purest of earthly joys.

Again, humor is certainly a larger element in human nature now than it was of old. The ancients had abundance of wit; witness Aristophanes, Plautus, Terence, Horace, Juvenal. Even Jews seem sometimes to have solemnly "laughed to scorn" their enemies. But the humor of Chaucer and Shakespeare, Rabelais and the author of "Don Quixote," was an enormous addition to the fund of human jocosity; and the modern humor of England, France, and America (each *sui generis* and each delicious), so joyous, so generally free from grossness and bitterness—what a blessed thing it is; what a help to us all along the dusty paths of mortal life! I know not if the freshly-developed taste for innocent fun be not of all changes in human nature the one which has lightened most hours of gloom.

Again, another transformation is the return to nomad habits on the part of the most civilized people in Europe and America. There was a time when our ancestors wandered in huge hordes from country to country, from north to south, from east to west; Aryans and Mongols, Goths, Visigoths, Teutons, Huns, Heruli, Gauls, Franks, Celts, Saxons, and Normans came down in their mighty masses on Italy, France, Spain, and England. Then came a pause of a thousand years, when the newly-settled nations dwelt under their vines and fig trees, and (except for several hundred sanguinary wars) traveled only exceptionally and incidentally. Now the gadfly which pursued poor *Io* seems to have stung us all, and we flit about the globe restlessly, till it has nearly come to pass that everybody who has a house has let it to somebody else, and the last place to expect to find a man is at home. A general game of puss-in-the-corner amuses the best society of Europe and America all the Summer and much of the Winter. The humblest village school child expects two or three annual excursions; every servant and shop hand stipulates for holidays long enough to pay distant visits; in short, our lives are becoming much like those of festive gnats at play of a warm evening. Sometimes we pause to suck a flower or to bite somebody, but we soon return to the perpetual locomotion which seems to possess unfailing charm. The advantages and disadvantages of this last modern craze, due to Watt and Stephenson, would take us long to analyze.

Lastly, I must close this hasty review by noting one point wherein modern human nature very specially differs from that of earlier days—its vastly-developed subtlety.

The great charm of old literature is its genuine simplicity. The morning dew still lies on the Old Testament, on Herodotus, on the "*Odyssey*," and on the Norse Sagas. The wildest devices of Ulysses and Jacob, the weightiest sayings of Solomon and Solon, are transparent and obvious to the nineteenth-century babe. Every nation has had a childhood when art was at the stage of Giotto, and literature at that of Chaucer. Only by slow degrees the thoughts of men are, not so much "*widened*," as complicated, "*by the process of the suns*," till we come to painters like Turner and Burne Jones, to poets like Shelley and Brown-

ing. As the ancients did not distinguish red from purple, and the Welsh to this day have one word for blue and green, so our forefathers failed to mark a hundred *nuances* which to us are clear as daylight. Even in the lifetime of many now living, a wondrous increase in subtlety has taken place in ordinary human character. A large part of the converse of cultivated people in this generation would (as we may easily convince ourselves by conjuring up the memory of the old who died thirty years ago) have been inexplicably abstruse to our grandfathers. Innumerable good and evil consequences follow from this new subtlety. We are far less dogmatic than our ancestors; indeed, can boast generally of very few dogmas that we hold firmly enough to pretend to fight for them. We see, as our fathers never saw, why other people think as they do, and why we thought one way yesterday and may very probably think another way to-morrow. We no longer merit the epitaph: "He lived and died a true Christian; he loved his friends and hated his enemies." We are too keen-sighted not to see that our friends have faults, our enemies merits; and we sometimes, in consequence, live with our friends as if they might become enemies, and with enemies as if they might some day be taken to our bosoms. Our fathers now and then changed their standings, religious or political; but it was with great searching of spirit, and they always thought they were but stepping from slippery ground to rock. They never contemplated (as some of us do, quite contentedly) spending their lives in the agnostic's swing, its oscillations determined by a push from a review article, or a pull from a sermon.

Nay, there are worse results of our subtlety than these. In the complications of public life, perfect candor and stern uprightness are by no means as easy to the subtle-minded as to the simple. They see too many facets of each question, and look at those only at which it suits them to look. Without conscious hypocrisy, the subtle-minded clergyman keeps his attention fixed on the goodness and truth contained in the creed of his church, and averts his glance from difficulties that might lead him into a wilderness of doubt. Equally, the subtle-minded statesman will persuade himself of the truth of those reports that it suits his policy should be true, and keeps out of sight those that

would convict him of error. Here is the description of such a politician that I find in a newspaper:

“A certain indirectness and tortuousness of mind and character, not morally blamable because innate and constitutional; a certain inability to see things as they are, and to speak of them as they appear; a super-subtlety which catches itself in the net it spins.”

Such are some of the evils of our modern subtlety, which I believe to be at the root of a great many of the errors and failings of the men of our day. On the other hand, no one can doubt that delicacy of mental insight increases immeasurably the pleasures of intellectual and æsthetic life, the joy to be found in intellectual intercourse, in humor, in music, in the higher kinds of literature. It is the difference between an “ox-eyed Juno” and the woman of whose orbs Shelley says that:

“Whoso gazes,
Faints, entangled in their mazes.”

No man possessed of a high-strung, swift, subtle brain, could ever wish to revert to the dullness of the earlier stage of humanity. With its drawbacks and perils, we have yet in this, as in most other ways, attained a higher step than humanity has occupied hitherto in the long *santa scala* of progress.

Let us sum up the conclusions of this paper: 1. The desire of food has passed the stage of gluttony and become in Europe and America only a subordinate branch of general luxury. 2. Sexual love has undergone a glorifying transformation from a universal brute instinct to (very commonly) an exalting ideal passion. 3. Indolence has given way to almost feverish activity. 4. Hatred has diminished in frequency and intensity, and revenge has become obsolete. Anger is perhaps more often self-controlled. 5. Sympathy with suffering has vastly increased and largely displaced heteropathy and aversion. 6. Wholesome indignation has waned disastrously, and remorse has disappeared. 7. Avarice has almost died out, and given place to acquisitiveness and covetousness, often united with prodigality, and giving rise to a gigantic extension of the vice of gambling. 8. The desire of fame has degenerated into the love of notoriety. 9. The love of natural beauty, especially of the wilder sort, has been born, and has become a large factor in modern enjoyment.

10. Humor is more common, more refined, and more prized. 11. Men and women have become almost nomadic in their habits, so perpetual are their removals and journeys. 12. The minds of men have become infinitely more subtle, their emotions more varied, more complex, more rarefied in every way; thereby new dangers of duplicity are incurred, and at the same time the capacity for high emotional and intellectual pleasures is enlarged.

Thus, if this stock-taking of the losses and gains of human nature be anything near correctness, we may, in spite of certain serious dangers ahead, surely thank God and take courage, believing that in the order of his providence the "ape and tiger" are really, however slowly, dying out of human nature, while love and sympathy become stronger as the generations pass away; and with them grow many pure delights—in the beauty of art and of nature, in music, in humor, and in the subtle converse of cultured intellects, whereof the fathers of our race scarcely enjoyed a foretaste.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

NO THEOLOGY AND NEW THEOLOGY.

THERE are two movements in our time that are frequently confounded; the one the No Theology movement, the other the New Theology movement. The one is represented by such men as Huxley, Spencer, Mill; the other by such men as Maurice, Erskine, Bushnell, Munger, Newman Smythe, and Henry Ward Beecher. Looking at these two thought movements from the outside, and not carefully considering them, men think them to be in the same direction, and leading to the same inevitable end. If, they say, you depart from the faiths of your fathers, you will end in the unfaith of the infidels. The prophets of the New Theology, they concede, have not yet reached that result; partly because they are not logical, partly because they cannot wholly rid themselves of the influence of early training, partly because their sentiments and feelings are better than their heads. But they believe that he who begins by accepting the New Theology must end by accepting the No Theology; that Munger and Bushnell logically lead to Spencer and Huxley. One current, such alarmists think, bears all these boats upon its bosom, and the end is the same Niagara plunge into absolute infidelity. There is some apparent reason for this fear. It is at least natural to confound these two movements, since they both have the same origin, spring from the same intellectual motive, result from the same intellectual unrest and discontent with the past. But I believe they seek not only different but antipodal goals; that so far from being in spirit and direction the same, the New Theology is providentially the movement by which the No Theology is to be more than contradicted—is to be turned into a different channel, and brought to a different issue. I wish in this paper to point out what these movements have in common, and to show also that they are movements in opposite directions.

Philosophy assumes the unity of the universe, for if there be no unity of the universe there can be no philosophy.

Science does not create systems any more than it creates phenomena. It observes phenomena, and it perceives their relation to each other, that is, the system to which they belong and of which each phenomenon is a part. In the one case as in the other, it discovers what already exists. To admit that there is no unity in the universe, is to concede that philosophy, that science, is impossible. To admit that this unity is broken by exceptions, is to concede that there is and can be no comprehensive and inclusive philosophy, and that its imperfections are due, not to the fragmentariness of our knowledge, but to the fragmentariness of life itself. It is to admit that the universe is more or less chaos, with no spirit of God brooding on the face of the waters, no divine voice saying "Let there be light." Just in the measure in which we admit dualism, just in that measure we confess ourselves balked of our intellectual purpose, and confess that the necessary presupposition of all science and all philosophy is partially false. Nevertheless, our religious philosophy has been to a considerable extent dualistic. It has really, if not in terms, denied the unity of the universe. This denial finds its natural expression in the popular phrases, "conflict of science with religion," and "reconciliation of science with religion." Alike the men who have believed that there is a conflict and those who have attempted a reconciliation, have, by their language, assumed that there are in the universe two departments of life, distinct and separable, under different laws, working to different ends, and if not absolutely opposed the one to the other, at least wholly independent the one of the other. This dualism has found expression in popular thought, and especially in pulpit thought, in such verbal contrasts as "science and religion," "nature and the supernatural," "order of nature and miracles," "reason and faith," "this world and the other world," "matter and spirit," "the human and the divine." We have been called on by theologians to tell them whether we accepted the testimony of science or of religion; we have been required to admit the supernatural in addition to nature; miracles have been treated as infractions of, or at least interventions in, the order of nature; we have been bidden to accept by faith what the reason could not accept; we have been called on to choose between this world

and the other world; if we served man we were regarded simply as philanthropists; only as we served God were we counted truly religious.

This dualism is abhorrent to philosophy. Philosophy will have none of it, can have none of it. If this dualism be real, philosophy is impossible, unless we are content to have two philosophies wholly independent and sometimes incongruous. This is, indeed, what some modern so-called thinkers would give us. Let the theologian, they say, keep to his theology, and the scientist to his science, and all will be well; if either invades the realm of the other, war is inevitable. But the realm of each is life, and neither will concede, or indeed if he be a true thinker can concede, that anything less than the whole universe belongs to his thinking. The science of man must be a science of the whole man, or it is no true science; and the religion of man must be a religion of the whole man, or it is no true religion. The universe cannot be divided into two universes, the one handed over to the scientist and the other to the theologian. This dualism in philosophy is as abhorrent to the intellect, as that polytheism which is its necessary companion was abhorrent to true reverence and faith. Science assumes the absolute reign of law; religion assumes the absolute reign of God. To concede that a part of the universe is independent of law is destructive of science; to concede that a part of the universe is independent of God is destructive of religion. The motto of the universe may be and is, *E pluribus unum*, but the unity that binds the many into one coherent and homogeneous system must be discovered, and neither science nor religion will relax its search until the end is accomplished. Modern thought is attempting to secure this end by two very different processes; the one that of the No Theology, the other that of the New Theology.

The No Theology secures the unity of the universe by denying or ignoring all that is implied in the second of the phrases above quoted. It believes in science but not in religion, in nature but not in the supernatural, in an order of nature but not in miracles, in reason but not in faith, in this world but not in the other world, in matter but not in mind, in the human but

not in the divine. The No Theology is not indeed always self-consistent, any more than the New Theology is always self-consistent. Sometimes it contents itself with denying a part and trying to retain a part—denies the miracles but retains faith, denies the other world but retains spirit; but in all such inconsistent unbelief it is entangled in the same dualism as before. The logical issue of the No Theology is positivism—no supernatural, no miracles, no faith, no future life, no other object of love or reverence, than Man spelt with a capital M. The New Theology secures the unity of the universe by a very different process, and conducts to a very different issue. All believers in the New Theology do not see clearly what the problem is. None of us pretend to have fully solved it. But all attempts at New Theology statements of miracles, inspiration, incarnation, atonement, regeneration, are attempts to restate the philosophy of religion in such a form as will show religion to be philosophical, and will preserve in our thought the unity of the universe by some better method than that of closing our eyes to a portion of its phenomena, which is the method of the No Theology. The explanation, or rather the illustration, of this truth requires a little further amplification.

We are coming, then, to regard man no longer as dual. It is true that, in speaking of him, we are compelled to use the language of dualism, and in studying him, to employ the conception of dualism. This is because substantially all our knowledge of his body is derived from observation, and all our knowledge of his spirit from consciousness. Our sources of knowledge are dual, and therefore we are compelled to use the dualistic formulæ in our thought and our language. But more and more those who have imbibed the spirit of the New Theology think of man, not as spirit and body mechanically joined together, but as one entity—a spirit tabernacling in, and working through, a body as its material organism. The New Theology revivalist no longer says to his auditors, "You have immortal souls." They *are* immortal souls. The New Theology universalist no longer tells his congregation that when the body with its sins has dropped into the grave, the soul will rise pure to its Father. He knows nothing of a pure white spirit in a body that has been given

over to lust and appetite. So we no longer think of immortality as a future acquisition; it is a present possession. I *am* immortal; not, I shall be. We are not so sure as we once were that we shall exist forever; we are surer than we ever were before that I, the true I, is a somewhat that pain does not touch and death cannot destroy. So, along with our faith in a present immortality, stronger than it ever was before, goes with some of us an hypothesis of conditional immortality; because we do not know that this death-conquering consciousness is itself inherent and indestructible; we are not sure but that it is derived from God and may be destroyed by a final departure from God.

For the same reason, we no longer draw any sharp line between this world and the other world. We dismiss, as a part of the dualism of the past, the notion of a "long and dreary sleep," a fleshly resurrection, and a great gap between the dying and the rising again. Life is continuous; life is one; and death makes no break in it. The loss of an arm leaves the man unchanged; the other arm is lost, he is still unchanged; he falls, like John Carter, from a tree, and dislocates his neck, and lives for twenty years with no power of motion save in his head, but he is still John Carter. Life goes on uninterrupted. The body drops into the grave and disintegrates altogether. Life still goes on uninterrupted. The dissolution of the whole body is no more than the dissolution of any part of it. The dogma that all hope of repentance necessarily ends at the grave, we banish into the lumber room that holds the other fragments of an abandoned dualism. As man goes out of our sight, such is he on the other side of the veil that hides him from us. The pupil is the same pupil in the next form that he was in this. Whether the prisoner who was marching with us yesterday is in the grade above or in the grade below us, is not for us to judge; but he is the same man, and the same mercy and love are over him trying to reform and to redeem. It is by no accident that New Theology men, while many of them refuse to accept the Andover hypothesis, everywhere, by an unconscious agreement, also refuse to accept the unscriptural dogma of the decisive nature of this life's probation for every man; for that dogma belongs to that dualism which insists on breaking life into two dis severed hemispheres,

time and eternity, this world and the other world. We know no such severance. We are now in eternity; this world and the other world are one.

God and nature are not dual. We have abandoned, or are abandoning, the carpenter conception of creation—the notion that God made the world as a builder makes a house. We are substituting for it the far grander conception of a God immanent in nature, and of nature as the thought, not the handiwork, of God. We have cast away our childhood's conception of a robed monarch, enthroned somewhere in a central capital, and ruling the world by means of an angelic bureaucracy—a kind of infinite czar of a Russian universe. We think of him as we think of the soul in the body, omnipresent in all its parts. Our No Theology friends secure a unity of the universe by dispensing with God altogether, and substituting for him laws and forces that sometimes, out of deference to a traditional reverence, they spell with capital initial letters. We believe, with the old Hebrew psalmist, that all power belongs unto God; that all force is in the last analysis in the will; that all so-called natural forces are the out-workings of the divine purposes; that all so-called natural laws are only habits of the divine activity. They are simply the way in which God is accustomed to act. But this is pantheism, exclaims some frightened reader. If it were, we should not be alarmed. But it is not pantheism. That the All is God, is one philosophic conception; that God is in the All, is another. If to believe that God is the All in All is pantheism, then Paul was a pantheist, and we are not afraid to be in his company. It is indeed the company of the elect thinkers of all ages and all religions.

We, therefore, of logical necessity, have done forever with the distinction between nature and the supernatural. What men call the supernatural is but the spirit force in nature. Everything natural is supernatural; everything supernatural is natural. We ourselves are not able to set aside the forces of nature, yet we are not bound by them in a helpless captivity. They are instruments in our hands for working out incredible results. There is nothing unphilosophical in the belief that there are other agencies higher than our own, in whose hands they also

are instruments. There is something remarkably self-conceited in the calm assumption that such agencies cannot exist. Modern science has for its secret in the last analysis this, that God allows his children to use his powers as though they were their own. Their brain directs his muscles, and he permits it. For he is training them to be his children, and means them one day to be truly one with him. Of course, therefore, miracles are no violation of the order of nature. Such a violation would be on these principles unthinkable; it would be God violating his own nature. They are not interruptions to these laws, or exceptions to them, or interventions with them, such as an engineer makes when he reverses his engine, or a watch-maker when he sets and regulates his watch. They are the disclosures of a power higher than our own in the universe; as the spouting geysers are evidences of subterranean forces not well understood. These witnesses were needed in an age that could not, at least did not, understand the greater evidence afforded by every sunrise and every spring. They are not needed now, when the scientific apostle whom traditional theology most dreads declares to us that "amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty that we are ever in the presence of an infinite and eternal Energy from which all things proceed"; and when the literary apostle whom it most dreads finds in history abundant and convincing evidence of "a power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." Do you discern in this the very form of the "Long Prayer" of Congregational and Presbyterian worship?

Inspiration and revelation we no longer regard as exceptional and episodic phenomena. We do not wonder that men refuse to believe that God left all his children to grow up in ignorance of himself, except a "chosen race," geographically confined to a province no larger than the State of Vermont. We believe that inspiration and revelation are universal phenomena; that God has not left himself without a witness among any people; that he has spoken in all lands, unveiled himself before all peoples, brooded all hearts. We believe that he spoke through Confucius, through Siddartha, through Socrates, through every prophet who has ever attempted to fill the minds and hearts of

men with faith and hope and love. We welcome the evidences of a broader mercy that are afforded by such teachers as Max Müller, and such books as Charles L. Brace's "The Unknown God." We doubt whether there has ever been a pagan people that has not had its Melchizedek. We wish to see foreign missions less polemical; to see them treat pagan philosophy less as a delusion of the devil, and more as a darkened vision of God and an imperfectly-authenticated word of God. We desire to see them approach pagan peoples more in the spirit in which Paul approached the worshipers of an unknown god in the city of Athens. We accept the Bible as a standard, but not as the infallible, inerrant standard that our fathers thought it. It is not less dear to us because it is more a literature; not less divine because more human; not less the word of God because the words of holy men of old. We see that nations have their characteristics as well as individuals; we see that the genius of the Hebrew nation was for religion, as the genius of Greece was for art, of Rome for law, of England for commerce. We see in the Bible, then, the best words of the holiest prophets, of the most religious people, and these words sifted out by a process of natural selection from the literature of sixteen centuries; and we count this record of the inspired experiences of the inspired prophets, of an inspired nation, a real standard of ethical and spiritual truth, not the less sacred nor the less valuable because it was given to imperfect men, interpreted by imperfect men, and translated through the imperfect medium of human language, to us who imperfectly understand it. We believe that all the apostles and prophets, no less than Paul, knew in part and prophesied in part; but none the less we accept as our guidance, their teaching. We count the Bible, not a substitute for thinking, but a stimulant to thought. We love it, but we do not idolize it. We believe that God has spoken and is speaking in many literatures; but in none so clearly as in the Bible, in which we rejoice for what it has done, is doing, and we believe will yet do, for the spiritual culture of the race.

The New Theology is certainly also departing, has certainly departed, from the old dualistic conception of the incarnation, though it is not yet perhaps prepared to formulate a new con-

ception. Medieval theology assumed an inherent and essential difference between God and man. Clothing God in a body, throning and crowning him, localizing him, thus embodying all that is worst in anthropomorphism, it yet, in its reaction against the anthropomorphism of Greece and Rome, conceived of God as essentially different from man, not as truly imaged in him. So it built up a succession of mediators to fill the gap between the Father and his children—a Son to intercede with the Father, a Virgin Mary to intercede with the Son, saints to intercede with the Virgin Mary, and priests to intercede with the saints. This whole system depended and still depends, so far as it exists, on the dualistic conception of the universe, which supposes two or more distinct classes of spiritual beings; generally at least three species were conceived—the divine, the angelic, and the human. Now the Bible knows no such dualism. It represents man as made in the image of God; our hopes and fears, our joys and sorrows, our loves and hates, in a word, our experiences, the glass in which we see God darkly. It is true that the vision is often very dim, but it is an image of the divine. The difference between God and man—that is, the ideal man—is quantitative, not qualitative; it is of degree, not of kind. God is ideal man, *plus* infinity; ideal man is God, *minus* infinity. This conception of manhood and of godhood—of God as the Father whose spiritual offspring we are, of man as a partaker of the divine nature—gradually growing into the consciousness of the christian church, is gradually expelling the old dualism and all that grew out of it. In Protestant theology, the Virgin Mary, the saints, the priests, have already gone. With them is going the medieval conception of Jesus Christ as God *and* man; not really an image of God, for God could not suffer; not really a perfect model for man, for man cannot hope to be as God. In place of it is dawning a conception of Jesus Christ as God *in* man; the divine spirit filling a human life with its presence and power, so that his life is a perfect type of what God means human character and life to be, so that his character is a perfect revelation of what God is, in the infinite and eternal sphere; a conception of Jesus Christ, as God manifest in the flesh, as man in whom dwelt all the fullness of the godhead bodily; a conception of Jesus Christ as

God translated into terms of human experience. And this conception fits in with the conception we are gradually forming of the mystic, because spiritual, relationship between God and his children. This is a relationship of his indwelling. The "all things" that proceed from the infinite and eternal energy are not merely physical things; they are as well the spiritual experiences of man. There is a unity in life. Were there no unity there could be no science of man, no true history, no evolution of either individual or race, no coherence, no continuity. That unity is God, and all development of humanity is the development of the life of God in the soul of man. This is what we call religion; this is what Jesus called the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of heaven. It is the reign of God, not over man, but in man; as he reigns, not over nature, but in nature. We begin dimly to see—it requires a clearer vision than mine to see it clearly, a more eloquent pen than mine to state it adequately—that the incarnation is not an isolated fact; that it is continuous and progressive; that Jesus Christ is the ideal man because God dwelt in him as he has dwelt in no other life before or since, but that he so dwelt in him that he might show us what we shall all become when he fills us with his presence and his power, and we are one with Jesus Christ as Jesus Christ is one with the Father, and Paul's inspired prayer is answered and we also are filled with all the fullness of God. Then, too, will be consummated all that we mean by atonement, when separation from God—the only dualism that philosophy can recognize, and that only to declare eternal war against it—is at an end, and God is at one with his children, not merely because of some enmity appeased or some penalty remitted, but because God and man are truly at one, man in God and God in man, in an eternal spiritual unity.

Such is the direction in which the New Theology is moving. It may seem to some of the readers of the FORUM a dangerous movement; it may seem to others an irrational one; to still others, mystical and incomprehensible. But I hope that I have made it clear that it can in no sense be regarded as a movement identical, either in direction or in spirit, with the No Theology movement. The one denies the supernatural, the other regards

all nature as the expression of the supernatural dwelling in and dominating nature; the one rejects miracles as incredible, the other counts them as coherent and harmonious with the order of nature; the one will allow no faculty in man higher than reason, the other recognizes in him a faith power that directly and immediately takes cognizance of the invisible and eternal; the one doubts or disbelieves any other life, the other holds this life to be but a fragment of a continuous life that death does not even interrupt; the one will hardly allow the existence of spirit, the other regards all matter as simply the expression and the organ of the spiritual that is immanent in all matter; the one either denies that there is a God or denies that we can know him, the other asserts that he is in a measure in every man, is historically manifested in the one ideal and perfect man, Jesus of Nazareth, and will finally fill redeemed humanity with his spirit, so that man, not losing his own personality or his own freedom, shall yet be spiritually, in will, affection, and motive power, one with God; the one allows no place for God or for religion, the other declares that religion, the life of God in the soul of man, is the only life that is truly human, because it is the life that is divine.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

NEWSPAPERS AND THE PUBLIC.

CRITICISM of our newspaper press is pretty nearly universal. In all intelligent, refined companies, East and West, there is practically only one judgment about it. Again and again the remark is made, as to a particular newspaper, that it is a choice of evils. One and another is tried, it is said, and each one, for some reason, found objectionable for the family. What is to be done? This talk is heard in households, in clubs, on 'change. Is it a sign that the public taste has improved, or that newspapers have deteriorated?

In this talk, which is heard everywhere, it is said that the American newspaper has become insultingly inquisitive, vulgar in tone, recklessly sensational, indecent. But this is not all; the more serious charge is that it is untrustworthy. If it cannot be believed, then it has absolutely no excuse for existence, because it does not subserve the sole purpose of its creation, which is, to be a mirror of contemporary life. Is it true that the desire to make a sensation, to produce a readable paragraph, is stronger than the wish to report truly what occurs? This is the general public impression. How far is it justified? If justified at all, concerning what proportion of our newspapers is it true? Is it difficult to get a correct impression of what takes place in Washington on any given day, even by reading a dozen journals, with allowance for the partisan purpose and the personal equation, and then striking a balance? How is it possible to know what took place at any public meeting when half a dozen reports give as many impressions of it, and agree in nothing except, perhaps, some parts of a speech stenographically taken? When a distinguished person passes through a city, and his appearance and dress, his companions, and what was done and said by them are reported by ten newspapers with scarcely any agreement as to essential facts, what is the reader to do? If some morning the opinions of six financial authorities are published at length on

some measure proposed in Congress, and the reader accidentally learns afterward that not one of the men supposed to be interviewed has been seen or has said a word that is printed, what becomes of the reader's confidence? If in the account of some Johnstown horror thrilling incidents are interjected which are due entirely to an imaginative reporter's faculty for picturesque description at a distance from the scene of the tragedy, does the public resent the "enterprise" more than it admires it? The country newspaper which makes a business of ferreting out details of private life, is it not denounced by everybody? But is its circulation larger or smaller than that of another newspaper that respects individual privacy? In fact, is there a good word said for the journal that exaggerates and invents and prints daily columns of scandal? Has it not to content itself with an increasing subscription list?

In all this talk it is usually assumed that the sole responsibility for the sensationalism and vulgarity of a portion of the American press rests upon its publishers and conductors. Now, it is a truism to say that there would be less criticism of the actions of others if every one felt a due responsibility for his own actions. Even the saloon-keeper can dodge behind this truth. I did not create, he says, the demand for strong drink; if I did not offer to supply it some one else would. And it is true that if the mass of the community were educated to temperance and self-respect, the saloon-keeper would wither and disappear. The fallacy in his position is the same as that in the position of the purveyor of scandal and sensational news; he does not merely offer to satisfy an existing demand, but he stimulates and creates an appetite by which he profits. He is not indeed responsible for the taste of the world, but he is responsible for any action of his that makes it worse.

It is with no intention of shifting responsibility from shoulders that ought to bear it, that inquiry into this matter is pushed a little further. When the intelligent foreigner in this country is amazed and alarmed at the enterprise and the irresponsibility of the American press, the American has no difficulty in agreeing with him as to the character of a considerable portion of it, and denouncing the growing recklessness of this sort of jour-

nalism. He even says that it does not represent the intelligence, the morals, the tendency of the American people. The foreigner who has seen something of our general comfort and prosperity, of our "institutions," of our domestic life, is inclined to admit this. But he asks, How does it happen, then, that the newspapers most sensational, most vulgar, most chaotically conducted, are precisely those that have the largest circulation? What is the American to answer? And yet this question is one that cannot be evaded, and that should be very seriously considered. Have the American people no responsibility for the newspapers that a majority of them prefer to read and do not prefer to have considered representative?

The newspaper in France that has the largest circulation—probably a larger circulation than any other in the world—is "*Le Petit Journal*," of Paris, a small sheet, sold for a sou, containing a meager epitome of the news, but rigidly decent and trustworthy. Is the moral standard in France, therefore, higher than in America? The newspapers in England having the largest circulation are not those in which personalities and veiled scandal are the chief characteristics. Is the general English taste less vulgar, are the morals of classes and masses purer in England than in America? If the American answers these questions by a negative, as he conscientiously can, how is he to account for the fact that the most sensational and vulgar newspapers in his country have the largest circulation?

Have a few enterprising publishers had the power to lower and corrupt the taste of the majority of the people as to their reading, or did they simply take advantage of an existing demand, or did they appeal to the lower taste and the vulgar curiosity of people who have higher and better natures than would be indicated by their choice of their daily newspaper?

Suppose we put the question in another way. Would a newspaper of the first class in all departments; which had a high moral and literary tone; which refused to print anything it did not believe to be true, anything merely for the sake of sensation; which respected the sanctity of private life; which, like the London "*Times*," gave fully and impartially the speeches of all political leaders; whose law reports were so full and accurate

that they were cited and accepted in court as trustworthy—would a newspaper of that sort be sustained? If not, why? Has it been possible to sustain in this country an independent weekly paper of the grade of the London "Spectator"? Why is there not a single review in this country with the weight, dignity, and character of reviews in France, Germany, and England; in which space enough can be given to review adequately an important book, discovery, or project, or to discuss thoroughly great political and economic problems? Is it conceivable, if a daily, weekly, or quarterly of this sort would pay, that money would not be forthcoming for so profitable an investment?

These questions are more perplexing because it is admitted that in general intelligence, not in a class, but in the mass, this country is not inferior to any other. Taking the country all together, the proportion of illiteracy is less than in some older civilizations. The ability to read, thanks to the common school, is general. Perhaps it is this very ability to read conferred upon multitudes whose taste is low, that accounts for the greater circulation of the journals suited to the low taste. If the habit of reading were as common in France as in this country, would there not be journals there of great circulation suited to a vulgar constituency? We are paying the penalty of cultivating the ability to read in advance of the taste to discriminate.

This answer might be satisfactory but for another fact, which is, that so many readers of the sensational and vulgar journals are reputable people, who have a different standard for choosing the women with whom they associate, the friends with whom they are intimate, the "set" in which they move, from that which guides in the selection of the daily newspaper they shall read. And this leads us to go a little deeper still to account for much of the journalism most popular—judged by its success—in America. It must be noted that to attempt to account for this peculiar journalism is not to defend it.

We might make short work of this by taking the cynical view of human nature involved in such maxims as that every one has a secret delight in hearing of the misfortune of a friend, or that everybody loves to hear scandal, or that in every person is a taste for that which is low, and this taste he thinks he can safely and

irresponsibly indulge in reading. But, to be fair, what is it that attracts the decent, intelligent person to the sensational and vulgar journal? Is it that which is vulgar in it, or does he find in the newspaper that has this reputation something else that he needs? To answer this question fully would be to enter into a study of the American character, or the character developed here by our peculiar circumstances; and to do this adequately would require much space.

The American has had opportunities never before offered a people for a speedy change of condition. He has always been in a struggle with nature, and in a competition with his fellows made more eager and sharp than elsewhere by the possibilities. He has always been in contact with something new. The contrast of his situation in this respect to that of older and more fixed European communities is striking. In consequence he is restless; he has a habit of being in a hurry. He transacts his business rapidly; he disposes of his meals quickly; he wants to travel fast; he is impatient of anything slow. He looks often at his watch—such is the value of time that every man, woman, and child absolutely needs a watch—and he snaps its case sharply if he discovers he has lost a minute. What he wants he wants immediately, and he wants it compact, “handy,” and, if it is information, to the point, and strong. Perhaps he would rather gratify an immediate sensation than wait for the satisfaction of deliberate judgment. He is very alert, and is always looking for something to take hold of. The heavy columns of a London journal look to him dull; he does not know where to begin. He wants his newspaper to be alive. He is fond of short paragraphs, pointed, incisive, and once he has tasted a personal flavor in them, he gets more and more to demand that. Being himself in a hurry, he is pleased with the rattling, touch-and-go manner of the sensational newspaper. What he reads he knows may not be true, but it is clever, it shows “enterprise.” It will be contradicted to-morrow; no matter, that is something to look forward to, to be amused with. It would seem that the nearer the newspaper approaches the character of street rumor—irresponsible, changing with the utterance of every gossip, asserted, contradicted, never sifted, blown into an iridescent

bubble this moment to disappear the next—the better it suits his mood. His newspaper must be alert, or have the appearance of being so, and also of being in an eternal scramble and strain to get all the news and to get it first; and this appearance satisfies him for the moment just as well as if there was an alertness to lay before him only what is the real news and the whole ascertainable truth. He indulges in speculations himself on insufficient information, and he does not at the moment complain when the newspaper does the same. And whatever is served him piquantly and with startling head-lines, like a show advertisement, seems to him more “newsy” than a quiet statement. When he sits down at home or in his club, he denounces the newspaper as sensational, not to be credited, lowering to the public taste and morals; and the next morning he buys the same newspaper. The canny publisher has probably learned that if he changes his tone and his manner he will lose subscribers.

But this is not all. The American people like brightness, audacity, wit, *persiflage*, what they call “snap.” It is not necessary to conclude that they are altogether attracted to a newspaper because it is sensational and vulgar. There have been newspapers that were vulgar and indecent and that tried to be sensational, but were dull, and these did not go. People often mistake impudence for enterprise and smartness for wit, but they want a paper to look alive. They are credulous also, and are apt to mistake show for substance, to take the repeated pretense of enterprise for enterprise itself, and to think that the matter is most worthy of attention that is leaded and paragraphed and put before them with all the typographical emphasis of a display advertisement. And perhaps the publishers have learned that the cheap shows and cheap shops succeed best that beat a drum and keep a crier at the door. Then, it is undeniable that the American people like “personalities.” The philosopher might say that this taste shows an interest in humanity, a lively concern in the fortunes of others; that its extreme development is due to the fluid, changing nature of our society, the possibility of its rapid ups and downs, which keeps every one on the *qui vive*; and that a new society is naturally more interested in the details of its evolution than an old and settled society in

which fortunes are fixed and changes are rare. Something of it may also be due to the republican habit, the notion of equality. In governments of distinctly-marked orders and classes, only the movements of persons of conspicuous rank are thought worth chronicling. But it is more important to the inhabitants of a village in America to know that the fascinating Miss Gant of Buckville is paying a visit to the lovely Miss Frank on Franklin Street, than to know that yesterday Queen Victoria drove out with the Princess Beatrice. And when the friendly reporter adds that "Miss Gant is no back number," the humor is responded to by all the circle of Miss Gant's friends. The cynic, indeed, may say that this taste for trivial personal gossip is a mark of provincialism, and of minds untaught to take an interest in the serious problems and movements of the world at large. When Horace Greeley used to go about the country lecturing, it was his habit to advise his editorial brethren to cultivate the local field; to leave foreign affairs and national politics largely to the metropolitan journals; to search out and print every event, accident, sale, arrival, departure, every detail of private life in the community; because people are most interested in reading about people they know. This publishing of local gossip, and especially of the names of individuals otherwise not notorious, became so popular that the great city dailies took it up, and now devote columns to the whereabouts of persons with no claim to public mention. The city folk whose names appear in the columns of fashionable intelligence smile at the lists of nobodies in the country newspapers; but, really, is the importance of an individual increased by the accident of a city residence? Is the city taste for publicity any more creditable than the country taste? The people whose names are printed are shocked—they declare that they are—and that they are disgusted with the prying, vulgar newspaper that contains them; but they want to see the paper, and they run their eyes down the column in search of the names of their friends. Next week they look in the paper to see if their names are there, and if they are left out, is the paper as interesting and enterprising as it seemed before? Is it not reasonable that the Court Circular of a democracy should include everybody?

This desire for publicity has been cultivated by the news-

papers, but did they create it? Would the newspapers continue to minister to it if the public did not sustain them? We are enraged at the journals for daily violations of privacy that should be sacred, but who buys the journals? Whatever the newspapers are, is it not about time that the public began to consider its responsibility in the case?

Much of this publicity is comparatively harmless and only ministers to vanity; much of it, however, is injurious, wanton, painful, indescribably brutal, sowing suspicion as to character and motive that can never be overcome, sometimes driving the aggrieved to suicide. But who makes the public laws as to libel, and upon whom rests the duty of enforcing them? Is it true that the American people generally are jocularly indifferent to published slander unless they are personally hit? We have here no case of anonymous scribblers who are destroying private reputations wantonly in order to make a salable and spicy paragraph, for each newspaper has a responsible conductor, who can be reached in every case of abuse of his semi-public function. If the present laws do not reach him they can be made to reach him, and injury to reputation can be as promptly punished as injury to property. The responsibility of the public is as plain in one case as it is in the other.

What relation has the present American newspaper to the evolution of our social condition? Does it fairly represent and mirror it? This is the most serious question we can ask ourselves. There is much wit expended on our national Congress, on our State legislatures; who elects the members? If the legislatures lack capacity and are corrupt, why do we not send members to them who have ability and are honest? There is an indictment of ourselves in all our complaints of the newspapers and of the legislatures.

The American newspaper is a marvel of intelligence and enterprise; in many respects it is the most wonderful production of our civilization. Consider the brains, the hard work, the incessant vigilance, and the mechanical ingenuity needed in one issue of a great daily, which is an amazing *conspectus* and reflection of the life of the entire globe the day before. Remembering the hurry and excitement in which it must be made up, and the

brief time allowed for deliberation, the wonder is, not that there are in it so many mistakes, but so few. And considering its contents, and its cost in its pay of employees, in its outlay for news, in its ingenious machinery, it is the cheapest of all human products. The reader pays for that which gives him the daily history of the world (and most of the ideas that he uses in conversation) scarcely more than the price of the white paper.

If the circulation of ideas has any value, the newspaper is a necessity. But it has another function in our social state, the full action of which is as yet but dimly comprehended, though absolutely essential in a government like ours. We refer to the effect that mere publicity has in government, in the discharge of public office and public duty, in the conduct of all institutions, public or semi-private in their nature, and upon all schemes, movements, and theories. This publicity makes the whole people inspectors of all that concerns them, brings every deed to the bar of public criticism, and informs the most powerful of all modern engines, public opinion. This great service the newspapers render. It is perhaps incidental to this, and because all conductors of newspapers have not conscience and a sense of the responsibility of their position, that there is so much infamous invasion of privacy, so much wanton injury to reputation, so much matter printed that helps to vulgarize an already sufficiently vulgar world. But the public has its legal remedy for the injury, or can have it, and it need not read that which is vulgar and indecent. If I hear that a grocer who is known to sell adulterated and unwholesome food is more largely patronized than a grocer who sells only wholesome food, I have my opinion of the customers as well as of the seller. So long as the American people liberally sustain newspapers that they condemn, what is the value of their criticism? Perhaps they sustain those newspapers for qualities other than their reckless sensationalism and vulgarity; but the world is very uncharitable, and smiles with incredulity at the explanations we make.

To most foreign readers the tone of most American newspapers is insupportable. To most American readers the foreign journals are dull, not simply because their topics are remote from their sympathy, but because they lack vivacity, personal

flavor, and, in general, "go." Better be dead than be dull. Perhaps the levity and lack of seriousness in the newspaper is only complementary to the care and stress of the American's daily life. But if in his social evolution he shall come to see that sensationalism is windy, unprofitable daily food, and that wit and gaiety and a lively presentation of news are not inconsistent with decency and with respect for individual rights and sensibilities, he may refuse to read any newspaper that has not reached his moral and social elevation.

The fair conclusion of the whole matter seems to be that the American people have the sort of newspapers they prefer. An increasing number, no doubt, prefer a clean and trustworthy newspaper. But in this country we are estimated by majorities.

CHAS. DUDLEY WARNER.

THE RIGHTS OF PUBLIC PROPERTY.

THE religious changes of the sixteenth century had, among other consequences, that of throwing the individual back on his own center, or the introduction of social atomism. The modern Christian seems to have followed Constantine's satirical advice to a dissident bishop, to take a ladder and climb up to Heaven by himself. The church, formerly held to be necessary for salvation, has come to be regarded by numbers as a sort of joint-stock company, in which they may take shares if they choose, and from which they can draw out when it pleases them. But from the assertion, "I am the church," to the parallel assertion, "I am the state," is only a step. The dissolution of the religious organism into a chaos of opinions has involved the wreck of the state among warring interests, and the very scope and meaning of civil society has been forgotten. To Aristotle as to Plato, to the lofty mind of Edmund Burke as to the philosophers of earlier christian schools, it was a familiar thought that society is a living organism of which all the parts are successively means and ends. But Rousseau, and with him the eighteenth century, held it to be a mechanism, or something even lower—an artificial convention due to a compact; and Carlyle, observing the facts, and contemptuous of Rousseau, was forced, on viewing the phenomena around him, to sum them up as "anarchy plus the policeman." Hence no doubt it was that Adam Smith, in constructing his political economy, took note of the policeman and assigned him wages, but otherwise overlooked the organism as non-existent. He dealt instead with that unreal thing, the atomic individual, and arrived at "natural liberty," free competition, and the economic struggle for existence, as the only conclusions which his premises would warrant. Adam Smith, Malthus, Darwin, these are the great names which stand for a view of man's purpose and destiny, wherein the organism, phy-

sical or social, is sacrificed to contending atoms, to the unchecked and *acosmic* warfare of individuals one with another, while

“Chaos umpire sits and more embroils the fray.”

On the supposition of atomism, be it economic, religious, or biological, harmonious issues are a mere accident; there is no explanation of them; and constantly recurring crises, or crashes, testify more and more that, as the combat goes on, the confusion becomes inextricable. Society splits up into factions without principle; competition creates “rings” and “corners”; religion, degraded to a sentiment, changes like the wind; individuals are “exploiters” or “exploited,” wolves or sheep; patriotism dies out; no man is his brother’s keeper; and the aim of public as of private life is to snatch and steal, to plunder by legal methods, to be celebrated as a “mighty marauder of the money market.” Society, meantime, staggers onward to the abyss, and *littérateurs* like M. Renan assure us with a smile that we live in the decadence of civilization, and that the nineteenth century, though not a great age, is, to make amends, a most amusing one. *Ludibria rerum humanarum*, said Tacitus, “what a farce the world is!”

A very terrible farce, we may be sure, played over the bottomless pit. If each man will live for himself, if “altruism is a mere fad,” if we may all take pattern, in our small way, by the giant monopolists, and believe that society has “rights for us” but no rights *in* us, the consummation will hardly be the progress of the species, but rather its decline and relapse into the lowest state of barbarism. The struggle for wealth is turning out barbarians by the million, on as large a scale, in fact, as any other products of our expensive machinery. Competition, governed by no higher principle than the “higgling of the market,” creates poverty, drunkenness, vice, physical degradation, bestial indifference to every human good. The abundance which ought to feed civilization is choking it. The “labor market” has taken the place of the slave market, and men, women, and children are sold in it every day. But observe that their purchaser does not feel bound to keep them alive and in working condition, as the slave laws compelled him of old. They may die as fast as they please, the supply will not run short. He

has, in slang phrase, to "make his pile," and they, unhappy wretches, have to make their living—two utterly different things, which stand in inverse ratio the one to the other. The slave at least belonged to somebody, and though his master might flog him, he was also expected to feed him. But the wage-earner comes cheaper than the slave. He belongs to nobody. His fee simple in our magnificent social progress is but a "contingent remainder" in the workhouse, where no useful work is ever done, lest it should increase the competition outside and so multiply paupers. The great host of the proletariat are told that there is for them no such thing as a right to work; much less have they a right to eat. All they have is a right to "go into the labor market," there to sell mind and muscle for what they will fetch; and if the market is overstocked and capital shy or unwilling, they may betake themselves to the public highway, being careful to move on, and ring at the gate of the almshouse, where they can have imprisonment gratis until they choose to try the market once again.

"We have heard all this before," the reader may exclaim impatiently. "Who has not read Carlyle, Ruskin, Karl Marx, and the rest of that lugubrious tribe, preaching in sackcloth and ashes against industrialism and civilization? Can you get no further than to repeat their lamentations?" I reply, in the first place, that a truth does not lose by repetition. And, in the second, that a *reductio ad absurdum* is a very forcible and perfectly legitimate method of argument, not only in mathematics but in morals. Economic science is a branch of morals. If *laissez faire*, free competition, and absolute private ownership of land and the means of production, be moral methods of dealing with "wealth," their results ought not to be ruinous to society from top to bottom, as we see they are. Political economy is not a dismal science. It is, I hold, a science full of hope as of encouragement, when built on a sound basis. But individualism is an unsound basis, and the edifice which has been raised upon it is now tottering to its fall. You do not care to be told for the thousandth time that "modern society is an inverted pyramid." You think it a by no means comfortable doctrine. It is not a comfortable doctrine; quite the contrary. Neither

millionaires nor mechanics will find a market on the morning of the day of judgment. But I never heard that tabooing unpleasant contingencies was the best way of meeting them. Neither can the social question be any longer tabooed. It walks the streets in every tramp and loafer and industrious idle workman that rubs against us or asks for a copper. It sits at the well-furnished table of the rich, and pointing to their luxuries gathered from east and west, inquires how they come to be here, and whose labor produced them. It shivers by the empty stove, and complains that coal is so dear because of "over-production," that only the better sort of workmen get it in by the hundred-weight. It looked at me yesterday out of the failing eyes and wasted countenance of an old woman whose well-nigh seventy years of toil had given her no claim to the cottage she lived in, no morsel of bread for her paralyzed husband, no rest from hard work, but only a parish dole, which she had to justify every month before the guardians of the poor by stripping bare her decent misery. That is not an isolated instance. Our villages in England teem with them. And what are we to say of "Horrible Glasgow," "Black Liverpool," "Outcast London," and the other prisons of humankind the depth of whose infamies no man can sound? No, the social question is not to be wrapped away in an economical or sentimental winding sheet. That foolish old Hindoo custom of sitting in *dharna*, of starving at the gate of your creditor till he pays you what he owes, may be looked on as typical of our present condition. The outcast multitude can protest in no other way. But they can starve on the doorstep of society. And they are starving.

Is there any remedy for these things? Have the overruling powers decreed iniquity by a law, and revealed it to bourgeois economists? Or must we not rather seek the cause of our present and most reasonable discontents in the fact that society has abdicated nearly all its functions, except collecting taxes and maintaining the police and the military? In England, the process of disintegration does not seem to have gone so far as in the American Union. A growing series of acts interfering with or limiting the omnipotence of private ownership, whether as regards land, labor, or capital, bears witness in the English statute

book to an awakening sense that public rights exist, over and above the rights of the individual. It is an axiom of English law that no man, be he prince or peasant, holds land exempt from public service. What he holds is an *estate* in land, subject to the conditions of a fief or a trust. By parity of reason, as he can never be simply lord and master of those things which, in the language of Aristotle and of Stuart Mill, are the bounty of nature, so neither can he claim as an individual the products of collective industry, nor the value accruing by what is called the "unearned increment," let it take what shape it may. The individual, as such, is entitled only to what his labor has produced. "To each," says M. de Laveleye, "according to his works." That is the perfect formula of individual production. But we require to complete it by a second, which shall give to the social organism that which is inherited or has been created *by* the organism. In the material basis, therefore, and in the fruits of collective labor the whole people have an indefeasible right which cannot be taken from them. I need hardly warn my readers that by "the people" I do not understand the government, which is but one of its functions; any more than I circumscribe it to the class of manual laborers. The "state" includes all members of the same autonomous whole, the people in their corporate capacity. And I repeat that the rights of private property must be exercised with due regard for the rights of that public property on which every commonwealth that has a real existence is established, and without which it becomes not so much a geographical expression as a figure of speech. The outward and visible sign of this public right is taxation. Its province, however, extends far beyond taxation; and the vast burden of poverty under which we are staggering is mainly due to the appropriation of public services, of social rights, by individuals who neither can nor do render an equivalent for them to their fellow citizens.

That is the meaning of monopoly. It is not a question of small shopkeepers *versus* wholesale dealers, nor of petty farmers *versus* the bonanza system; but of society *versus* those who have usurped public property and the proceeds of collective labor. Such men, by virtue of the reigning individualism, make

of society a milch cow, that yields them milk without any effort of theirs. They have a lien, it matters not how created, on the whole productive labor of the social organism, in which they boast themselves to be ends and not means. This applies to the modern capitalist as to the modern land-owner. Indirect taxation scarcely affects them; income tax presses with infinitely greater hardship on the professional and literary proletariat, as it has well been denominated; and the law of bequests allows them to accumulate in favor of their descendants the public services which Providence intended for the relief of man's estate, and not for the establishment of railway or mining dynasties. Whether it be a Duke of Westminster or a Mr. Vanderbilt the Second, all candid men will acknowledge that these highly respectable individuals have in their hands a power of milking the social cow far in excess of anything produced by their own labor, or by that of their ancestors. I read some years ago in the "Quarterly Review" an article on the "Romance and Reality of American Railroads," in which the following suggestive passage occurred:

"The sharp practice which has been associated with many of these lines at one time or another, was the work of the founders; there is no necessity for it now. The feeling of the Scotts, the Vanderbilts, the Garretts, and the Goulds will henceforth be strictly conservative. Their interests all lie in the direction of honesty."

That is to say, they have become so rich that they can afford not to steal—any more; and they mean to keep what their fathers acquired by "sharp practice." In like manner, the present estimable Duke of Richmond no longer takes toll on every ton of coal brought from Wallsend to London, as the founder of his house, Charles II.'s illegitimate son, and his successors have been wont to do. In fact, he has compounded for it to the tune of six or seven hundred thousand pounds. But it was a very pretty monopoly, which lasted over a couple of centuries; and what did it signify that Londoners had to earn the money before they could pay the Duke his tax? Was not society a milch cow, once in the keeping of the "Merry Monarch"? We have seen the last of our merry monarchs, it is to be hoped. But

monopolies have not gone out with them, nor yet with George III. They will flourish under any form of government, until the lesson is laid to heart that public property belongs to the nation and cannot be alienated. For the very reason that the state is "eminent lord," and has supreme rights over the land in which it is rooted and founded, it goes beyond all right in granting away the means and possibilities of production and transport to irresponsible private persons or companies. Railways, roads, waterways, telegraphs, electric lighting, and all other public conveniences are, by the nature of them, due to collective industry; their final purpose is the good of the commonwealth, not the manufacture of shares or of colossal fortunes, whether by speculation or by speculation. It has been said with point and brevity that "neither capital nor labor employs the other; society employs them both"; and hence that "capitalists are society's paymasters." Let us recognize that sites, soils, and machinery are forms of social trusts; that labor itself becomes effective in and through the organism of which the workman is a member; and then we may safely proceed to determine the reciprocal rights or duties (in practice they amount to the same thing) of individuals toward the state, and of the state toward individuals.

I hear some one whisper "vested interests," as though the words were fatal to my contention. "It is all very well," my critic seems to say, "to talk loftily about eternal justice, the rights of the social organism, and so forth; but how will you get over the Duke of Richmond's claim to his Newcastle shilling, especially when there are as many Richmonds in the field as there are capitalists?" And then he begins to calculate what multiple of the British national debt would be required for compensation to them. But I might answer with Portia, "Soft, no haste; the Jew shall have all justice." He shall not have more than justice, however. And what that would be, Mr. Stuart Mill has told us:

"The essential principle of property being to assure to all persons what they have produced by their labor and accumulated by their abstinence, this principle cannot apply to what is not the produce of labor, the raw material of the earth. If the land derived its productive powers wholly from nature, and not at all from industry, or if there were any means of

discriminating what is derived from each source, it would not only not be necessary, but it would be the height of injustice, to let the gift of nature be engrossed by individuals."

Elsewhere, Mr. Mill has caught sight of a second principle, embodied in his phrase of the "unearned increment" and applicable not only to land values but to every kind of value, viz., that human co-operation, direct and indirect, is a distinct factor, over and above individual industry, in adding to the exchangeable value of things. It must, therefore, be taken into account when we would estimate what the private man, as distinct from the social organism, is entitled to call the fruits of his labor. As a member of society, ought not the quondam capitalist to be satisfied with his proportion of the public income like the rest of the citizens? At the existing rate of production, with wealth increasing nearly fivefold while population increases only threefold, he is sure to have abundance for all reasonable needs and enjoyments. How much more when "over-production" becomes a thing of the past. If the principle of direct compensation be admitted, what are we to say of monopolists who have usurped the public resources for a term of years and made kingdoms out of them? Is their debt to be canceled? And on which party lies the burden of restitution? One would advise the gentlemen to be content with what they have had. For our difficulties are not merely of the past. Monopoly, whether created yesterday or the heirloom of ages, is nothing less than a tax on all present and future productions of the land in which it flourishes. For what says Adam Smith?

"The annual labor of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consist always either in the immediate produce of that labor, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations."

Abolish the monopoly of resources now enjoyed by a few, and the nation will not be the poorer by the smallest fraction of any commodity at any moment after. But let there be a universal strike of all except the monopolists, and how long would society endure? There would be famine in a year, in two years nakedness, and in ten the land would be a desolation. Monopoly means a present tax, as well as a past usurpation. The monopo-

list may also be receiving "wages of superintendence"; but they are a trifling proportion of his income, and no part of his monopoly in the proper sense. It is not by any man's wages that the people are impoverished, but by this running sore of taxes handed over to private persons, to be used without regard to the social organism. What services to his country did the first Duke of Richmond perform that they should be paid for, during two centuries, at such a rate as still to be worth six hundred thousand pounds on commutation? Can we point to an equivalent in all the Westminsters, Cadogans, and Portmans united, for the rights now exercised by their descendants, over a great part of London? Has the lord of the New York Central earned by productive labor of head or hand the scores of millions with which he is armor-plated against poverty? There is only one answer to these questions. It has pleased those who had the power to decree iniquity by a law. The right of private property is sacred. But the proceeds of jobbery and robbery do not stand quite on that footing. "When all the shopkeepers are reduced to half a dozen Whiteleys," says a facetious friend of mine, "we will cut off their heads and appoint managers with wages of superintendence, who shall be responsible to the republic." When, too, the funded debts of the world are held by a single Rothschild or Baring, the revolution which may be required to pay him in full need not be an earthquake. And it is possible that Americans will ask themselves by-and-by the reason why two or three speculators in Wall Street should carry the railway system of a continent in their breast pockets. The concentration of labor is certain to go on till it has brought all parts of the productive machinery into the closest unity. A similar concentration may be observed in the methods of distributing what labor has created. We shall never return to the small and scattered ways of the world before steam, before the telegraph and the annihilation of distance. It is cheaper for me now to purchase what I want six or seven hundred miles away than next door. But in the centre of every web of concentration I find the monopolist, catching human flies and spinning gold. The concentration comes of science; the monopolist has been created by disregard of social law. What is the revolution called

for then? That individuals should be deprived of the fruits of their labor? Not in the least. But this, that the bees which make the honey should eat the honey; that all which belongs to society should be held by society; and that the fruits of collective exertion should furnish forth a common table. In a word, that public property should be employed for social uses, and the monopolies now allowed to individuals should be utterly swept away. Until these measures are taken, our rich citizens would do well to read over certain remarks of Plato which need but little alteration to be quoted here.

“What will be the manner of life among men who may be supposed to have their food and clothing provided for them, who have intrusted the practice of the arts to others, and whose husbandry, committed to slaves, brings them a sufficient return? . . . To men whose lives are thus ordered, is there no work to be done necessary and fitting, but shall each of them live fattening like a beast? Such a life is neither just nor honorable; nor can he who lives it fail of meeting his due. And the due reward of the idle fattened beast is that he shall be torn in pieces by some other valiant beast, whose fatness is worn down by labors and toils.”*

The resumption of its economic rights by society would be, to my thinking, a more excellent way.

WILLIAM BARRY.

* “Laws,” Book vii.

TRUTH AND FRAUD IN SPIRITUALISM.

"I see little abatement of the credulity on the one hand and the fraud on the other that have all along interfered, as I hold, with the recognition of new truth of profound interest."

THE view that I wish to suggest in this article may be briefly summarized as follows: 1. There is a continually-accumulating mass of evidence for the occurrence of supernormal phenomena that indirectly lends support to the belief that the human individual survives the death of his ordinary organism. 2. Very many of the phenomena offered by Spiritualists as evidence for their belief, are produced fraudulently by "mediums"; their apparent marvelousness is due to the ingenious trickeries of the mediums and the misdescriptions given by the witnesses. 3. Other groups of phenomena may appear *prima facie* to demand the spiritualistic hypothesis, but recent investigations have shown these to be at least equally explicable on the hypotheses of telepathy and clairvoyance, without transcending the agency of living human beings. 4. There are yet other phenomena that seem to favor the spiritualistic view, and to be best explicable on the hypothesis of communication between the dead and the living. But many facts have recently been brought to light, through the study of hypnotic trance especially, that indicate remarkable latent capacities in living human beings—for instance, the possibility of their interacting independently of the ordinary channels of communication and of their ordinary waking consciousness—and until we know more definitely the limits of these capacities, we must suspend our judgment, and say that more and better evidence must be forthcoming before the scientific world generally can recognize the spiritualistic claim as justified.

My own conviction, partly originating from personal experiences and partly depending upon philosophical considerations, is that the human individual survives the change that we call death, and that there are conditions, in special cases, that ren-

der communication between the dead and the living possible. It will not, therefore, I trust, be supposed that in the severity of my strictures upon much of the testimony for Spiritualism, including some of the instances detailed by Mr. Savage in the FORUM for December, I am animated by any prejudice against the spiritualistic claim. It is one thing, however, to find one's self in the possession of, or possessed by, a belief, and quite another thing to expect that all men of equal intelligence shall share that belief. *Quot homines tot sententiæ*; not only our vanities, but our whole mental fabrics "differ as our noses do"; our sets of experiences are widely diverse, our conceptions variously molded; and what appears to one probable, seems improbable to his apparent neighbor in thought and feeling. Nevertheless, there is a certain common ground of ratiocination among men trained in scientific work, whether in the mental or in the physical realm; and it is from this position, as far as possible, that I propose to consider (on the line of Mr. Savage's interrogations) the evidence for Spiritualism.

But here I am at once beset by a difficulty that reminds me of a remark of Schopenhauer's, that a disbelief in clairvoyance was a manifestation, not of skepticism, but of ignorance. Comparatively few "skeptical" persons are at all acquainted with the voluminous literature dealing with the numerous classes of phenomena to which Spiritualists appeal, and discussion with such "ignorance" is usually unprofitable. No one who is familiar with that literature can doubt that the evidence offered therein, taken as a whole, is worthy of the most serious and patient consideration. If one makes investigations for a few years on his own account, it is not unlikely that he will find himself in the position of Mr. Savage, "in possession of a large body of apparent facts that I do not know what to do with." He may, on the other hand, have nothing to show as the fruit of his inquiry, save accumulated proofs of the trickeries of this and that medium; for it is a fact that the vast majority of professional mediums are consciously fraudulent—"ninety per cent." was the estimate of Mr. A. R. Wallace in a letter to me ten years ago.

Mr. Savage himself has commented on the knavery of many mediums; but I seek to make that point very conspicuous, be-

cause upon its appreciation by the reader depends the force of much of what I have to say. It is just because I am convinced that there are genuine psychical phenomena, that it seems to me imperative not to ignore in the smallest degree the chicanery and immorality that pervade the professional ranks of spiritualistic mediums. The majority of the most intelligent Spiritualists have never adequately appreciated this. A few are alive to the fact; Mr. Crookes, for example, when he writes the words which I have quoted at the head of this article; and Col. J. C. Bundy, the well-known editor of the chief spiritualistic magazine in this country (the "Religio-Philosophical Journal"), who has for years been endeavoring to purify Spiritualism by exposing fraud wherever discovered, and by declaring that "the uncompromising demand for accurate observation and scientific methods in the study and development of phenomena is indispensable to healthy and permanent progress." Before we can ascertain whatever of new truth may lie behind Spiritualism, the element of conscious imposture (not to speak of unconscious imposture and self-deception) must be rigorously eliminated. At the present time, the chances are that any investigator who begins by visiting professional mediums will meet with experiences very much the same as my own, at my first sittings with a professional medium for physical phenomena. Of these it is enough to say that they were well calculated to produce the contempt so prevalent among scientific men for the whole subject.

At these sittings, however, certain significant circumstances were noted, the full importance of which escaped me at the time, but which I have since learned to estimate, as I think, at their proper value. At the first sitting, which was held in the dark, a guitar was played (by the medium) while one of the company played the piano. In the course of a discussion that took place afterward concerning the genuineness of the phenomena, some of those present asserted that the guitar had played airs and chords in harmony with the piano. Others, among whom was myself, maintained that not only had the guitar not been played in harmony with the piano, but that only the open strings of the guitar had been played, and that these had not been tuned. There was about equal musical authority on each side. At the second

sitting, a materialization *séance*, a figure emerged from the bed room that served as the medium's "cabinet," completely enveloped in a white, flowing, semi-transparent robe. When the figure retired, the door closed upon a portion of the robe.* The door opened again and the end of the robe was drawn into the cabinet. This was clearly observed by nearly all the sitters; but one, a believer in manifestations of this kind, averred conscientiously that the end of the robe thus caught by the door was not drawn into the cabinet, and that he saw it melt slowly away.

These circumstances suggested various possibilities of mal-observation, but I had no thought then that accounts of spurious mediumistic performances could be such gross misdescriptions of the real occurrences as I now, in the majority of cases, believe them to be. Some years later, in 1884, when preparing my records of two sittings with a "slate-writing" medium, another factor began to claim my attention as a much more potent cause of misdescription than mere mal-observations or illusions of perception. A full account has been given elsewhere* of a systematic investigation conducted by me about three years ago, for the purpose of determining the amount and kind of error that we must expect to find in the descriptions given by honest and intelligent witnesses of the trick performances of pseudo-mediums. A friend of mine, Mr. S. J. Davey, was the "performer" in this investigation. He was to a certain degree expert in the art of producing apparently independent slate-writing, under conditions like those favored by professional mediums, and we succeeded in obtaining a series of written records of the phenomena that occurred in his presence. Some of his sittings were given to friends of mine in my own rooms, and I knew in every case the exact *modus operandi* employed by Mr. Davey. The sitters constituted a fairly representative group, including successful men of business, men of university training, electrical engineers, members of the legal and educational professions, and one professional conjurer. Not one of the sitters who was unaware that the performances were certainly conjuring, made even an approximation to a correct account of the sitting; their records proved to be defective regarding the most fundamental circum-

* "Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, Part XI."

stances. They failed to perceive Mr. Davey's most important movements, and they declared that they took various precautions against trickery that they never took at all, except in their own imaginations afterward. The results in the way of marvelous records were astounding. As an illustration of one kind of error commonly made, I may give the following statement, made by Mr. L., whom I know well, and whose powers of perception and memory, so far as I can judge, are not inferior to those of Mr. Savage. In his account of a sitting, prepared on the second day following, he wrote:

"The next experiment was the placing of three bits of colored chalk on the table, and of a clean slate (selected and placed by myself) over them. I put my hand on the slate, Davey his on mine, and we joined contact. Again we heard the sound of writing, and when I lifted the slate there was written large and neatly in the colored chalks (three lines or so in each color) this message: 'Don't you think I've done enough for you to-night? I'm tired, Joey.' I noticed the chalks seemed worn, showing signs of work."

My note on this statement, confirmed by Mr. Davey, and further certified by our knowledge of the precise form of the trick, reads thus:

"The slate was neither selected nor placed by Mr. L. Mr. Davey first placed some colored nibs of chalk on the table just in front of Mr. L. He then took one of his own slates which Mr. L. had not touched, and [note the word] apparently sponged both sides thoroughly. Mr. Davey himself then placed the slate over the pieces of chalk, and asked Mr. L. to place his hand upon the slate. Mr. L. then for the first time touched the slate."

Now I have no doubt that if Mr. L. had been asked, at the moment when the slate was placed in position, who had placed it there, he would have answered correctly. Numberless impressions were in this way correctly received at the time by the witnesses, but they were feeble and perishable and soon passed completely beyond recall. Some of the most salient errors in the records were due to such lapses of memory. Sometimes, in recollection, the gap closes, and the event is omitted altogether, although it may be the central event of the whole incident; or again, owing to another fault of memory, its place is taken by an imagined event, as in the case just cited. Often a witness confuses the sequence of events, and writes that he took careful

precautions at a certain stage of the performance, whereas really they were taken at an earlier or a later stage.

In short, of the various causes impairing the value of the sort of testimony we are considering, the most pronounced, the most influential, and, in the fullness of their operation, the least recognized by ordinary witnesses, are the illusions and hallucinations of memory. Certainly very few of the witnesses of the physical phenomena of Spiritualism are duly aware of the untrustworthiness of memory. How many records of these phenomena must be regarded as entirely worthless when we take into account the possibilities of ordinary mal-observation, of mal-observation designedly produced by a dexterous trickster, and of mal-observation resulting from the mental attitude or emotional state of the witness! Then consider the various forms of memory illusion, to which the witness is rendered more susceptible because of the absorption of his interest in the supposed supernatural manifestations; the natural tendency to transfiguration in describing phenomena suggestive of occult agency, stimulated possibly by "the impetus of a new enthusiasm or the momentum of a cherished belief"; and the ignorance of the witness concerning the points worth recording. I should myself hesitate to draw the limit of the error we are bound to assume in such records. It does not follow that the alleged "physical phenomena" never occur; it does follow that we require better evidence than that commonly offered. Only when those imperfections of human testimony to which I have drawn attention are fully recognized, will spurious mediums cease to thrive, or a clear discrimination be made possible between genuine and fraudulent phenomena.

And now let us see what bearing these facts have upon Mr. Savage's cases in group 1.* Mr. Savage remarks that "surely it is possible, at least in some cases, for one to know what really happens." From what I have said, the reader will rightly infer that I am compelled to regard Mr. Savage's descriptions of these cases (excepting the first) as by no means correctly representing what really happened. As in the records of Mr. Davey's sitters,

* FORUM, December, 1889, pp. 454-457.

most important events that did occur may have been omitted from his accounts, while events that never occurred may have been interpolated.

The first case, assuming, as I do for the present purpose, that the raps were objective, depends for its force upon the honesty of the medium. It must also be noticed that whereas Mr. Savage cites the case as an illustration of a *physical* phenomenon, the evidence for this physical phenomenon is found to depend upon the medium's conscious ignorance of certain information—a very doubtful basis indeed in this particular instance. Further, granting all that Mr. Savage says, the incident may still be explicable without assuming more than telepathy and automatic (not writing, but) rapping. If, as I think there is plenty of evidence to show, the hand can write automatically without the knowledge of the subject, and convey information not previously known to the subject, but in the minds of other persons present, why may not the hand or foot tap out such information automatically without her knowledge? Such a suggestion will perhaps appear less strange to the reader when he has considered the case of Mr. Z., which I shall quote later.

I must confess that I should like to know whether Mr. Savage's statement* that he "made careful record at the time," is intended to apply to the cases of physical phenomena described on pages 455–457; and I should also like to know how long ago the incidents described occurred. There is not a date attached to a single experience related by Mr. Savage. Miss Frances P. Cobbe relates an interesting circumstance in her essay on "Fallacies of Memory" that bears on this point. A lady friend of hers narrated an incident of table-turning, and asserted that "the table rapped when nobody was within a yard of it." A note had been made of the incident ten years previously. "The note was examined, and it was found to contain the distinct statement that the table rapped when the hands of six persons rested on it!" Miss Cobbe adds that her friend was "unusually and scrupulously conscientious in speech and in all other matters," and that her memory was strictly correct as regards the other details of the incident. I take another instance from my own

* P. 461.

investigation. A friend of mine, Miss Y., who witnessed one of the sittings given by Mr. Davey, wrote as follows concerning one of the incidents of the sitting:

“I got up and went to the book case. Mr. Davey stood by the table with his back to me. That latter fact I feel as if I remember most distinctly. I mention it to show that I chose my book at random and was not influenced in my choice by him.”

What actually happened, was that Mr. Davey took a lamp, walked with Miss Y. to the book case, and waved his hand before a particular shelf, asking Miss Y. to choose a book. Yet Miss Y. is a lady whose powers of observation and memory are exceptionally good, and her account was written on the second day after the sitting. We are bound to suppose, then, that similar mistakes may have been made by Mr. Savage—mistakes, be it noted, rather of memory than of observation at the moment. How, then, can we rely, for instance, upon his description of the position of the medium when his chair was lifted, or of the direction of his gaze when he felt the touches on his knee and hand?

Finally, on this point, if the physical phenomena happened as Mr. Savage describes them, they are manifestly open to other interpretations than the interposition of the dead.

I pass on now to Mr. Savage's second group of experiences, “those in which I have been told things which I knew, but which I know the psychic did not know.” These accounts are not open to some of the general objections that can be urged against the accounts of the physical phenomena. But we must not forget the difficulty, in most cases, of establishing that the medium did not know beforehand the incidents that she describes to the sitter, or that she did not during the sitting first obtain the information from the sitter by judicious questioning and chance guessing, assisted by muscular indications, etc., which sitters doubtless often unconsciously afford. Errors of memory (and of observation also) will of course enter more or less into the account when the sitting is not stenographically reported, and much transfiguration is often found. But without going further into detail concerning the defects that we must expect to find in the testimony for this class of phenomena, I

must express my conviction, formed after much examination of such testimony, and after much personal experience with pseudo-mediums as well as genuine mediums, that such phenomena do occur, and that there is enough testimony sufficiently good in quality to establish their occurrence. Their interpretation, however, is another matter. Take the case described by Mr. Savage,* and compare it with the following, which was written out for me a year ago by a friend of mine, and corroborated by Mr. Z. himself. I assume that the account is reliable enough to support the suggestion I wish to make.

"I write you the details of another matter told me by a friend, Hon. Mr. Z—— of —— . He is one of the leading members of the —— bar, has represented his State several terms in the national Congress, and has a very clear, discriminating, and vigorous intellect. He does not believe in Spiritualism, but regards its phenomena as illusions or hallucinations. In his youth, in 1854, he had taught a winter's term in his native town of P——, and in the spring returned to Q—— to complete his preparation for college in the academy in that place. One evening after his return to Q——, a party of young people to the number of eight were gathered about a table to witness the trance writing of one of their number, a Miss A——, a very beautiful girl of eighteen years of age, and the music teacher of the academy. She wrote the name of Mr. Z——'s father, who had died in 1845, and whom no one in the room save his son could have known. I may add that none of the party, save my friend, knew anything about P—— or its inhabitants. Mr. Z—— declared that he did not believe his father had anything to do with the writing. At this, Miss A——, who sat on the opposite side of the table from Mr. Z——, arose, and came about to his side, drew her pencil several times rapidly across the two middle fingers of his left hand, returned to her seat, and wrote quickly, 'Does this convince you?' Mr. Z—— said that those two fingers were gone from his father's left hand, having been cut off in his boyhood. Mr. Z—— was startled, but still expressed his disbelief. Miss A—— then wrote H. T. Y——'s name, and continued: 'Killed on —— day of ——, sliding down —— Hill. Running off embankment, broke his neck. Rev. Mr. W—— attended funeral. Text: book ——, chap. ——, verse ——.' Both date and text were given with particularity. Mr. W—— was a Congregationalist clergyman of P——, and Mr. Y——'s family were active and leading members of his church. Mr. Y—— had been one of Mr. Z——'s pupils that winter in P——, and with the other boys had coursed —— Hill, a very steep hill near the school house, and covered with glare ice from summit to foot. Near the foot was an embankment wharfed up to sustain the road bed, and that was a very dangerous place to slide by. Mr. Z—— had repeatedly warned the boys of the danger, but had not deemed it best to forbid their sliding. He had worried over the matter a great deal, and

* Pp. 458-459.

was exceedingly relieved when school closed without an accident having happened. Mr. Z—— looked up the text and found it entirely inappropriate to a funeral occasion. Mr. Y—— is living to-day, and is the head of the K—— School of Technology. This fact made Mr. Z—— scout the whole affair as unworthy of his notice; but to me it seems to indicate a telepathic explanation of both occurrences. I asked Mr. Z—— if either his father or Mr. Y—— were in his mind at the time. He replied, no; they came into his mind with a shock of surprise when their names were written. We must so suppose the telepathic communication to be without consciousness on the part of the agent."

It is indeed hard to resist the inference that such experiences are to be accounted for without assuming the action of the dead. We must surely not adopt the hypothesis of any extraneous intelligence, if the facts can be equally well explained—and sometimes, as in the above case, better explained—by the assumption of telepathy between one living person and another. It is a common feature in cases of this type, that the information obtained telepathically by the percipient, or medium, is not at the time present to the agent's consciousness; that he is "thinking of something else." I need scarcely add that the exact *rationale* of the process when one mind is impressed by another mind otherwise than through the recognized channels of sense, remains yet to be discovered.

We come now to Mr. Savage's last group of cases.* As regards the first two of these, I incline to think, after allowing for defects in the narration, that if we exclude conspiracy on the part of Mr. Savage's friends (an hypothesis that I do not consider at all plausible), they are illustrations of supernormal phenomena that *prima facie* appear to be best explicable on the hypothesis that the "spirit friend" was in some sense directly influencing the medium. The reader will understand that I am regarding these as specimen cases, and not as isolated experiences. What we demand, for the complete justification of the spiritualistic claim, is a large number of analogous cases, where the information given by the medium is duly recorded and signed by trustworthy witnesses before the verification is obtained. Evidence of this kind is slowly but steadily accumulating. Prob-

* Pp. 459-461.

ably other hypotheses would then be urged; for instance, the fictitious representation by the medium, in a phase of trance, of the supposed spirit friend, accompanied by the exercise of telepathy and clairvoyance. This may seem, even to myself, a somewhat wild speculation; but recent experiments in hypnotism suggest that we are still purblind as to the powers and doings of our so-called "unconscious selves." When we reflect that so much (I do not say all) of the automatic writing, so much (I do not say all) of the utterances of trance mediums, which it was not irrational twenty years ago for those who had intimate experience of such phenomena to attribute to the agency of departed "spirits," are now seen to be falling into line with phenomena reproducible experimentally with hypnotic subjects, and to be adequately accounted for by the latent capacities of living human beings, we are forced to conclude that what seems the simplest and readiest explanation is not always the truest, and that the wild and improbable may prove to be the actual. I for one shall be glad to receive records of such indubitable experiences as will make any other hypothesis than the spiritualistic not merely fantastic but impossible.

The last case mentioned by Mr. Savage I can substantially confirm; I wrote the record myself before its verification. But it might be alleged that the medium, in Boston, had a confederate in New York, where the death occurred, who was watching for the death of the aunt, and who telegraphed to the medium the information that was given to the sitters. This is far from being my own opinion, but I feel bound to mention the possibility of such an arrangement. I have been present myself at many sittings with this medium, Mrs. P., most of them for the purpose of taking notes of the conversation between the "entranced" Mrs. P. and some friend whom I accompanied to the sitting. The sittings were not all equally remarkable, and some of them were complete failures. But I have no desire to anticipate a report upon the sittings of this medium that will probably be published before the end of this year in the "Proceedings" of the Society for Psychical Research, and shall confine myself to a brief statement of some of my own personal experiences with her. Except at my first visit, an account of which I wrote on my return to my

rooms immediately afterward, my notes were made during the sitting. The most important part of the statements made to me consisted of descriptions of deceased friends of mine, names being given—usually only the christian name, sometimes the surname, sometimes both—accompanied by the relation of incidents concerning the persons, or the detailing of some characteristics as proof of their identity. Some of these matters were such as the medium might be supposed to have ascertained by ordinary means, on the hypothesis of assistance from confederates who had made minute and extended inquiries about myself in different parts of the world. The most striking statements of this class referred to incidents in Australia that happened between twelve and twenty-five years ago. Other matters I believe that no living person knew but myself. They were given to me as proofs of the actual presence in spirit of a person who had died more than eight years previously in Australia, and they were the circumstances that I should expect that person to select, if in actual communication with me, as being those above all others which would serve as proofs of identity. But all these curious “communications” may simply depend upon the medium’s perception of some of those phantasmal reminiscences of life’s vivid experiences that forever haunt the domain of memory, and of themselves they prove nothing more than telepathy.

Still, I have evidence on hand that seems to show that the theory of telepathy must be strained very much to account for all the phenomena manifested by Mrs. P. There is need to add some kind of clairvoyance, and, apparently, something more. The medium, when entranced, usually purports to be a “Dr. Phinuit”; but I have been present when other “controls” have purported to speak, and the peculiarities of these changes are, I venture to think, worthy of the profoundest study on the part of psychologists. Possibly the medium is in an auto-hypnotic trance, and in that state fictitiously represents various personalities, according to the latent ideas of some of the sitters, thus combining with the trance state the action of some supernormal faculty. Yet I cannot say that I rest on this theory. I find formidable arguments, in our present state of knowledge, against any hypothesis, from the most rationalistic to the most purely spirit-

ualistic, that occurs to me as even remotely applicable. For the full explanation of this and similar cases I wait for further enlightenment in the course of our investigations.

But I have already exceeded my limits of space. Other types of psychical phenomena might be referred to, did the nature of my task permit. I have no doubt of the occurrence of such incidents as that which Mr. Savage narrates on page 453. Many similar cases are detailed in the publications of the Society for Psychical Research, as well as other cases, of recognized "apparitions" of deceased persons occurring some time after death, which are yet more important in their favorable bearing on the spiritualistic hypothesis. And although I differ from Mr. Savage concerning the value of the testimony offered for certain classes of phenomena, I am entirely in sympathy with his general position. The time has long gone by—at least for those who recognize that their ancestral organisms were once protozoa—for the stifling conservatism that forbids the breathing of new experiences, the expansion into a wider life; but we must not go too fast; we must not "wed raw Haste, half-sister to Delay." The universe will keep. And if we have been dreaming that it has some secrets to be soon revealed in the path of future evolution, of which we are getting some faint glimpses in the dark, let us not clutch too greedily for the interpretation of our dream; let us rather wait patiently for the growing light, but with our eyes to the front, still content a little longer

"To float about a glimmering night, and watch
A full sea glazed with muffled moonlight swell
On some dark shore just seen that it was rich."

RICHARD HODGSON.

WHY THE FARMER IS NOT PROSPEROUS.

IN the January FORUM the Hon. John G. Carlisle says:

“The American farmer, although he cultivates the most fertile soil in the world, and ought to be the most prosperous member of the community, is constantly engaged in a hard struggle to secure a comfortable support for his family and a moderate education for his children, and to pay his taxes and keep out of debt.”

Thus tersely does Mr. Carlisle set forth the condition of American farmers; and it is conceded that when great numbers of people reach such a condition of unthrift, or when the labor of any considerable portion of a community is engaged in unremunerative employment, and a vast capital makes but a meager return for its use, the entire economical organization must be affected most unfavorably.

The working force of the United States is about 23,000,000 persons, of whom 10,000,000 are engaged in agricultural pursuits, employing a capital of \$16,000,000,000 invested in farms and their equipment. That the greater part of this host of workers and of this immense capital is unprofitably employed, is beyond question; and this state of unthrift has progressed so far as to discourage great numbers of those so employed.

This state of affairs is not due to any lack of industry or frugality on the part of the farmer; he works more hours and is more sparing in his expenditures than any considerable number of those engaged in other occupations. Nor can it be attributed to crop failures, as is evident from the increasing quantities of products put upon the markets of the world at prices ever growing less. Indeed, our farms are so numerous and productive as to reduce the returns of American agriculture to a point far below a reasonable profit, and to lessen the value of the farms and farm products of Canada, Great Britain, and western Europe. Clearly, the unprofitableness of American agriculture is not in any degree due to insufficient crops.

When the farmers find that the returns from their labor and capital do not afford them a fair share in the general prosperity, they cannot be far astray in judging that affairs are going wrong for them, and that "the times are out of joint." Among the reasons assigned for this lack of prosperity are mono-metallism, deficient or defective circulating medium, protective tariffs, trusts, dressed-beef combinations, speculation in farm products, over-greedy middle men, and exorbitant transportation rates.

That any or all of these may have affected the agricultural interest unfavorably, and yet not have caused the present depression, is clear, for the farmer has been prosperous since the demonetization of silver, and there is always sufficient money in circulation to buy such part of his products as the community requires for current use. Protective tariffs have existed during the most prosperous eras of American agriculture. Trusts, while new in name, are in principle older than the present depression, and the maleficent influence of the dressed-beef combination will have much less effect on prices when the farmer is again prosperous. Could the speculation in farm products, by men who are thus in a large measure enabled to fix prices without owning or controlling the articles in which they pretend to deal, be put under legal ban, the functions of the law of supply and demand would be restored. Middle men, if an evil, are seemingly a necessary one; and time will doubtless mitigate the positive and crying wrongs of the transportation question, growing out of an enormous fictitious capital.

While we may conclude that nearly, or quite, all the causes named affect unfavorably the welfare of the farmer, yet we may ignore them in our search for the controlling factor of the present unprosperous condition of our most important industry.

In order to determine why the farming interest is thus depressed, we must first ascertain under what conditions the farmer profitably pursued his avocation in the past, and how, why, and to what extent such conditions have given place to others less favorable. To do this we must review the ratio of farms and production to population in the prosperous past. Such review need not extend beyond the close of the civil war, except so far as may be required to show that the causes producing the pres-

ent depression were in operation long prior to that date, one effect of the civil strife being to suspend their action and to postpone the advent of a state of agricultural plethora more than twenty-five years.

From the close of the war until near the middle of the ninth decade, the farmer shared in the nation's prosperity. In more recent years, however, this state of thrift has been succeeded by one of unremunerative toil, accompanied by much privation. When, as is now the case over vast areas, wheat sells at from 40 to 50 cents, oats at from 9 to 12 cents, and corn from 10 to 13 cents a bushel, and fat cattle from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 cents a pound, the farmer can indulge in but few luxuries.

During a period of 39 years, ending in 1889, population, farms, and the production of the more important staples increased as follows:

Population,.....	175 per cent.
Number of farms,.....	260 “
Cattle,.....	185 “
Swine,.....	66 “
Bales of cotton,.....	201 “
Bushels of corn,.....	257 “
Bushels of wheat,.....	389 “
Bushels of oats,.....	411 “

As the result of an increase of farms and farm products so outstripping the increase in population, the only staples the growing of which is even fairly remunerative are pork and cotton. This is accounted for by our monopoly of the world's supply of cotton, and by the fact that the number of swine has not kept pace with the increase in population; but it does not follow that there is a deficient supply of swine, for the number of both swine and cattle was greatly in excess of requirements prior to the civil war.

Except for brief periods, the prices of cattle continued remunerative up to the middle of the ninth decade, when the new farms of the West, the open range regions of Texas, the plains, and the mountain areas furnished a supply far in excess of demands, swamping the markets and reducing prices to a level precluding all profit. The time of war excepted, the increase in population has been quite uniform in rate, while the increase in

the production of the staples has been by "leaps and bounds," as appears from the following summaries, showing the rates at which population and various products have increased. The increase from 1850 to 1860 was:

Population,.....	36 per cent.
Number of farms,.....	41 "
Cattle,.....	30 "
Swine,.....	43 "
Bales of cotton,.....	117 "
Acres in corn,.....	41 "
" wheat,.....	70 "
" oats,.....	17 "

In this decade, farms, swine, cotton, corn, and wheat increased more rapidly than population, the increase in cotton and wheat having been stimulated by an active foreign demand, especially during the Crimean war. Cotton-growing took its greatest strides at this time, increasing from 2,469,000 bales in 1850, to 5,387,000 in 1860, and then falling away to 3,000,000 in 1870. Not until 1880 did it reach as high a mark as twenty years before.

From 1860 to 1870 the increase and decrease were as follows:

Increase.	
Population,.....	23 per cent.
Number of farms,.....	30 "
Acres in corn,.....	24 "
" wheat,.....	66 "
" oats,.....	50 "
Decrease.	
Cattle,.....	7 per cent.
Swine,.....	25 "
Cotton,....	42 "

Again farms and acres of wheat and oats are found to increase much more rapidly than population; but such was the activity of the foreign demand, and so great the consumption and waste incident to a state of war, that farm products sold at such prices as to bring great prosperity to the agricultural interest. The reduction in the number of swine and cattle was largely due to the waste and destruction following in the wake of war, and this diminution in numbers made meat-production one of the most profitable branches of husbandry. The great reduction of the cotton fields during the civil war accounts for the fact that cotton-growing has not reached that state where supply waits impatiently on demand.

From 1870 to 1880 the increase was:

Population,.....	30	per cent.
Number of farms,.....	51	"
" cattle,.....	40	"
" swine,.....	91	"
" bales of cotton,.....	91	"
Acres in corn,.....	61	"
" wheat,.....	49	"
" oats,..	101	"

During the eighth decade the increase in farms and all staple products completely outran population. That was the period of greatest expansion in area and production, when all farm products brought remunerative prices, and the farmer was sighing for more acres to sow and plant, in order to hasten the unhappy day that such excessive expansion foretold.

From 1880 to 1889 the increase has been:

Population,.....	27	per cent.
Number of farms,.....	20	"
" cattle,.....	51	"
" swine,.....	5	"
" bales of cotton,.....	45	"
Acres in corn,.....	26	"
" oats,.....	70	"
" wheat,.....	0.4	"

As yet statistics of the increase in number of farms are not obtainable, but it is estimated that it has not kept pace with the increase of population. There has been a general slowing down of the killing pace of the preceding decade, except in the case of cattle, and even here the increase has been very slow since 1887, being but 2.4 per cent. per annum. In the first half of this period the wheat area increased 1,489,000 acres; it has since decreased 1,352,027 acres—a net increase in nine years of four tenths of one per cent. The increase in the number of cattle does not indicate a beef famine at an early day; and while the increase in swine appears to lag, we must bear in mind that swine increased 91 per cent. in the preceding decade, and that falling prices indicate an abundant supply. The increase in the production of oats more than neutralizes the lagging in the increase of the corn area, hence the increase in grain for animal food is still more rapid than in the animals that consume it.

During twenty years the exportation of corn has averaged less than five per cent. of the product, and of oats less than one per cent., and the price of these grains depends almost wholly upon the home requirements and the extent of the supply. That lower prices follow enlarged supply is evident; and a medium, or even a short, crop brings the farmer more profit, and often more money in gross, than does a full or large one, as is clearly shown in the following table, which goes far toward explaining why the farmer is not prosperous. To illustrate: the corn crop of 1889 exceeded that of 1887 by more than 656,000,000 bushels, yet, counting the cost of the extra amount handled, it will bring the growers \$100,000,000 less. Again, the crop of 1878 was 64 per cent. greater than that of 1874, and, allowance made for cost of handling, brought the farmer \$149,000,000 less. The five crops of corn grown in the second half-decade tabulated, exceeded the five crops of the preceding period by 2,128,000,000 bushels, yet the farmers netted \$71,000,000 less therefrom.

It may be contended that this is a result of the transition from an inconvertible paper currency to one redeemable in gold; but the same conditions are found to obtain in a time of specie payment, when, in the third and fourth periods, an addition of 45,000,000 acres to the area in corn adds 1,282,000,000 bushels to the product, and reduces the farmer's gross revenue by \$354,000,000—quite ten per cent. The addition to the labor and capital account of the corn-grower, to accomplish this undesirable result, was 13 per cent. Doubtless a better result would have accrued had these 1,282,000,000 bushels been converted into fuel on the farms, as is being done with part of the surplus of 1889.

Covering twenty years of corn-production, Table I. shows that in the first half-decade somewhat less than one acre of corn, or 24.4 bushels, per capita, was sufficient to meet all demands. In the second half-decade the corn area was increased to 1.1 acres per capita, the diminishing price indicating that 30.4 bushels for each person was more than was needed. This addition to the supply reduced the average returns from \$13.32 to \$10.10 per acre. During the third period the area increased to 1.25 acres per capita, the short crop of 1881 diminishing the per-capita supply six tenths of a bushel. The effect of this one short crop was

to advance the average price, for the five years, 21 per cent. In the fourth half-decade there was no change in the area per capita, but an addition of seven tenths of a bushel to the per-capita supply, and an accumulating surplus of such dimensions as to force prices to the lowest point known. The price of corn in the home markets, December, 1889, was eleven per cent. lower than ever before reported. Such has been the effect of the great crop of 1889, following one of nearly equal magnitude in 1888.

TABLE I. ACREAGE, PRODUCT, AVERAGE PRICE, AND VALUE OF TWENTY CORN CROPS.

Year.	Population.	Acreage in Corn.	Product in Bushels.	Value of Each Crop and of Five Crops.	Average Price in Local Markets.	Average Value of Product per Acre.	Average Yield in Bushels per Acre.	Annual Product per Capita; Average for Each Five Years.
1870...	38,558,371	38,646,977	1,094,255,000	\$600,745,995	54.9c.	\$15.54	28.3	
1871...	39,555,000	34,091,137	991,898,000	478,275,900	48.2	14.02	29.1	
1872...	40,596,000	35,526,836	1,092,719,000	435,149,290	39.8	12.24	30.7	
1873...	41,677,000	39,197,148	932,274,000	447,183,020	48.0	11.41	23.8	
1874...	42,796,000	41,026,918	850,148,500	550,043,080	64.7	13.40	20.7	
5 years	203,182,371	188,499,016	4,961,294,500	\$2,511,397,285	50.6c.	\$13.32	26.3	24.4
1875...	43,951,000	44,841,371	1,320,069,000	\$555,445,930	42.0c.	\$12.38	29.4	
1876...	45,137,000	49,033,364	1,283,827,500	475,491,210	37.0	9.69	26.1	
1877...	46,353,000	50,369,113	1,342,558,000	480,643,400	35.8	9.54	26.6	
1878...	47,958,000	51,585,000	1,388,218,750	441,153,405	31.8	8.55	26.9	
1879...	48,886,000	62,368,504	1,754,591,676	657,971,879	37.5	10.55	28.1	
5 years	232,285,000	258,197,352	7,089,264,926	\$2,610,705,824	36.8c.	\$10.10	27.4	30.4
1880...	50,155,783	62,317,842	1,717,434,543	\$679,714,499	39.6c.	\$10.91	27.6	
1881...	51,495,000	64,262,025	1,194,916,000	759,482,170	63.6	11.82	18.6	
1882...	52,802,000	65,659,545	1,617,025,100	783,867,175	48.4	11.94	24.6	
1883...	54,165,000	68,301,889	1,551,066,895	658,051,485	42.4	9.63	22.7	
1884...	55,550,000	69,683,780	1,795,528,000	640,735,560	35.7	9.19	25.8	
5 years	264,173,783	330,225,081	7,875,970,538	\$3,521,850,889	44.7c.	\$10.67	23.9	29.8
1885...	56,975,000	73,130,150	1,936,176,000	\$635,674,630	32.8c.	\$8.69	26.5	
1886...	58,420,000	75,694,208	1,665,441,000	610,311,000	36.6	8.06	22.0	
1887...	59,893,000	72,392,720	1,456,106,770	646,106,770	44.4	8.93	20.1	
1888...	61,690,000	75,672,763	1,987,790,000	677,561,580	34.1	8.95	26.3	
1889...	63,540,000	78,319,651	2,112,892,000	597,918,829	28.3	7.63	27.0	
5 years	300,518,000	375,209,492	9,158,460,000	\$3,167,572,609	34.6c.	\$8.44	24.4	30.5

Corn is the most important of our farm products, the yearly product being worth many millions of dollars more than the annual product of wheat and cotton. It is the raw material from which is made the greater part of our beef, pork, and mutton; and, outside the cotton belt, the mountain and Pacific districts,

and limited areas in the East, its successful culture and marketing are the crucial test of our agriculture.

In order, however, to show that corn-growing is not the only branch of husbandry that is depressed, I make a like exhibit of the progress and present condition of wheat-growing, at the same time showing the average domestic consumption per capita for each half-decade.

TABLE II. ACREAGE, PRODUCT, AVERAGE PRICE, AND VALUE OF TWENTY WHEAT CROPS.

Year.	Acreage in Wheat.	Product in Bushels.	Value of Each Crop and of Five Crops.	Average Price in Local Markets.	Average Value of Product per Acre.	Average Yield in Bushels per Acre.	Annual Product per Capita; Average for Each Five Years.	Annual Domestic Consumption per Capita for Each Five Years.
1870....	18,992,591	235,884,700	\$245,865,045	\$1.04	\$12.94	12.4		
1871....	19,943,893	230,722,400	290,411,820	1.26	14.56	11.5		
1872....	20,858,359	249,997,100	310,180,375	1.24	14.87	11.9		
1873....	22,171,676	281,254,700	323,594,805	1.15	14.59	12.7		
1874....	24,967,027	309,102,700	291,107,895	.94	11.66	12.3		
5 years.	106,933,546	1,306,961,600	\$1,461,159,940	\$1.11	\$13.66	12.2	6.43	5.05
1875...	26,381,512	292,136,000	\$294,580,990	\$1.00	\$11.16	11.4		
1876....	27,627,021	289,356,500	300,259,300	1.04	10.86	10.4		
1877....	26,277,546	364,194,146	394,695,779	1.08	15.08	13.9		
1878....	32,108,560	420,122,400	326,346,424	.78	10.16	13.1		
1879....	35,430,393	459,483,137	510,026,282	1.11	14.40	13.0		
5 years.	147,824,972	1,825,292,183	\$1,825,908,775	\$1.00	\$12.35	12.3	7.86	5.98
1880....	37,986,717	498,549,868	\$474,201,850	\$0.95	\$12.48	13.1		
1881....	37,709,020	383,280,090	456,880,427	1.19	12.03	10.2		
1882....	37,067,194	504,185,490	444,602,125	.88	11.99	13.6		
1883....	36,455,595	421,086,160	383,649,272	.91	10.56	11.6		
1884....	39,475,885	512,765,000	330,862,260	.65	8.33	13.0		
5 years.	188,694,409	2,319,866,608	\$2,090,195,934	\$0.90	\$11.07	12.2	8.02	5.95
1885....	34,189,246	357,112,000	\$275,320,390	\$0.77	\$8.05	10.4		
1886....	36,806,184	457,218,000	314,226,020	.69	8.54	12.4		
1887....	37,641,783	456,329,000	310,612,960	.68	8.25	12.1		
1888....	37,326,138	415,868,000	385,248,030	.93	10.32	11.1		
1889....	38,123,859	490,560,000	342,491,707	.70	8.98	12.9		
5 years.	184,097,210	2,177,087,000	\$1,627,899,107	\$0.75	\$8.84	11.8	7.24	5.24

Table II. shows the area in wheat increasing very rapidly until 1880, when a halt was called at 37,986,000 acres; then diminishing slightly until 1884, when the highest point was reached at 39,475,000 acres. Since then the register has moved first below and then above the thirty-seven million mark. It stands now a little above 38,000,000 acres.

The price is shown to range from \$1.26 to 65 cents; the re-

turns per acre fall from \$13.66 to \$8.84—a shrinkage of 35 per cent. The exportation has ranged from 22 to 32 per cent. for the five-year periods, and is 27 per cent. for the whole term. Domestic consumption has ranged from 5.05 to 5.98 bushels per capita, the mean being 5.56—a little less than the estimate of the Department of Agriculture.

The price received for that portion of the wheat crop sent abroad is generally supposed to determine the price of that consumed at home; but if Table II. proves anything, it is that this is rarely if ever the case, for the price is nearly always seen to advance sharply after a short crop, and to fall as sharply after one or two above the average. Indeed, it is an open question, with the weight of the proof favoring the affirmative, whether it is not the extent and pressure of our surplus which determines the price of wheat in Great Britain and western Europe.

In this connection I quote from the letter of a grain merchant in the Chicago "Tribune" of January 11, 1890:

"During October and November the receipts of Spring wheat in the North-west so far exceeded requirements that the markets were overwhelmed, the movement attracting attention throughout Europe, their circulars remarking that 'dealers and millers being short of stock, would doubtless operate but for depression caused by the immense movement in the north-western provinces [States] of America.'"

Here we have the Europeans correctly stating the effect of our surplus upon their markets, and indicating plainly that it is the extent of such surplus that makes the price. Eliminate this surplus and prices would rise. The area in oats, in twenty years, has increased from 8,000,000 to 27,500,000 acres, the returns diminishing from \$12.78 to \$7.24 per acre.

The following table shows population, number of cattle, and ratio of cattle to people at intervals of five or ten years since 1860.

Year.	Population.	Number of Cattle.	Number of Cattle to Each 100 Inhabitants.
1860,	31,443,321	25,620,019	81
1870,	38,558,371	23,820,608	62
1875,	43,951,000	27,220,200	62
1880,	50,155,783	35,925,511	72
1885,	56,975,000	42,547,307	75
1889,	63,540,000	*50,931,042	80

* Including 600,000 cattle in the Indian Territory not reported by the Department of Agriculture.

So many are the grades of cattle and so diverse the prices, that it is impracticable so to state prices of the different classes as to show the changes, from time to time, in the value of this great product; but the extent of the decline in values may in a measure be inferred from certain facts. Thus, the average price of the cattle sold in the New York market during the week ending December 28, 1889, was \$8.02 per 100 pounds net. But from the report of the Department of Agriculture for 1871,* we learn that the average price of cattle in that market during 1871 was 12 cents; in 1870, 14½ cents; in 1869, 14¾ cents; and in 1866, 16 cents. This, in connection with the table giving population and number of cattle, proves the direct and constant relation between population and number of cattle, and shows the certainty with which a disturbance in the proportions of such relations will affect prices.

In 1860 cattle were low in price, the ratio of cattle to population then being as 81 to 100. This ratio fell in 1870 to 62 to 100, and rose gradually until the beginning of 1889, when the proportion again reached 80 to 100. So long as the supply of cattle remained below 72 to 100 people, prices were good and the demand was sufficient to absorb the supply without undue oscillation in values; hence we are warranted in saying that any excess in the supply beyond 72 to 100 units of population will depress prices to an unprofitable level.

There are no data enabling us to determine the number of cattle slaughtered yearly, but we shall not be far astray if we take the average age at time of slaughter to be three years. This would indicate the annual requirement to be 15,000,000 animals, the potential supply approximating 17,000,000.

A most competent authority, Mr. Edward Atkinson,† estimates the reduction in the cost of growing wheat, by reason of the invention and use of the self-binding harvester, at from six to ten per cent. Save in this respect, there has been, during the last twenty years, little if any reduction in the cost of producing wheat; and the reduction in the cost of growing the other staples, as well as most of the minor farm products, will average no more than the mean of Mr. Atkinson's estimate in the case of wheat.

* Page 64.

† FORUM for October, 1888.

But assuming the average reduction in cost of production to be twelve per cent., and supposing a like reduction in the cost of what the farmer buys, the account would stand as follows at the close of 1889:

Reduction in returns per acre from corn grown,.....	36 per cent.
“ “ “ “ “ wheat “	35 “
“ “ “ “ “ oats “	43 “
“ “ value of cattle,.....	44 “
“ “ “ “ other farm products,.....	35 “
Mean,	39 per cent.
Less reduction in cost of maintenance and production, 12 “	
The farmer's net loss of revenue annually,.....	27 per cent.

The history of American farming for twenty years is, in brief, that as the area in cultivation has increased, so has the product per capita, to be followed by ever-declining prices and diminishing returns per acre.

If, in the period ending in 1874, with a cattle supply of 62 to 100 people, the supply of corn less than 25 bushels per capita, that of wheat and oats less than 6.5 bushels, and the domestic consumption of pork 75 pounds for each inhabitant, all the requirements of the people for bread, meat, spirits, and provender were fully and promptly met, it is quite apparent that, estimating consumption per capita as fifteen per cent. greater than then, the present supply of beef is sufficient for 71,000,000 people, of swine for 76,000,000, of wheat for 79,000,000, of corn for 70,500,000, and of oats for more than 100,000,000.

The logical conclusion from the evidence offered, is that the troubles of the farmer are due to the fact that there are altogether too many farms, too many cattle and swine, too many bushels of corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, and potatoes, too many tons of hay, and too great a production of nearly all other farm products for the number of consumers.

C. WOOD DAVIS.

The Forum.

MAY, 1890.

REPUBLICAN PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE.

A LARGE majority of the people voted against the Republican Party and its political creed at the last election, and it owes its present supremacy in the executive department of the government entirely to the practical operation of the State rights principle embodied in the federal Constitution. The result of that election was not an expression of the will or the judgment of the greater number of the voters in the United States, but it was an expression of the will and judgment of a majority of the intermediate electors appointed by the several States, each one acting separately and for itself alone. Not only did the Democratic candidate for president receive more votes than the Republican candidate, but the Democratic minority in the House of Representatives represents nearly 100,000 more voters than are represented by the Republican majority in that body. In view of these well-known facts, the statement made by Senator Dawes, in the March number of the FORUM, that the Republican Party had been recalled to power "by the voice of the people in November, 1888," constitutes a very flimsy foundation for the argument he makes to prove the right and duty of his party to force its extravagant and unjust financial and revenue policy upon the country.

It is true, as stated by the Senator, that the issue between

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the two parties was clearly and sharply defined in the last campaign; but it is not true that the Democratic policy went down "before the current of popular disapproval." The Republican Party was contending for the offices, and it got them. The Democratic Party was contending for a great principle which lies at the foundation of every government that recognizes the right of the citizen to the earnings of his own labor, and it received the approval of a majority of the people. Why it was that the offices were given to one party and the approval to the principles of the other, is a question that could be easily answered by a reference to the manipulation of voters by political managers in certain close and doubtful States; but as the purpose of this paper is to inquire how the Republican Party has exercised and proposes to exercise its power, rather than to expose the methods by which it was acquired, this question need not now be considered.

The statesmen of Great Britain and Canada will be astonished to learn from Senator Dawes that the present administration, "by its firmness in asserting treaty rights," has "restored security to the fishermen in the prosecution of their lawful calling" in Canadian waters. What treaty rights? The treaty of Washington, the one that defined our fishing rights in those waters, was terminated at the suggestion of a Republican administration before a Democratic president was elected, and the notice of termination was so framed that it took effect in the midst of the fishing season, thus leaving our people and their vessels at the mercy of the Dominion authorities. The *modus vivendi* agreed to by Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bayard to remove the difficulties and embarrassments resulting from this inconsiderate action, still exists without change in any respect, and there have been no seizures of American vessels or trespasses upon the persons or property of our citizens since that arrangement was made. That administration negotiated a new treaty which would have amply secured every right or privilege we were justified in claiming, but a Republican Senate rejected it for partisan reasons. The President then asked for additional powers to enforce our demands, but the same Republican Senate refused to grant them; and there the matter still rests. Notwithstanding the lavish promises made before the election, the present administration has

done nothing. It has not "restored security to the fishermen," because they were as secure under the *modus vivendi* when it came in as they are now.

The Senator's reference to the Behring Sea controversy is equally unfortunate. When he speaks of our "indispensable control" over that sea, he asserts, by implication at least, a claim which the merest tiro in international law knows cannot be maintained, and which the present administration completely abandoned when it released, without trial or investigation, the British vessels seized under its own orders for alleged violations of our rights. The President's proclamation was a very solemn and formidable document, and there were perhaps a few persons in remote parts of the country who thought he was in earnest; but when the crisis came he backed squarely down, and all the Senator now ventures to claim for him is that these alleged trespasses upon our jurisdiction have been "made matters of record for that day of reckoning which is sure to come." Why the day of reckoning did not come immediately after the commission of the offenses, we are not informed, and probably never shall be.

If the administration intends to insist that the part of the Pacific Ocean known as Behring Sea belongs exclusively to the United States under the treaty with Russia and the law of nations, it was its plain duty to have these British vessels and their cargoes taken into port and libeled for violation of our statutes and the President's proclamation. The question would then have been decided by our own admiralty courts, and if it were determined in our favor, the duty of the President thereafter would have been plain and simple. But he has chosen to release the vessels without bond or pledge, and therefore the question, instead of being settled, is more complicated and embarrassing than it was before.

The boasted Americanism of the present administration has been further illustrated in a most striking manner by its voluntary co-operation with the Empire of Germany and the Kingdom of Great Britain in the selection and appointment of a king to rule over the Samoan Islands. The Republican President and Senate have not only assumed the right to participate with England and Germany in establishing a monarchical government over

those islands, but they have undertaken to bind the taxpayers of the United States to pay a part of the expenses of maintaining that government. By the terms of the so-called "general act" agreed upon at Berlin, and ratified by the Senate, the three powers mentioned have established a joint protectorate over the Samoan Islands and provided for the appointment of executive and judicial officers of their own selection, the organization of commissions and courts, the imposition of customs and internal taxes upon the people, the settlement of disputed claims to land, and the general regulation of the domestic affairs of the petty kingdom. The administration has entered into this "entangling alliance" with Great Britain and Germany without a shadow of authority, for it will scarcely be contended that the executive and the Senate have the right, in the exercise of the treaty-making power, to establish, or to aid in establishing and maintaining, governments in parts of the world beyond our jurisdiction. But the general act is not a treaty in any proper sense of the term. It is a system or plan of government agreed upon by outside powers, and imposed upon Samoa to promote their own interests in that country; but whether it will tend to promote the interests of the United States, is a question which the future must determine. It is more than probable that the preponderance of English and German influence in the administration of Samoan affairs will result ultimately in the termination of the treaty of 1878, by which we acquired the right to enter and use the port of Pago-Pago, and to establish on the shores of that island a depot for coal and other naval supplies; and it is certain that by the express terms of the general act, that part of our treaty with Samoa which exempted the cargoes of American vessels from the payment of import or export duties, is abrogated, and that hereafter such cargoes will be taxed to the same extent as goods imported from or exported to other countries.

As the law providing for the meeting of the Pan-American Congress, and the law admitting the four new States into the Union, were both passed and approved during the last Democratic administration, it is not easy to see how they can be justly set down to the credit of the present one.

Although the Senator's article purports to be a review of the

record made by the Republican administration during the year it has been in power, he finds so little actually accomplished that he is compelled to devote a large part of his space to promises and predictions. Among other things he says:

“The Republican Party declared unequivocally for tariff reform, and for a reduction of the treasury receipts to those actual expenditures that a rigid economy alone will justify.”

If the Senator really believes that this pledge will be redeemed in accordance with the obvious meaning of its terms, he has that kind of faith that removes mountains. Up to the present time there are certainly no indications that the revenue will be reduced as it ought to be, or that economy will be practiced in any department of the government. On the contrary, it is evident that if the policy so far pursued is continued, the whole revenue that can be collected under the laws as they now exist will be insufficient to meet the extraordinary demands that will be made upon the treasury. The surplus will be reduced, but taxation will be increased on many important articles. A mere enumeration of the bills now pending in Congress for the appropriation of money and for the creation of liabilities to be discharged in the future, would be sufficient to show the extravagant policy of the party in power; and it is evident that if only a small percentage of these bills should be passed, the existing surplus would be exhausted and a reduction of the revenue postponed for many years. If any considerable number of them are passed, additional taxation will be necessary, or the public debt will have to be increased.

But whatever may be done by the present Congress in regard to pensions, subsidies, bounties, and other projects now pending for the expenditure of the public money, it is safe to say that if any changes are made in the revenue laws they will increase the rates of duty wherever an increase will impose additional burdens upon consumers, and reduce the rates only in cases where reductions will not affect importations or materially diminish prices. Such a “re-adjustment of customs duties as will produce the most effective protection to American products and labor,” according to the Republican theory of protection, will necessarily reduce the revenue by prohibiting importation of dutiable

goods, but it will not reduce taxation upon the people. It will in fact increase taxation, but the tribute paid by the consumers will go into the private coffers of the domestic producers, and not into the public treasury. In the end, however, it will be of no real benefit to anybody; for while it will largely enhance the prices of finished products, and thus impose upon the domestic consumer a burden he ought not to bear, it will also increase the cost of production and exclude our manufactures from all the markets of the world except our own. The Republican tariff policy, as defined and advocated by Senator Dawes and the school of economists which now dominates that party, has already reduced many of our most important manufacturing industries to the verge of bankruptcy, while its disastrous effects upon the agricultural interests of the country have been so general that the wail of the farmer is heard in every part of the land. There has never been a time in our history when there was so much discontent and so little prospect of improvement as there is now, among those classes that ought to be prosperous. It is not the wage-earner alone that sends his petitions and complaints to Congress and its committees. Nearly every trade, occupation, and profession is organized to formulate and present its demand for relief, and the Republican Party responds to their appeals by proposing to extend and strengthen the protective system of taxation under which they have been reduced to their present condition. This, and the appropriation of public money out of the treasury for the benefit of a few favorite classes, is the only remedy it proposes. The evils resulting from thirty years of protection are to be cured by more protection, and the overburdened taxpayers are to be relieved by having their forced contributions given away to wealthy individuals and corporations engaged in the foreign carrying trade. The farmer will continue to sell his products in a cheap market and to buy his supplies in a dear one. He will see his competitors in South America, Australia, India, Hungary, Russia, and other parts of the world constantly and rapidly encroaching upon the foreign markets in which he sells his surplus, and he will be powerless to make head against them, because the laws of his own country forbid him to exchange his products for the things he needs, and to

bring them here unless he pays a tax upon them equal, or nearly equal, to their cost abroad. The American manufacturer will find his boasted home market not merely unwilling, but unable, to take his goods at the high prices which are necessary to compensate him for the increased cost of production due to the taxes on his raw materials; and as he is excluded from all other markets, he will be compelled to close his works or gradually to consume his capital. Many have already reached the point where they must choose between these alternatives, and if the present system is continued, and made more restrictive, as advocated by Senator Dawes, the number will be greatly increased in the near future. While high protective duties have undoubtedly in many cases enabled the producers of the protected articles to realize enormous profits upon their investments, the mere fact that prices are higher here than abroad does not always indicate that large profits are being made. Under our system, high prices, or comparatively high prices, are absolutely necessary in order to enable our manufacturers to carry on their business, because their material costs them more than it costs any other producers in the world; and as long as it is taxed as it now is, this will continue to be the case. It is not the wages of labor in this country that increase the cost of production, for all the reliable evidence upon the subject goes to show that, although wages by the day or week, as the case may be, are higher here than abroad, yet the actual cost of the labor to the employer, compared with the amount and value of its products, is less in the United States than elsewhere. What the laboring man most needs is steady employment, and this protection cannot give him. That policy which encourages trade, facilitates the exchange of commodities, and opens the markets of the world to his products, is the best policy for him, because it widens the area of consumption and increases the demand for his labor. Unless a small market is better than a large one, the restrictive policy of the Republican Party cannot be permanently beneficial either to the capitalists engaged in productive industries or to their employees. It is not an American policy, but a Chinese policy, that Senator Dawes and his party are advocating; and its real character and purpose cannot be concealed by reiter-

ating the charge that its opponents propose to give to foreigners "the possession of our markets and the control of our labor." If partial commercial isolation is good for the country, total isolation must be better; and the Republican Party, with complete control of the government in all its departments, performs less than its whole duty, according to its own theory, when it stops short of absolute prohibition of international trade. There are very few, if any, articles of necessity that cannot be produced here, if a sufficient amount of money is expended in their growth or manufacture; and as protection is supposed to help everybody, including even the consumer who is compelled to pay the increased cost of production, why should we not be required to provide for all our own wants regardless of the expense?

But Senator Dawes, instead of following his own argument to its logical conclusion, actually repudiates the foundation upon which it rests, and insists that our trade with foreign nations ought to be promoted by "the rehabilitation of our merchant marine," and by the establishment of closer relations with the republics of South America, which, he says, would result in "the increased interchange of commodities that constitutes profitable commerce." An interchange of commodities necessarily includes importations as well as exportations, and it is plain that if we desire to encourage such exchanges with South America or any other part of the world, our first duty is to remove, as far as possible, the restrictive tariff regulations which now interfere with them. The Senator says: "All duties must necessarily either retard or facilitate importations." While it is not apparent how any duty can facilitate importations, it is evident that all duties must retard them to a greater or less extent. South America wants to sell us wool, copper, and other articles, and to buy from us agricultural implements and other manufactures, and the Republican Party proposes to encourage this trade by subsidizing steamships to ply between the ports of the two countries, and at the same time discourages it by imposing taxes upon the wool and copper when they seek to enter our market; and this inconsistent and absurd policy is eulogized by the Senator as the perfection of American statesmanship. What right the government has to tax the farmers, mechanics, and other

producers in the United States for the purpose of raising money to be donated to the owners of ships, is a question which appears to have escaped the attention of the advocates of subsidies and bounties; but it is a question that will be persistently asked by the victims of their policy, and it will have to be answered sooner or later. It is a practical question, and it cannot be satisfactorily answered by mere declamation or by rhetorical figures illustrating the beauty and glory of the American flag on the high seas. What the taxpayer will want to know, is why he should be compelled to pay the expense of exhibiting the flag when somebody else is to realize all the profits.

It is scarcely worth while to review the general statements made by the Senator concerning the attitude of his party in relation to reform in the civil service. All he claims for the present administration is that it has selected good men to execute the law; that may be admitted, although it occupied a long time in the performance of this simple duty. He refers to the passage of the first civil-service law by a Republican Congress, but omits to state that another Congress of the same political complexion starved the Commission to death by refusing to make appropriations for its support. What the present Congress will do remains to be seen; but it is apparent that the administration itself entertains no friendly feeling for the system or for the principles upon which it is founded. Since the organization of the government there have never been, during the same length of time, so many removals for purely political reasons as have been made since the fourth day of March, 1889; and the process is still going on as rapidly as victims can be found. The claim that "to the victors belong the spoils," has never in our history been so vigorously asserted or so relentlessly enforced by a party in power, and yet the pretense of devotion to the cause of civil-service reform has been all the time ostentatiously proclaimed to the country. It is true that nobody is deceived by this pretense, but still it is an affront to the intelligence of the people that ought not to be tolerated.

The Republican Party came into power burdened with obligations which it finds itself unable to discharge, and the most difficult problem it now has to solve, is how to reward its friends

and pay even a small part of its political debts without ruining the country. When out of power it promised everything to everybody; but there is not money enough to go around, and as no one is willing to be left out of the distribution or even to reduce his claim, the situation has become quite serious. It has promised the taxpayers that it would reduce taxation, and it has promised the soldiers and the subsidy-hunters that it would increase the expenditures. It cannot do both, and it dare not refuse to do either. It has promised the friends of silver that it would help them to remove the restrictions now imposed by law upon the coinage of that metal, and it has promised the advocates of the gold standard that it would do nothing to depreciate the value or interfere with the stability of our currency. In a vain effort to keep both of these pledges, it proposes to convert the Treasury Department into a warehouse for the storage of silver bullion, and to issue receipts to be used as money. This is the only new financial policy it has so far developed, but its resources are not yet exhausted, and if the demands of the discontented become sufficiently strong, we may have paper promises to pay issued upon deposits of wheat and corn, or upon farm mortgages. It will be difficult to satisfy the plundered and impoverished farmer that his claim upon the bounty of the government is not as just as the claims of the prosperous owner of silver mines or the wealthy owner of ships.

The Senator is ominously silent upon the subject of pensions to the soldiers and sailors of the late war—a subject to which more prominence has been given than perhaps to any other in the political campaigns of the past. The most extravagant promises have been made by the Republican Party to these classes of our citizens, but now when it has, largely by reason of these promises, secured the absolute power to enact any pension legislation it chooses, it hesitates, and begins, for the first time, to calculate the cost of redeeming its pledges. It is now evident that not one half of what was promised will be done, and that this question will be left open for use in future campaigns. Unless the credulity of the soldier is inexhaustible, he will not be content with new promises or with renewals of old ones.

Already the Republican Senate has deliberately repudiated

one of the pledges repeatedly made in national platforms, and upon which the party secured no inconsiderable number of votes in all parts of the country. For many years, when it had control of only one branch of the legislative department, the Republican Party insisted upon the passage of a bill appropriating a large sum of money from the federal treasury for educational purposes in the States; and such a measure has three times received the approval of the Senate. For eight years it has been strenuously contended, in and out of Congress, that it was the duty of the colored man to vote the Republican ticket, and the duty of the Republican Party to educate his children at the expense of other people; and the Democratic House of Representatives has been denounced in unmeasured terms for its refusal to consider the several Senate bills sent to it. The Senator himself, in defining the position of his party upon this and other questions, says:

“It acknowledges its obligation to educate for the ballot those to whom the nation has given it, and its duty to open wide the gates of opportunity for the people in every walk of life.”

Although the nation has not in fact given or attempted to give the ballot to anybody, it is clear that the Senator refers to the colored people as the only ones to whom his party is under obligations in this respect; but the pledges heretofore made were not limited to any class, and the bill by which it was proposed to carry them out provided for the distribution of money to white and black alike in all the States. Since the Senator wrote, that bill has been rejected in the house of its professed friends, after a full discussion, thus affording another demonstration of the utter unreliability of Republican campaign promises.

The deluded Negro is now to be consoled for his past disappointments by the passage of a long, complicated, and impracticable election law, under which it will be almost impossible for him to cast a legal vote without the advice of counsel. All laws relating to the exercise of the right of suffrage, in a country where that right is extended to all classes of the people, should be so plain and simple that the humblest citizen can understand them and the most inexperienced official execute them. This is a proposition which will not be disputed by any one who

honestly believes that the citizen who is entitled to cast a vote should have an opportunity to do so with the assurance that it can and will be legally counted and certified. But the Republican Party, upon the pretense of securing to all citizens the right to vote for Representatives in Congress, proposes to enact a law containing so many technical requirements, and involving the performance of so many official duties upon the part of those charged with its execution, that in many parts of the country it will be impossible to hold a legal election under it; and this is claimed to be in the interest of the ignorant and oppressed voter. Such a law would offer no remedy for any existing evil, but would greatly aggravate the situation, and result in continual controversies and contests wherever its enforcement might be attempted.

J. G. CARLISLE.

CANADA THROUGH ENGLISH EYES.

SIR CHARLES DILKE, in his very important and interesting work on the "Problems of Greater Britain," rebukes the present writer for dealing with Canadian questions in English and American organs of opinion. "The Canadians," he says, "prefer to fight the matter out among themselves." His rebuke must be extended to the ex-Governor-General of Canada, Lord Lorne, who the other day discussed the same questions in this very American review. Canada has no organ in which anything can be discussed at greater length than that of a newspaper editorial. The attempt to give her one has more than once been made in vain. The fact is significant, because there could hardly be a better proof of literary nationality than ability to support a first-class periodical. Ontario is not large or rich enough, and it is completely cut off in every sense from the maritime Provinces by French Canada. Canadians can hardly fight out among themselves such a matter as their relations to two other countries, each of which must have a voice in the settlement. No etiquette will keep them and the Americans from freely discussing the "problem" which forces itself on the mind of every one who has traversed the line of Canadian Provinces or even stood on the banks of the St. Lawrence. A Canadian, therefore, need not hesitate in an American review widely read both in Canada and England, to say a word on the Canadian portion of a book written by an Englishman and published in London and New York.

Little slips, such as the statement that the seats in the Canadian Parliament are not parted down the middle as in the British Parliament, but arranged in a semi-circular form as in Congress, indicate that Sir Charles's recollections of Canada are not very fresh. He has got himself wonderfully well informed as to events up to date. But to be informed as to events is not always to see them in their real bearing. Of this we may have one or two ex-

amples. Yet want of clear insight into the meaning of particular events is of little consequence, as it seems to us, compared with the general fallacy which inheres in any panoramic view of the British possessions and dependencies, whether its title be "Empire" or "Greater Britain." "Empire," which means centralized dominion, such as that exercised by Cæsar or Charlemagne, is utterly inappropriate to self-governing colonies over which the country styled imperial has resigned every vestige of command. "Greater Britain" is not less inappropriate to 250,000,000 of Hindoos, to the French of Canada, the Negroes of the West Indies, or the medley of races in South Africa. That an old European nation like Great Britain, forming an integral part of the European system, the Mogul Empire, a set of purely British colonies in the South Sea, a set very far from purely British on the southern point of Africa, another set on the continent of North America with a large French community in the middle of them, and the black population of the West Indies, are destined to form a permanent unity, and that the "problems" relating to each of them are to be treated on that hypothesis, is surely a most precarious assumption. Take the two members of the Empire between which the resemblance is apparently greatest, Australasia and Canada. Both are self-governing colonies with a large British population, British institutions, and the same formal relation to the mother country; but there the likeness ends. Australasia lies by herself in the Southern Ocean; Canada is on the edge of a vast continent inhabited by the English-speaking race. The external relations of Canada are to the United States. The external relations of Australasia are to races at the Antipodes; and Sir Charles Dilke admits that if British diplomacy were to cross Australasian interests in that quarter, Australasia would secede diplomatically, which she could not do without seceding politically also.

What has been the real bond of this Empire, or whatever it is to be called? Command of the sea, which Great Britain had when it was formed, but which she now has no longer, steam and the growth of other naval powers having taken it from her. Her fleet is still no doubt by far the most powerful; but Sir Charles Dilke seems to admit that in case of a great naval war it would

have enough to do in protecting the British Islands, and that even the Mediterranean fortresses would probably be left to shift for themselves. He wants each part of the Empire to be put on a footing of self-defense, and a great part of his book is devoted to this subject; but he can hardly help being conscious that the enormous expenditure necessary to render every part of so scattered an empire impregnable will never be encountered. There is the less chance of its being encountered the more democratic the communities become. It appears that in Australasia a military policy, even of a very moderate kind, has brought unpopularity on its authors. That the fiscal and commercial unity of the Empire is at an end, the reader of "Problems of Greater Britain" must plainly see.

Anything in the way of imperial federation Sir Charles does not seem to think is coming, at all events for the present. If it does not come at once, it will never come, for the current of events is setting steadily, not toward centralization, but toward self-government. Moreover, democracy in its most extreme form gains ground in England, and democracy cannot govern an empire. British demagogism is already a greater danger to India than native disaffection, financial difficulty, or Russian arms. Sir Charles Dilke himself would give Ireland home rule, that is, independence. He would dismember the imperial country, and yet he hopes to hold together an empire the members of which are dispersed over both hemispheres and all the zones.

Canada is a disjointed tier of Provinces lying along the northern edge of a continent inhabited by a population identical with the bulk of her own and with which her own is being rapidly fused by reciprocal migration. The continent forms her natural market, and she is divided from it only by a conventional line. The fundamental institutions of the two masses of population, as well as their race, language, and religion, are the same. Will the Canadian Provinces ultimately gravitate toward their own continent, or will they always remain separate from it and connected with a kingdom on the other side of the Atlantic? That is the Canadian problem, and it does not appear to us to be distinctly propounded or directly dealt with in these pages.

Sir Charles Dilke uses only the political map, which presents

Canada uniformly colored as a vast and unbroken territory extending from the American boundary to the Arctic circle, equal in size to the United States, and promising to form that counterpoise to the democratic power for which British Toryism sighs. But let him take the physical, the ethnological, the economical map; the picture will then be changed, and the true features of the problem will come into view. The physical map will show the four distinct blocks of which the Dominion consists—the maritime Provinces, separated from Old Canada, French and British, by a wide and irreclaimable wilderness; Old Canada, separated by another wilderness and a fresh-water sea from Manitoba and the North-west; the North-west, again, by a triple chain of mountains from British Columbia; while each is physically united to the portion of the United States immediately to the south of it. The ethnological map will show that the line of British Provinces is cut in two by a French community, the nationality of which grows daily stronger and sharper. The economical map will show that instead of the vast expanse there is only a belt, and along the greater part of the line a comparatively narrow belt, of habitable and cultivable land, broken, moreover, into sections by the wildernesses or other natural barriers which divide Province from Province. If lines of trade could be delineated, it would further appear that there is hardly any commerce, of a natural kind at least, between the Provinces, while each of them is commercially identified with the country to the south of it on the other side of the line.

“If there were no custom houses between Canada and the United States, the bulk of the Dominion trade—indeed, comparatively speaking, the whole of it—would be done by the Canadians with their continental neighbors.”

This remark is let fall, quite incidentally, not in one of the chapters specially relating to Canada, but in that on “Canada, the United States, and the West Indies”; yet, if true, as true it unquestionably is, it surely forms a most important factor in the problem, and ought not to be thrown out by the way, but placed in the forefront of the inquiry. It means no less than that the Canadians by their present political relations are excluded from their natural market. To exclude people from their natural

market is to condemn them to commercial atrophy, which, in fact, is the lot of Canada. Can the Canadians be expected to endure this forever? Would the British themselves endure it? Canadians are not knights errant in quest of the Holy Grail; they are husbandmen, mechanics, and tradesmen in quest of their bread, and most of them working hard and living hard to earn it. It is true that in the chapter on the Dominion of Canada we are told that the Canadian Pacific Railway has changed the question of commercial relations by "opening up fresh developments of commerce and communication from West to East and East to West"; but this statement is vague and unsubstantiated, nor as regards the fresh developments of commerce do we believe that it is capable of substantiation. Of late years there has been an increase in the volume of the trade between Canada and the United States, compared with that of the trade between Canada and England, notwithstanding the American tariff. As to inter-provincial trade, Mr. Longley, the Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, says:

"I take the solid ground that naturally there is no trade between Ontario and the maritime Provinces whatsoever. Without the aid or compulsion of tariffs, scarcely a single article produced in Ontario would ever seek or find a market in Nova Scotia or the other maritime Provinces; in like manner, unless under similar compulsion, not a product of the maritime Provinces would ever go to Ontario. Twenty years of political union and nine years of an inexorable protective policy designed to compel inter-provincial trade, have been powerless to create any large trade between these two sections, and what it has created has been unnatural, unhealthy, and consequently profitless."

Whatever can be done to fight nature with political railways, Canada, or rather her Tory government, is assuredly doing; but what railways can reverse natural tendencies so strong as these?

Besides foregoing her natural market and suffering commercial atrophy, Canada is out of her reduced means to meet a heavy military expenditure for the purpose of defending her territory; or a part of the Empire, against the people of the United States. Again and again Sir Charles, seeing the present state of her defenses, drives the spur into her on this subject. He says, with reason, that if she wants independence she ought to be ready to defend it. But how is she to afford the money for armaments

sufficient to protect a frontier, for the most part perfectly open, of three thousand miles, against a nation outnumbering her twelvefold, and vastly superior in the wealth which is now readily turned into military force? Already the expenses of her government, in proportion to her population and wealth, are excessive. Six millions in the aggregate have gone since confederation in pseudo-monarchical offices, the governor-generalship and lieutenant-governorship, which are a mere pageant. One hundred and fifty millions or thereabouts have been spent in political and military railways or other imperialist works. If to this is to be added a large military expenditure, bankruptcy will be the end. And against whom are Canadians thus to live armed to the teeth? Against a people which Sir Charles Dilke himself almost treats as a part of Greater Britain; against their own sons, brothers, and cousins—for there are now a million of Canadians and half a million of their children south of the line. Sir Charles Dilke himself says:

“The Washington government, in this Winter of 1889-90, is assuming the position fairly conquered from the world, of patron of all the republics of America, North and South. . . . We must look forward to an eventual protectorate which, great as is the weight of the United States in the world, will bring to it an increase.”

Will people ruin themselves for the sake of the difference between a protectorate and a union, when the union would not only leave intact, but enhance their self-government, and place them under institutions essentially the same with those which they now enjoy? “If,” says Sir Charles, “Canadians were unanimously anxious at all costs to maintain their independence of American influence or domination, they would keep up a large organized defense militia.” As they do not keep up a large organized defense militia, and as there is not the slightest chance of their doing it, the inference is that they are not unanimously and desperately opposed to union.

Sir Charles's view of the astonishing success of confederation and the Canada Pacific Railway in making all the Canadian Provinces and both nationalities one, is, it must be said, official. He is in danger, with other Englishmen, of being kept in a fool's paradise on this subject. He will find that no one in Nova

Scotia or New Brunswick calls himself a Canadian, and that a British Columbian repudiates the name, while Manitobans speak of their total estrangement from eastern Canadian interests in the plainest terms. The following incident, which occurred the other day in the Nova Scotia Assembly, is significant:

"Mr. McKay: 'You might get a double million magnifying microscope, and, with the exception of one or two, you cannot find a repealer on the government side of the House.'

Mr. Roche: 'Allow me to interrupt you a moment. I am a repealer.'

Mr. James A. Fraser: 'And so am I.'

Mr. Law: 'The honorable gentleman had better count me also.'

Mr. J. S. McNeil: 'Count me also.'

Mr. McCoy: 'Here is another.'

Mr. John A. Fraser: 'Count me also.'

Mr. Rand: 'Count me also.'"

He will find that though French Canadians love Canada, Canada to them means New France. A glance at their school histories will enlighten him thoroughly on that point. He flatters himself that Quebec has been turned by statesmanship into "a bulwark of the Empire," though on the opposite page he says, very truly, that "the younger men in the Province of Quebec have taken the French tricolor as their flag." Quebec would be a curious bulwark of the Empire in case of a French war. Sir Charles sees that this alien nationality is not only thrusting the British remnant out of Quebec, but encroaching on Ontario. Whither does this tend? He does not say.

His Canadian Pacific Railway, which performs such miracles for the "national policy," is now, though he marks it not, half an American road, and a symbol of the resolve of nature to join the two sections of the English-speaking race, let policy struggle to put them asunder as it may. Its chief function as a colonization road seems to be the carriage of settlers through British territory to the States. As a military road it is useless to England, not only because it lies within the grasp of the Americans, but because, passing through the State of Maine, it would, in case of war between England and any power friendly to the United States, be closed against the transit of troops by international law. Recourse must then be had to the circuitous and run-down Inter-colonial.

Putting all the elements of the problem together, it appears that to keep the members of the Dominion united in themselves and severed from their continent, a desperate war against nature must be waged. What, in Sir Charles's deliberate opinion, is the prospect of success? If he looks forward to an American protectorate, he must at least have made up his mind to a compromise with destiny. He thinks there can be no equal union between Canada and the United States. Why not as well as between Scotland and England, or as well as between the four States which have just been received into the Union and the rest?

"The growth of wealth in the Dominion," says Sir Charles Dilke, "by every test that can be applied, has been rapid since confederation, but more rapid since the adoption of a protectionist policy than it was before that moment." These are startling words from a free trader, nor is it easy to reconcile them with the opinion expressed in another page, that Canada would gain by the adoption of a policy of complete free trade. Perhaps what Sir Charles means, is that as an imperialist he would rather have anything than commercial union. What are his tests? Canada, as he sees, is an agricultural country, and Ontario is the great farming Province. In the last seven years, the fall in the value of the farm property in Ontario has been twenty-three millions, according to the government report, which, experts say, is far below the mark. Half the farms are mortgaged to two thirds of their value.* The farmers are streaming over the line. Canada, says Sir Charles, produces men as rapidly as she produces timber; unluckily they also fall away from her like the leaves. This is no doubt traceable to other causes besides the commercial system, but the cause is not growth of wealth. The treasures of our mines are locked up for want of the continental market, capital, and machinery; the shipping interest on our lakes languishes; the lumber interest pines for the removal of the customs line. Sir Charles Dilke sees that the Canadian North-west does not fill up, while the neighboring States of the Union, by no means superior to it in soil or climate, fill up fast, and largely with Canadians; but he does not ask himself why. The reason

* See Sir Richard Cartwright's speech on the Budget, House of Commons, Ottawa, March 27, 1890.

is that the Canadian North-west is out of the commercial pale of its continent, and that it is barred against continental immigration, the only sort of immigration really suited to that country. To encourage the settler in his struggle with the wilderness, a twenty-five per cent. duty was clapped on his farm implements in order to force him to buy in the markets of Eastern Canada; and as he still continued to buy in the market which was not only nearer but produced implements better suited to the country, he was further encouraged by the imposition of ten per cent. more.

That the manufactures forced into existence by protection have not paid, Sir Charles Dilke will learn on inquiry. Factitious stimulus has been followed by glut, short time, and combinations. The iron industry which Sir Charles Tupper hoped to create by laying protective duties on British iron, and which was to do so much for us, has come to nothing. The exportation to distant countries, such as China, is suspected to be a slaughter of surplus goods. If farm property has fallen in value, if other industries have not improved, and manufactures have not paid, where are we to look for this growth of wealth since the adoption of protection? There are manufactures in Canada on a sound basis which do not fear an open market. As to the result to the consumer, the head of our dry-goods trade said the other day that if Canadian manufactures were exposed to American competition, the capital invested in them would not be worth more than a third of its nominal value; so that the interest on the rest was to be paid by the public.

Sir Charles Dilke takes the growth of Toronto as a proof of general prosperity. It is nothing more than the set of population into the great cities, which he has himself explained in the case of Victoria, and which is now general. The smaller cities and towns are decaying or stationary. There has of late been a great, probably too great, importation of British capital into Canada, which has given a fillip, but at the same time is an addition to our debt—already much too heavy—to Great Britain.

The government betrays misgiving as to the real effects of its system by attempts to open up for us a market in the moon. If Canadians cannot hold their own against Americans in the mar-

ket of their own country, how can they hold their own against Americans in the market of South America or Australia?

The United States are a continent, with an almost boundless range of production and a vast home market. Canada is a country, with a very limited range of production and a market all the smaller because the people are so widely scattered and freight charges are consequently so heavy. This makes all the difference between American and Canadian protection. Moreover, the commercial interests of the different Provinces have so little in common that the protection which is meat to one is poison to another. The protective tax on coal was meat to Nova Scotia and poison to Ontario. The government is beset by ludicrous embarrassments in trying to frame a protective tariff which shall be meat for all.

The provincial Legislatures are mainly in the hands of the Liberal Party, but in the Dominion Parliament Sir John Macdonald, the Conservative leader, retains a large majority, though it is rather a large majority of seats than of the popular vote. This shows, argues Sir Charles Dilke, that whatever the people may think about other questions, they are everywhere in favor of the national (protectionist) policy of Sir John Macdonald. The inference is plausible but not correct. The chief pillar of Sir John's party is Quebec, which Province is Conservative in Dominion politics, while it is French Nationalist in local politics—not because it is protectionist, for it is nothing of the kind, but because it is theocratic, and the clergy want to keep their power and their tithe. As to the smaller and remoter Provinces, the fact is, that having never been really incorporated, they care very little about Dominion questions or the old Canadian parties, and are easily captured at Dominion elections by subsidies from the federal treasury—"better terms" they are called—and by government grants to local railways and other local objects, which are frankly held out by government candidates as the price of support. We had a case the other day of a railway in Nova Scotia built at a cost to the Dominion of \$1,300,000, nominally to save seven miles, really to strengthen the government interest in that quarter. The poverty in which the maritime Provinces especially are kept by exclusion from their natural market,

makes the constituencies all the more open to the influence of government favors. The exodus also, by carrying off the most active and independent spirits, is a vent for discontent and a safeguard of Sir John Macdonald's power. The nominations to the Senate are used not only as strict party patronage, but as inducements to spend money in contesting elections. It is not so very difficult for a "business" government to hold together even the most "incongruous" elements by such means.

Sir John Macdonald has a majority of the members for Manitoba in the Dominion Parliament; yet the provincial Legislature of Manitoba has just protested against his commercial policy by a unanimous resolution, in which, it may safely be said, every man in the Province except government or Canada Pacific Railway officials would concur.

Sir Charles Dilke compliments Canada on the superiority of her public morality to that of the United States, and says that in Canada scandals "are almost unknown." He may depend upon it that wherever politics are a struggle between two factions for place, pretty much the same things are done; and that the danger is not diminished when, as in the case of Canada, Provinces and interests united by no natural bond are artificially held together to form a basis for the government. Patriotic Canadians deplore the effect produced by what has been going on for the last twenty years, on the political character of a most worthy people. It is unfortunately not the "corruption," but the "scandal," that is almost unknown. But protectionism is in itself corruption. What interests are "native" and to be protected, is decided by the lobby. The party leader before an election calls together the manufacturers, takes their subscriptions to the election fund, and pledges to them the commercial policy of the country.

When people are industrious, frugal, and temperate, as the Canadians are, and have a country as full of natural resources as Canada, no fiscal policy can prevent them from doing pretty well. But the fruits of the protectionist policy in Canada afford no support to the belief that communities can be made rich by taxation.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE NEW AMENDMENTS.

AN article by Judge Tourgée in the March issue of the FORUM challenges the efficacy of the recent Constitutional Amendments to accomplish the results they were designed to secure, namely, the integrity of the Union and the protection of the colored population. That the essay was not a mere academic disputation, but was inspired by a serious purpose and contemplates important objects, the writer, if he does not frankly avow, yet plainly betrays. But whatever the motive of the argument, its obvious tendency is to excite the apprehensions of all who are solicitous for the stability of the Union, and to agitate eight million colored citizens with anxiety for the security of those rights which they had supposed to be guaranteed them by the provisions of the amended Constitution. To quiet these alarms, and to confirm conviction of the sufficiency of those enactments for the great ends to which they are directed, is the purpose of this contribution.

Before proceeding to a consideration of Judge Tourgée's specific criticism of the Amendments, it is important to observe a radical modification which they have effected in the relations of the national government to the people of the United States. Prior to the adoption of the Amendments, the essential rights and liberties of the people had no other safeguard than the guarantees of the State Constitutions. The earlier Amendments of the Constitution were limitations only upon the action of the federal government, and imposed no restraint on the States in their relations to the people. Excepting the prohibition of bills of attainder, *ex post facto* laws, and laws impairing the obligation of contracts, the States were left absolutely free to define and regulate the people's rights. Now, it is conceivable that passion and prejudice and sinister interest might so prevail in a particular State, or in particular States, as to induce an abroga-

tion of the securities of civil liberty, or, at all events, such a judicial construction of those securities as would render them nugatory. But by operation of the new Amendments all the essential rights and liberties of the people are taken under the protection of the federal government, and are guaranteed inviolability as against the States and any of their agencies.

1. "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." * Judge Tourgée complains that here is no definition or enumeration of the "privileges and immunities of citizens," and that hence they stand insecurely upon mere judicial construction. But certainly it was a politic caution to abstain from such definition and enumeration, lest perchance some precious right or liberty should inadvertently escape mention and fail of protection. Already "judicial construction" has ascertained and declared that these privileges and immunities are those which "belong of right to the citizens of all free governments"; that they embrace all the fundamental rights of freemen; that they include every right within the comprehensive formula of the Declaration of Independence—the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." To ascertain what those fundamental rights of freemen are which the clause in discussion places under the guardianship of the national government, we need only to recur to the earlier Amendments of the Constitution. As first propounded, the Constitution contained no bill of rights, no reservation of individual right from the scope of governmental action; but, in deference to the demand of the people, the defect was promptly repaired. Surely, then, those rights which the earlier Amendments of the Constitution were devised and adopted to secure, fall within the category of "fundamental rights of freemen," else they would not have been so anxiously consecrated and conserved by the fundamental law of the nation. Reverting to the rights so distinguished and protected from infringement, we find that among others are included these: freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press; security against unreasonable searches and seizures; the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury; exemption from self-accusing evidence; immunity from arbitrary

* Article XIV., Sec. 1.

invasion of person or property. All these rights now stand inviolable under the guaranty of the federal government.

2. "No State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Quite unaccountably Judge Tourgée omits this provision in his enumeration of the "constitutional advances" made by the new Amendments. Surely he does not consider this safeguard against the arbitrary encroachment of the State upon the rights of person and property as of too trivial significance to be noticed, for of all the securities to the people provided by the new Amendments none is of wider scope or farther-reaching consequence. Previously to its enactment, nothing stood between the State and the lives, liberties, and property of its citizens, save its own volition embodied in an organic law which it might change at will; but now any invasion of the rights of person or property, except "according to the prescribed forms and solemnities for ascertaining guilt or determining the title to property," is forbidden to the States; and the nation, with its almighty power, stands between the victim and the aggressor. Nor can the State evade the restriction by a procedure devised for the purpose, for "a statute passed for working the wrong is not due process of law." *

3. "No State shall deny to any person the equal protection of the laws." By this provision the equality of all persons before the law is recognized and enforced by the federal authority; and the State, in the distribution of the benefits and the imposition of the burdens of government, will not be suffered to discriminate adversely to the rights of any man or class in the community—to administer one law to the poor and another to the rich, one law to the white man and another to the Negro. The beneficial operation of this guaranty has already been displayed, in protecting corporations from unequal exactions, in shielding Chinamen from hostile discrimination, and in securing the Negro an impartial jury on his deliverance from criminal accusation.

Thus it is that now the freedom and the security of the American people are protected by a twofold panoply—the safeguard of the State and the safeguard of the nation. If the new Amendments had no other or further effect, this alone would

* *Bronson, J., in Porter v. Taylor, 4 Hill, 140.*

challenge for them the grateful homage of the people. But the crowning glory of the new Amendments remains yet to be signalized. By Article XIII., slavery, of whatever name and in whatever guise, was effaced forever from the soil of America; and by the first section of Article XIV., citizenship, State as well as national, was made the birthright of the Negro. Thus, by these beneficent and ever-memorable enactments, five million human beings were set free from bondage and invested with the plenitude of citizenship in the imperial republic of the world; and by a caprice of retributive justice, the court which had just declared them incapable of civic rights was made the sanctuary of their liberties.

So far the Amendments seem entirely adequate to the ends for which they were designed. But Judge Tourgée affirms them to be defective still in two essential particulars. First, he says:

"The doctrines of the paramount prerogative of the State and the paramount allegiance of the citizen to the State, are said to have been 'settled by war.' These doctrines are not even yet obnoxious to any constitutional inhibition. Their correlates, secession and nullification, are not punishable offenses, nor even constitutionally-negatived theories. The doctrine of State sovereignty rests to-day upon precisely the same legal basis that it did one hundred years ago. . . . To some this will seem, perhaps, a surprising fact."

Not to "some," but to all, and not "perhaps," but certainly, it is a surprising revelation that so much blood and treasure have been expended to no purpose; that so many heroic lives have been offered in a useless, and because useless, a wicked, sacrifice; that the wisdom and virtue of statesmen have been exerted in vain to consolidate the Union on the stable basis of constitutional authority; and that, after all, secession and nullification are still vital and operative principles in our political system. For one, at all events, I reject this cynical estimate of the results of the mighty struggle. For one, I hold that secession and nullification, as potential facts, were annihilated by the stroke of war, and that as principles they no longer find shelter or pretense of justification in the theory of our government.

The occasion of Judge Tourgée's pessimistic outcry, is the omission from the new Amendments of any explicit negation of the right of secession. But here was another wise and politic

abstention on the part of the statesmen who reconstructed the Union. A direct and formal denial, in the new Amendments, of the right of secession, would imply a necessity for such denial; and the necessity of such denial would involve the admission that otherwise the right did exist; and this admission would carry with it the implication that, after all, the Confederacy had reason and right on its side. And if so, then the war on the part of the North was an iniquitous crusade against a people contending only for their chartered rights. But the statesmen of that day were too sagacious to commit themselves and the nation to so self-stultifying a conclusion.

Nor, indeed, was any explicit challenge of the principle of secession necessary to its exorcism from our system of government. The case was this: the Confederates affirmed the right of a State to withdraw at will from the Union, and denied the right of the nation to coerce them back into the Union; the nation denied the right of secession, and asserted its right to compel a State to remain in the Union. Upon this issue the battle was fought, with the result that, in point of fact, the asserted right of secession proved to be nothing more than an idle claim, incapable of enforcement, and fraught with the most frightful calamities to the party advancing it. That the right of secession, whatever its validity in abstract speculation, is no longer a practical principle in American politics, and will never again be asserted as the ground and justification of separation from the Union, has been definitively settled by the most decisive of all adjudications, the dread arbitrament of war. Power is a surer guaranty than paper.

And yet the new Amendments do negative the right of secession by implication, that is, by abrogating the fundamental principle of the former federal system, and by substituting a principle with which paramount State allegiance, and so the right of secession, are utterly incompatible.

As the original Articles of Confederation constituted only a league between the States, citizenship of the so-united States was a thing inconceivable; and accordingly the only citizenship then possible as a legal fact was citizenship of the State. National citizenship was introduced for the first time into the

American polity by the Constitution of 1787. But national citizenship under that Constitution was not primary and paramount, but secondary and subordinate. National citizenship was only an incident of State citizenship; one was a citizen of the Union because, and only because, he was a citizen of a State.

"Strictly speaking, there were no citizens of the United States, but only of some one of them."* "Under the Constitution [of 1787], citizenship of the United States, in reference to natives, was dependent upon citizenship in the several States, under their Constitution and laws."† "No man was a citizen of the United States, except as he was a citizen of one of the States."‡ "Every citizen of a State is *ipso facto* a citizen of the United States."§

Since, then, citizenship of the State was the primary and paramount citizenship, and citizenship of the United States only derivative and dependent, the logic of secession deduced the conclusions, first, that allegiance to the State was primary and paramount, and allegiance to the United States only secondary and subordinate; and, secondly, that on occasion of conflict between these diverse allegiances, allegiance to the State imposed the greater and the more imperative obligation. Hence the doctrine of the right of secession.

But by the new Amendments all this is changed. The principle is inverted. Allegiance to the Union is made the primary and paramount allegiance, imposing the greater and the controlling obligation; and allegiance to the State is degraded to a derivative and dependent allegiance, imposing no obligation in competition with the original and supreme allegiance. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside."|| Thus, citizenship is created by the federal government, and prescribed by it to the State. Accordingly,

"A citizen of a State is now only a citizen of the United States residing in that State."¶ "Citizenship of the United States is the primary citizenship; State citizenship is secondary and derivative, depending upon citizenship of the United States."**

* Shannon v. Hill, 26 Federal Reporter, 343.

† Slaughter-house Cases, 16 Wallace, 94.

‡ Id., 72.

§ Story on the Constitution, Sec. 1693.

|| Amendments, Article XIV., Sec. 1.

¶ Slaughter-house Cases, 95.

** Id., 112.

Thus, by the new Amendments the fundamental postulate of secession and nullification, namely, the supremacy of State citizenship and State allegiance, is destroyed, and in its stead is substituted the contradictory principle of the supremacy of national citizenship and national allegiance—a principle which necessarily involves negation of the right of secession and nullification.

By another provision of the new Amendments, still another implied but emphatic protest against the right of secession protects the integrity of the Union. The first section of Article XIV. forbids a State to abridge "the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." But the assumption that a State may leave the Union at will, necessarily involves the admission that a State may not only "abridge" but abolish the "privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States"; for manifestly no federal privilege or immunity can attach to a community not in the Union.

Even more decisive against the hypothesis that secession may still consist with the Constitution, is the provision by which Congress is armed with plenary power to enforce all the guaranties of the new Amendments. By this provision the nation assumes supremacy and sovereignty over the States; and unless a right to coerce a State be compatible with the right of a State to secede, this provision annihilates secession.

Suffer me to deduce, as a corollary from the foregoing argument, a hope that Judge Tourgée's imagination will be no longer affrighted by the phantom of secession.

But, secondly, Judge Tourgée's chief criticism of the new Amendments is directed against the provisions affecting the elective franchise; and he expends much labor in an effort to show that they are altogether insufficient as a guaranty of suffrage to the Negro. Indisputably, if their object was formally to confer the suffrage upon the Negro, these Amendments have miscarried in their design, although in effect they may in a certain predicament invest him with the elective franchise.*

In readjusting the relations of the government and people after emancipation, it was as competent to the nation to make the Negro a voter as to make him a citizen; but such degrada-

* *Ex parte Yarborough*, 110 U. S., 665.

tion of the States, by depriving them of the distinctive feature of autonomy, namely, the right to create and qualify the electoral body, was not in the minds of the framers of the new Amendments, who even in that tremendous crisis adhered tenaciously to the characteristic principles of the federal system. They plainly desired that the newly-enfranchised class should be invested with the suffrage; but they recognized that, in conformity with the genius of our institutions, the right to vote was within the gift of the State, and not of the United States. So, by the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, the most persuasive argument was employed to induce the States to confer the elective franchise on the Negro, namely, the provision that if he be not a voter he shall not be a constituent of representation. It being apprehended, however, that not even the aggrandizement of their political power would avail alone to move the southern States to bestow the suffrage on the Negro, the nation, then, by the Fifteenth Amendment, forbade any discrimination against him in conferring the right to vote. Further than this the new Amendments do not guarantee the elective franchise to the Negro. Is this guarantee sufficient? Judge Tourgée contends that it is not; I affirm that it is.

The interdict in the Fifteenth Amendment against denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, not only prevents the absolute disfranchisement of the Negro, but insures him also an equality of electoral capacity; for a prescription of different qualifications involves necessarily an abridgment of the right to vote of the race upon whom the more onerous condition is imposed. Hence the fact that in every State of the Union the black man is a voter, and a voter upon precisely the same conditions as are prescribed for the white man.

But, it is said, the States may deprive the Negro of the suffrage. So likewise may they deprive the white man. Nay, so *must* they deprive the white man, for under the Fifteenth Amendment no disqualification can be applied to the black man that is not equally operative against the white; and, conversely, whatever qualification is conferred on the white man, *ipso facto* operates to make the Negro a voter.* The States can disfranchise

* *Ex parte Yarborough, loc. cit.*

the Negro not otherwise than by disfranchising at the same stroke the white man. Any enfranchisement must embrace both classes equally and alike; any proscription must include both classes equally and alike. Again, any disfranchisement of the Negro by a State reduces proportionally its political power—its vote in the House of Representatives and its vote in the Electoral College. That the South should so sacrifice its influence in the government, is an event that has not happened, and that, we may be sure, will not happen. And still more inconceivable is it that, in order to disfranchise the Negro, the white men of the South will voluntarily disfranchise themselves.

Thus, by the conjoint effect of these two provisions in the new Amendments, the Negro is abundantly guaranteed in the enjoyment of the elective franchise.

But Judge Tourgée propounds a construction of the Fifteenth Amendment which, if tenable, would indeed arm the States with power to withhold the suffrage from the Negro; and it is that construction which inflames him with indignation and alarm for the imperiled rights of the colored people. The language of the Amendment is: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race," etc. In his exposition of the sense of these words the learned commentator assumes that "the term 'right to vote' means the vested right of a duly-qualified voter"; that one who "has never possessed the right to vote has not a right to vote which can be denied or abridged." And from this postulate he deduces the inference that the only operation of the Fifteenth Amendment is to prevent the deprivation of an already enfranchised voter—to hinder the taking away of what the citizen has; but that the provision is utterly ineffectual to prevent withholding the suffrage from any one in whom it is not actually vested. In other words, the proposition is that while the Fifteenth Amendment disables a State to disfranchise existing voters on account of race, etc., the State is not restrained from refusing to confer the suffrage on a Negro in whom it is not already vested. That I am not gratuitously imputing to Judge Tourgée a far-fetched and fantastic conceit, is demonstrated by his own explicit affirmation of power in a State "to provide that, on and after a certain date, only *white*

males should become voters on arriving at the age of twenty-one years." Surely, no argument can be necessary to exhibit the absurdity of this proposition. Its basis is a verbal quibble as strained and fanciful as that by which in former days a certain abolitionist essayed to prove that the Constitution forbade restitution of fugitive slaves: "No person held to service or labor in one State, escaping into another . . . shall be delivered up." If the provision were that no citizen shall be *deprived* of the right to vote, there might be some plausibility in the contention; but as it is the *denial* of the right that is prohibited, such prohibition is violated whenever concession of the right is refused. Indeed, Judge Tourgée himself admits that the purpose in the adoption of the Amendment was "to provide that a colored man should, in every State and for all time, be entitled to become a voter upon the same terms and conditions as the white man"; and the words employed are apt and efficient to accomplish the purpose.

Whether Judge Tourgée intends modestly to suggest a doubt as to the validity of his contention, or means rather to claim the merit of originality for his discovery, he admits that "the view now presented has not been taken by juridical writers."

It is said above that, under certain circumstances, the effect of the Fifteenth Amendment might be to confer the elective franchise on the Negro; but even then, that effect is dependent upon the volition of the State. The language of the Amendment is merely negative—not bestowing suffrage, but only forbidding a deprivation of it on account of race, color, or condition. It is by compelling a choice between the admission of the Negro and the exclusion of the white man, that the former may be incidentally invested with the right to vote; but still the State is free to elect between the alternative propositions, and so may defeat Negro suffrage, as it may defeat white suffrage. In either case it is the will of the State that determines the event. It results, therefore, that the Fifteenth Amendment is obnoxious to neither of the two objections leveled against it from opposite quarters—from one quarter, that it imperatively bestows suffrage on the Negro; from the other, that it affords no adequate guaranty against the exclusion of the Negro from the elective franchise.

Precisely the same guaranty secures suffrage to the Negro and to the white man; namely, an identical qualification for both and a loss of political power consequent on the proscription of either.

Enough is written, I trust, to vindicate the new Amendments from the disparagements of a critic to whom, one would suppose, they would appear of inestimable moment and value, as imparting and securing all the rights and privileges of American citizenship to the race of which he has approved himself the able and enthusiastic champion.

Along with Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence, these ordinances will descend to the remotest posterity as monuments of human freedom and progress.

ROGER A. PRYOR

LITERARY CRITICISM.

IN a paper which I wrote for the "Contemporary Review" of last September, I gave reasons for disclaiming to be a reviewer. Having read many unjust and inadequate reviews of good writers, it is a source of happiness for me to know that never, either with or without my name, have I written insultingly or ungenerously of any human being. But not wishing to allude to myself at all, I struck the passage out of the revise, and it was printed only because the revise was delayed in transmission. For some reason the paragraph seized the popular attention, and was quoted and requoted in scores of journals. It had its share in calling out a reply from Prof. A. J. Church—*quem honoris causa nomino*; and curiously enough it furnished a fresh proof of the extreme fallibility of critics, for Prof. Church's reply was based on a complete mistake as to what I said. I said that the weaknesses and errors of every work will be pointed out by critics, "who will perhaps revel in the sense of their own superiority in the contemptuous condemnation of books of which they could not have written a single page." Prof. Church at once ran away with the notion that I had forbidden critics to pronounce any opinion of books which they could not have produced. Obviously I meant nothing so absurd. Just as a cat may look at a king, so a very ordinary mortal may, if he likes, criticise Shakespeare or Newton; but if in so doing he gives himself the airs of contempt, and "revels in a sense of his own superiority," he becomes ridiculous. Prof. Church—a high-minded and able man—showed that even in reviewing a single sentence a practiced critic may entirely overlook the meaning which lies plainly visible upon its surface.

What I then wrote was attributed to personal feeling; and as the same is sure to be said of this paper, I affirm that personal feeling has nothing to do with it. If I had been sensitive I should not have allowed thirty years to elapse without answering

a syllable to any literary accuser. If I ever felt aggrieved I can say with Cicero, "*Consuetudo diurna callum jam obduxit stomacho meo.*" The hermit St. Macarius of Alexandria was once guilty of crushing a mosquito. For some reason he conceived himself to have committed a crime in doing so; and to expiate his misdoing he "hastened from his cell to the marshes of Sceté, which abound with great flies whose stings pierce even wild boars." There he continued six months, living in a cloud of venomous insects, against no one of which did he lift his hand. At the end of that time he was covered with stings so numberless as to be completely unrecognizable except by his voice, which one can only hope was

" Unchanged

To hoarse or mute, though fall'n on evil days;
On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues."

I have never been guilty of the crime of St. Macarius, and therefore I have not needed to perform the same expiation. But if I felt inclined to complain of criticisms from which I have suffered far less than many of my betters, it would be strange indeed that I should not have complained long ago, and not when I have developed a complete insensibility. In point of fact, I have received so much larger share of kindly approval, that the opodeldoc has been supplied in sufficient quantities to cure any stings. Let me then get rid of anything personal which I have to say in as brief a space as possible. I have had the widest experience of criticism of every form and caliber, and have therefore been able to estimate the character of those literary judgments which undertake to form public opinion. I have studied them in every phase—slight and thorough, competent and incompetent, honorable and dishonorable, pretentious and adequate, sincere and grossly insincere, fair and infamously unfair, inspired by an honest desire to be just and inspired by no nobler feeling than spite and a deliberate desire to injure. Truth compels me to say that I have seen but few reviews from which I could obtain the least information or adopt the most insignificant hint; and, like every one else, I have often been criticised—especially in "religious" and semi-religious journals—in a manner which reflects dishonor on the critics only. But,

though I think, with Mr. Ruskin, that "a bad critic is probably the most mischievous person in the world," not even against the least honorable of them all do I cherish a particle of rancor. If I had anything to say to these, it would simply be the remark of Guizot when he fell from power, and saw the senators rushing to the tribune to denounce him: "*Montez, messieurs, montez toujours; vous ne monterez jamais à la hauteur de mon dédain.*" Once for all, then, I am writing *ab extra*. If I criticise some aspects of criticism, I do so as impersonally, and with an indifference as complete, as if I myself had never penned a line. I shall only mention a few considerations which seem worthy of the attention of critics, and which may perhaps subserve to the consolation of authors innumerable whom critics may have treated with undeserved contempt.

Every year scores of books are published by men and women who have neither learning, nor originality, nor insight, nor style, nor any single intellectual or literary faculty. In the domains of poetry and of religion especially, it is impossible not to be struck with the "pleonasm of nakedness, at once bare and bald," which serves so many souls as a literary garment. To all such, when they want to publish, the only reasonable advice is that given by Mr. Punch to those who wish to marry—Don't. Kingsley sings of the "feckless hairy oubit," and how

"When he took the water, the saumon fry they rose,
And tigg'd him a' to pieces sma', by head and tail and toes.
Tak' warning then, young poets a', by this poor oubit's shame;
Though Pegasus may nicher loud, keep Pegasus at hame.
O haud your hands frae inkhorns, though a' the Muses woo;
For critics lie like saumon fry, to mak their meals o' you."

But surely the critic need not lash himself to fury in order to crush writers who have mistaken their vocation. By the law of their existence, such writers cannot live as long as those ephemerids on the river Hypanis, of which Pliny tells us that they were born at the dawn and died in the evening. Why crush a butterfly upon a wheel? The authors are often most worthy persons, and if they have overestimated their own powers, the completeness of their failure will be a punishment sufficiently poignant to induce the critic to refrain from pouring his oil of

vitriol into their wounds. "I should think it a cruelty," says Dr. Johnson, "to crush an insect who has provoked me only by buzzing in my ears; and would not willingly interrupt the dream of harmless stupidity, or destroy the jest which makes its author laugh." The remarks of Shelley in the preface to his "*Prometheus Unbound*," are both wise and kind:

"Whatever talents a person may possess to amuse or instruct others, be they ever so inconsiderable, he is yet bound to exert them. If the attempt be ineffectual, let the punishment of an unaccomplished purpose have been sufficient; let none trouble themselves to heap the dust of oblivion upon his efforts."

But there are books of higher pretensions than these born-dead inanities, which seem, for reasons not the most creditable to human nature, to rouse almost into ferocity the dislike of critics. This is specially the case with books which have had the misfortune to be overpraised at first, or to have attained a popularity not reached by other works of higher merit. Now time will test all such books. Nothing can keep them alive for more than a short period. If anything in them be really good and valuable, it will stand the test; if not, they will perish speedily. Instances at once occur to the mind, of novels and poems especially, which, after an astonishing success, have disappeared like foam upon the water. To speak only of the dead, we may mention the poems of Mr. Martin Tupper and Mr. Robert Montgomery. The first success which they obtained was remarkable; the first notices with which they were greeted were ecstatic. But when the critics and the world discovered that they had been mistaken in their estimate, they turned round savagely on the unfortunate and perfectly well-intentioned writers. I do not admire the temperament of the man who can read without pain, and a sense of something like humiliation, the more than slashing and altogether exaggerated assault of Lord Macaulay on the much-to-be-pitied author of "*Satan*." Granted that he had very little, if any, of "the vision and the faculty divine"; granted that some of his similes were so impossible as to prove that with him words sometimes stood for real thoughts; yet the manifest gusto with which Macaulay performed his task of flagellation was little to his credit. Let any one read but two

pages of the forgotten poems, and he will see that the poor clergyman had done nothing to deserve so tremendous an infliction of the bastinado. Five lines of Dante, any single page of Shakespeare, may be worth ten times over all that R. Montgomery ever said or wrote; but if the same *methods* were applied to Dante or Shakespeare, how easy would it have been for so brilliantly clever a critic as Macaulay, as it was for Voltaire, to show that Shakespeare was a drunken savage, and that of Dante's poems the "Inferno" was revolting, the "Purgatorio" dull, and the "Paradiso" unreadable! Indeed the very demigods of literature—Dante and Shakespeare and Bacon and Milton—have *not* escaped these methods. Horace Walpole called Dante "extravagant, absurd, disgusting; in short, a Methodist parson in Bedlam!" Samuel Pepys, Esq., thought "Othello" "a mean thing," and "Midsummer Night's Dream" "the most insipid, ridiculous play I ever saw in my life." Bacon's "*Instauratio Magna*" was described by an eminent contemporary as "the silliest of printed books." Hacket, in his "Life of Lord Keeper Williams," calls Milton "a petty schoolboy scribbler"; and another contemporary spoke of him as "the author of a profane and lascivious poem called 'Paradise Lost.'"

I contend that Macaulay's article was an act of wanton and needless cruelty, and a blot on his reputation. The objects of the author of "Satan" were purely moral; and the crime of being a third-rate, or even a tenth-rate poet, was much too severely punished by a man being held up to the insulting ridicule of millions of readers for several generations. It is not to the credit either of Lord Macaulay's head or of his heart that he contemptuously disregarded the agonized entreaties of the sufferer, and went on publishing the essay among his works, in spite of its essentially ephemeral character. "Methinks"—as was said by another sufferer—"the punishment was disproportionate to the offense." A similar remark applies to the ordinary way of treating the "Proverbial Philosophy" of Mr. Tupper. Seeing that the book, in spite of its commonplace and platitude, was at first highly praised, not only by the

"Chorus of indolent reviewers,
Irresponsible, indolent reviewers,"

but by writers of the highest reputation, it must, I suppose, have had *some* merits. In any case, it was not to the credit of innumerable scribblers to make Mr. Tupper's name a sort of stale and standard joke, so trite as to have suggested to a wit the word "vi-tupper-ation." I would rather have written "Proverbial Philosophy"—though I never admired more than two lines in it—than have shared in the common baseness of incessantly heaping insult on a defenseless and amiable man, who, like the rest of us, may have had his foibles, but who had done his little best in life. The conduct of most men is like that of a swarm of flies in which each one should think it intolerable for any but himself to buzz. Says George Eliot:

"Young Mr. Ladislaw was not at all deep himself in German writers; but very little achievement is required in order to pity another man's shortcomings. He only thought of giving a good pinch that would annihilate the vaunted laboriousness of Mr. Casaubon, and was unable to imagine the mode in which Dorothea would be wounded. . . . Mortals are easily able to pinch the life out of their neighbor's buzzing glory, and think that such killing is no murder."

There are some flies too large, and too formidable, and of too assured a position, to be treated in this way; and that is why common natures take special delight in giving extra pinches to other flies which have already been pinched out of all real power to buzz any longer.

It will be said: "After all, critics are only men; and you cannot expect them to rise superior to the ordinary foibles of human nature." That is true; but they are men who wield, or try to wield, the club of Hercules with the combined strength of many arms; and unhappily they have all the extra and deadly temptations which arise from their also wearing the ring of Gyges. They can strike tremendous blows in the dark, and are endowed by invisibility and impunity with a concentrated egotism—Dr. Whewell called it "*wegotism*"—which brings out in some men their very worst qualities. It is no infrequent event to see anonymous remarks and criticisms so unworthy, and dictated by motives so transparently base, that we may be sure they would not have been written if their authors had not been sheltered by anonymity from open shame. Anonymity, which to a good man makes no difference, becomes a strong temptation to a bad,

sour, or commonplace man. Just as dastards who have been paid to do it, shoot down their victims from behind a hedge, so base writers are rendered more unscrupulous by concealment. Good and noble men have, to my knowledge, gone through life with the anguish of a hidden and rankling wound, inflicted by insects who would hardly have dared to sting had their real insignificance been known. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes is one of the most genial and kind of men, but he uses language much stronger than any which I should care to use, when, in his poetic address to Mr. Lowell, on February 22, 1889, he asks:

“Who is the critic? He who never skips
 The luckless passage where his author slips;
 Slides o’er his merits, stumbles at his faults,
 Calls him a cripple if he sometimes halts;
 Rich in the caustic epithets that sting,
 The venom-vitriol malice loves to fling;
 His quill a feathered fang at hate’s command,
 His ink the product of his poison-gland:
 Is this the critic? call him not a snake,
 This noxious creature, for the reptile’s sake.”

Things equally severe have been said of critics from the days of their great prototype Zoilus downward. If any one wished to retaliate on them, he need only go to the pages of Swift. Says Swift, in the “Battle of the Books”:

“Momus bent his flight to the region of a malignant deity called Criticism. She dwelt on the top of a snowy mountain in Nova Zembla; there Momus found her extended in her den upon the spoils of numberless volumes half devoured. At her right hand sat Ignorance, her father and husband, blind with age; at her left, Pride, her mother, dressing her up in the scraps of paper herself had torn. There was Opinion, her sister, light of foot, hoodwinked and headstrong, yet giddy and perpetually turning. About her played her children, Noise and Impudence, Dullness and Vanity, Positiveness, Pedantry, and Ill Manners. The goddess herself had claws like a cat; her head and ears and voice resembled those of an ass; her teeth fallen out before, her eyes turned inward, as if she looked only upon herself”—

and so forth, in a strain which I would not emulate even if it were ever so much in my power.

Possibly there may be some critics who deserve this tremendous indictment. But speaking of them *en masse*, I should not be disposed to lay to their charge much worse faults than those

which belong to the vulgar multitude. For, as Mr. Matthew Arnold said, it is the eternal spirit of the multitude to catch up popular cries, to shout down the unsuccessful, and to trample savagely on the fallen. All that we can hope for is to call attention to their frequent "want of conscience and want of competence"; to remind them that they are in no sense the legislators of literature, barely even its judges and police; to break down the preposterous importance which the uninitiated attach to their *dicta*; and to awaken in some of them regard for a higher standard of conscientiousness, by calling attention to the fact that accident enables them to do an amount of good and harm which is entirely disproportionate to their real merits. They have to produce so much "copy" in so much time; they have to review books which often they have not really read, on subjects on which they are usually less informed than the authors, and of which they frequently do not even care to understand the objects. They are sorely tempted to be "smart"; to sacrifice justice to epigram; to pander to the low taste which delights in scathing insult; to crack lively jokes at the expense of the author, but also of their own conscience; to imply how much better they could have done the work; to hunt up the merest misprints and claborately to represent them as errors; to abuse the writer for opinions with which they do not agree, but in which the author may be absolutely right and they themselves absolutely wrong; to read into his sentences a meaning which the context excludes; to pick holes in his style, which he cannot help or alter, since it is a part of himself, and, as Buffon said, *le style c'est de l'homme*; to attack him for *not* saying something which he did not even choose or intend to say; to overlook everything that he has achieved and taunt him with trivial defects in outlying corners in which he has failed; to adopt the stale dodge of reviewing the book out of the materials which itself suggests. They are tempted to the still easier tricks of picking out, and often of entirely misrepresenting, a phrase here and there; and of trying to label the author with an epigram or a nickname, which may be witty, but which they know will wound and injure him perhaps for years to come, though it be infamously unjustifiable. In all this their standard is selfish

and contemptible; they follow suit with the poorest tendencies of the world. An eminent historian was once supposed to have said, "Perish India"; he never said it, but for years it served quite handily as a party missile. An eloquent Nonconformist minister was once supposed to have said that "the Church of England killed more than it cured." If he ever did say it, he regretted it; but, in the minds of many, all the good which he did in life was obliterated by his having that sentence repeated against him. A venerable and high-minded nobleman, when he was a very young man, published a book of poems in which there were two foolish lines. On those two lines the malice of the many settled down like fleshflies on a wound; they were quoted against him whenever his name turned up. Indeed, I have known critics—*ardelionum quædam natio, sibi molesta et aliis odiosissima*: the male Vivienues of society, consoling their own lack of worth by the supposed demerits of their betters—whose literary and conversational stock in trade consisted of musty old odd ends of malice, for the most part impertinent rather than witty, which they always paraded when any particular name was mentioned. I have seen the two lines to which I allude quoted half a century after they were written. They were once flung in the Duke of Rutland's face at an election, and many critics might learn from the spirit of his reply, that "he would rather be the youth who had written those two lines, foolish though they were, than the party man who tried to make capital out of them."

As for style, certainly if a critic thinks a writer's style bad, he can, if he likes, say so as little offensively as a gentleman and a good man should, not willfully misrepresenting its characteristics, nor picking out one or two sentences as though they fairly exhibited its general tenor. But no honest man who writes in the style natural to him, will be at all likely to alter it at the bidding of the critics; and the critics have showed themselves very poor judges of style, either in literature or art. As a general rule, an author of any merit or seriousness could not possibly do a more foolish thing than to take their advice. Turner was incomparably the greatest painter of his age, yet his style of art during the greater part of his life furnished a common joke to every scribe

bler, and fledged the callow wit of every criticaster. Carlyle's effect upon his age was produced in great measure by his style; yet his style was for some time denounced as a travesty of English which was perfectly intolerable. Mr. Ruskin is now almost universally regarded as the greatest living master of English prose; yet many critics at first received his style with unmeasured ridicule. When Mr. Browning published his first poem, "Pauline," some critic or other called him "verbose." Unfortunately—as he has told us—he paid too much attention to the remark, and in his desire to use no superfluous word, studied an elliptic concentration of style which told fatally against the ready intelligibility of "Sordello" and other later poems.

Surely the record of the past aberrations even of illustrious critics should teach every earnest man that he need not be afraid to hold his own. Dr. Johnson was looked up to as the literary dictator of his day, yet he said of the author of "An Elegy in a Country Churchyard": "Sir, he was dull in a new way, and that made many people call him great." And, shrewd as he was, Horace Walpole had nothing better to say of Dr. Johnson, in his turn, than that he was "a babbling old woman. Prejudice and bigotry and pride and presumption and arrogance are the hags that brew his ink." Of Horace Walpole, again, and of his play, "The Mysterious Mother," which Byron so extravagantly admired, Coleridge remarked that "no one with a spark of true manliness, of which Horace Walpole had none, could have written that most disgusting and detestable composition that ever came from the hand of man." Of Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," even his friend Southey said: "It is the clumsiest attempt at German simplicity I ever saw." De Quincey was eloquent and learned, and he said of certain critics that he should like "to brain their mushroom heads with a fan," but he thought that "even Caliban in his drunkenness never shaped an idol more weak and hollow than modern Germany has set up for its worship in the person of Goethe."*

If a critic points out some real and removable defect in style, an author will be wise to take the hint; and it is not difficult to correct any mere mannerism, or trick of repetition, or fault of

* See "The Curiosities of Criticism," in "Fraser's Magazine," Jan., 1873.

structure or of method. But the humblest writer will be ill-advised if, in deference to irresponsible chatter, he tries radically to change the mode of expression which, whether admirable or otherwise, is the natural result of his training and the normal outcome of his individuality. A man who is simple and honest should have sufficient self-confidence to dare to be himself. If his aims are high, if his books are found to be useful and dear to thousands, if he never writes except in the interests of morality, religion, and truth, let him go on and do his best, working while it is day, so long as his efforts obviously meet the needs, widen the knowledge, or elevate the aims of his brother men. If he feels annoyed by the attacks of critics, he has a sovereign and very simple remedy—let him leave them unread. But if he reads then, let him cultivate a certain healthy callosity regarding them. *Lascia dir le genti*. There is wisdom in the inscription over the Marischal College of Aberdeen, “Men haif said; quhat say they? Lat them say.” It should be with a man’s writing as with all the work of his life; let him do it faithfully, and let men prate and let fortune turn her wheel as she chooses. For much current criticism will always be contemptible. Says Mr. Ruskin:

“The nobler passions are not merely disbelieved, but even the conception of them seems ludicrous to the impotent churl mind; so that—to take only so poor an instance of them as my own life—because I have passed it in almsgiving, not in fortune-hunting; because I have labored always for the honor of others, not my own; . . . because I loved a wood walk better than a London street, and would rather watch a seagull fly than shoot it, and rather hear a thrush sing than eat it; finally, because I never disobeyed my mother; because I have honored all women with solemn worship, and have been kind even to the unthankful and the evil; therefore the hacks of English art and literature wag their heads at me, and the poor wretch who pawns the dirty linen of his soul daily for a bottle of sour wine and a cigar, talks of the ‘effeminate sentimentality of Ruskin.’”

I am not going to hunt up again the well-known follies which have so often been nailed like dead vermin on the door of criticism. Any one who chooses may see for himself how impotent the literary journalists have shown themselves to recognize genius, and how equally impotent they have been to check its recognition by fairer judges. We all know how Coleridge was abused like a pickpocket; how Shelley was almost goaded to madness;

how the "Quarterly Review" * said that the poems of Keats had been received "with an all but universal roar of laughter," and how the young poet was brutally told to go "back to his gallipots"; how Jeffrey began his article on Wordsworth with "This will never do," and called his poems "a tissue of moral and devotional ravings." A man who is conscious of God-intrusted powers will defy and outlive such assaults.

Wordsworth did not trouble himself with the fact that he was treated as an imbecile; and *il y avait des gens assez bêtes pour trouver ça amusant*. He told those who loved him not to trouble themselves, since he knew well that his works were destined in time to co-operate with all beneficent tendencies, and "to add sunlight to daylight by making the happy happier." But the curiosities of criticism are not things of the past generation. Misjudgment and sneers have continued to greet works of genius. Some of us are old enough to remember how the most powerful journal of the period mixed up its criticism of one of the noblest and tenderest poems of the present day—"In Memoriam"—with sneers at "the Amaryllis of the Chancery bar"; and to recall the violent diatribes which were expended on the poem of "Maud." Mrs. Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" lives by its intrinsic worth, though "foul words were used to blacken it, and stupid wickedness to strangle it." Mr. Browning was over and over again insulted and browbeaten by hosts of critics for fifty years. He himself told me how any recognition of him was probably retarded for twenty years by the sheer accident of one of his earlier poems being "reviewed" by the two words "pure balderdash"—or something to that effect—in place of an elaborate and appreciative essay on the poem by John Stuart Mill, which would have been inserted by the editor with equal readiness if the previous "review" had not appeared. Of course it would be a fatal mistake in *nous autres* if we took every sneering or hostile review as a testimony to the originality of our undiscovered greatness. The aim of my remark is quite different. It is twofold. It is to remind the critics once more that a truer estimate of themselves and of others might make them less ready to indulge in the mean and cheap amusement of being

* March, 1828.

anonymously rude to authors who may have earned the gratitude of thousands, years before they were born, and who will be named with blessings years after they are forgotten. And it is on the other hand to assure authors who take attacks too seriously, that they have no reason to break their hearts because some malapert boy fresh from college, eager to make a reputation by abusing his elders, or some young lady with thirty books to review every week—or for the matter of that, some *vieux littérateur* who has grown gray in attempts to destroy nascent reputations—chooses to earn his or her few guineas by “writing them down ‘ass.’” It is much wiser to take such impertinences with perfect equanimity. Our betters have done so. Buddha freely gave himself up to the famishing tiger, and authors need not begrudge themselves to the needs of smaller animals who may be equally hungry. To me it has happened not once or twice only, to receive the apologies and regrets of those who had tried to injure me in literary criticism, and who had been forgiven long before they asked forgiveness. Criticism, like everything else, will ultimately be taken for what it is worth. It is a thing of a day.

“Greater than I; is that your cry?
And men will live to see it.
Well, if it be so, so it is, you know;
And if it be so, so be it!”

And I say the same about opinions as I have said about style. If an author has deliberately and conscientiously adopted certain views, do not let him be daunted out of them by the anathemas of party opponents:

“... *ihres Bellens lauter Schall*
Beweist nur, dass wir reiten.”

The denunciation of books only because the reviewers or editors have taken a spite against the writer or his opinions, is a thing so common that most authors are well aware beforehand that in certain papers they are sure to be abused, and that from certain editors they have not the least chance of receiving the most ordinary courtesy or fairness. If a man's opinions be without rational basis, it is well for him and for the world that they should be refuted; but if they are well founded, no abuse should

greatly trouble him. Prejudices and nicknames die hard, but the world comes round to him who waits. It is told of the late Dean Milman, that when, late in life, he was invited to preach before the University of Oxford, he at first intended to begin his sermon with words to this effect: "For thirty years or more my opinions have been attacked; my orthodoxy has been denied; my motives have been impugned; I have been represented on all sides as dangerous and unsound. I have not altered a single opinion; I have not withdrawn a single sentence; I have not modified a single phrase. And now I find that my views have become those of most competent scholars and thoughtful men, and I find myself invited to teach from the pulpit of the university the youth of another generation." The complaint of the learned Dean is another illustration of the fact that most reviewers succumb to the temptation of making themselves the measure of all men, and doing their work "from no higher standpoint than that of their own likes and dislikes." "It is not criticism," says a lively writer, "to tear to pieces every book by an opponent, and to smear with indiscriminate laudation every book by a friend."

The vices of contemporary criticism are numberless, and I shall not pretend to hunt them out. But I may advert to the common unfairness of judging an author without any reference to his real aims. A book is written for the minute examination of small details, and the author is called "deadly dull." Another book is written with almost exclusive reference to broad human interests, and it is called worthless because the author has been comparatively indifferent to unimportant and highly uncertain points of chronology or other minor technicalities. "You have only to apply a different standard from that of the author," says Goethe, "and he is sure to have failed." Very often the writer's statement of his own standpoint is ungenerously seized upon as indicating a favorable point of onslaught, so that far more frequently than is supposed by the uninitiated the reviewer's poisoned arrow is fledged with feathers from the author's preface. Books are written with very different objects, and are sometimes taunted, in course of time, with having been commonplace or ephemeral, when in point of fact they have only died of their

own success. They have rendered themselves needless because the thoughts and views which they set forth have by their means passed into the hearts of thousands. No author need ever regret being superseded by the host of imitators who build on his foundations and mount by his ladder. And books which put forth no pretentious claims to be either exhaustive or absolutely original, do not therefore deserve the scorn which some lordly and beardless reviewer may choose to void upon them. They may be thrice blessed if they help to give currency to the coin of truth. All originality is relative. If it is going too far to say, with the thief in "Abou Mazar,"

"One poet is another's plagiary,
And he a third's, till they all end in Homer,"

yet there are but few authors who might not use the modest language of Charles Nodier: "*Presque tout ce que j'ai à dire a été dit ailleurs, a été dit autrement, a été dit mieux.*" Only one or two in a generation are really original; and those who are the medium of communicating to thousands the truths which would otherwise be beyond their reach, are rendering a substantial service to mankind, and a service which will receive its due reward of honest gratitude. Let them do their work as well as they can, and it will be sure to bear good fruit, whether they are censured or praised. Let them follow respecting it the advice which Schiller gave long ago: "*Werfe es schweigend in die unendliche Zeit.*"

F. W. FARRAR.

THE COINAGE OF SILVER.

THE projects now under consideration in Congress for the free coinage of silver, suggest inquiry as to the effect on the currency of the success of such a measure. Several bills have been introduced on this subject, most of which look to the free coinage of silver on the same terms with gold, and to a statutory declaration that in all respects the silver coin weighing $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains troy, and of standard fineness, shall be held of the same value as the gold coin weighing $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains troy, of standard fineness. Thus it is sought by legal enactment to affix to the commodity silver a price largely in excess of that which it commands in the world's markets.

The production of silver is a very large interest in some of the States, and those engaged in such production ask the United States government to interpose and aid in raising the price of a commodity which has been steadily falling for ten years or more. This fall in the price of silver, relatively to the price of gold, has been strictly in obedience to the law of supply and demand. The relative supply and demand of gold and silver are constantly fluctuating. In the nature of the case this must be so. The opening of the gold fields of California and Australia increased largely the supply of that metal in proportion to the demand, as compared with the relative demand and supply of silver at that time. The purchasing power of gold diminished proportionately. The enormous output of silver at a later date exactly reversed this, and its power in purchasing other commodities declined. Briefly expressed, this is the law: When an unusual supply of either metal, as compared with the other, appears, without a corresponding increase in the demand, the exchangeable value of such metal declines; when either metal is relatively in deficient supply, without decrease in demand, its price increases. This fact is no more and no less apparent in

regard to gold and silver than in regard to wheat and cotton, or any other two commodities.

Under this law, the silver coins known in our currency as "dollars" have been reduced in purchasing power to about seven tenths of that possessed by the gold coins known as dollars. The fact that in 1878 the United States government enacted by statute that the silver dollars should be legally equal to the gold dollars in all transactions between citizens of the United States, and in all payments by such citizens to the government, has in no way increased the purchasing power of the silver dollars in the channels of trade. In all transactions of commerce between citizens of the United States and those of foreign countries, these coins possess only such value as the amount of silver contained in them represents. In converting the values of the coins of one country into equal values in the coins of another, the only thing to be considered is the relative amount of pure gold or silver they contain. An English sovereign is said to be equal in value to about \$4.86 $\frac{2}{3}$ of our money. If this \$4.86 $\frac{2}{3}$ is in gold coin, the statement is correct; if it is in silver, it is by no means correct. On the contrary, while a New York merchant may cancel a debt of £100 in London by remitting \$486.67 in gold coin, he must remit about 695 silver dollars to settle the account. Names are of no import in this transaction; values as they are fixed by the laws of trade, not by acts of Congress, are the elements relied on to make an equitable settlement. If the payment be made by exported merchandise, the result is the same, because the prices are determined on a gold basis. The prices of all imported commodities are fixed on this basis; and when such commodities come to the consumer, the prices paid for them must be adjusted in accordance with the intrinsic value of the currency in which the payment is made by him.

It will thus be seen that we have two distinct bases for our currency, of different intrinsic value. The gold dollar and the silver dollar are declared by statute to be equally the unit of value, and to be equally valuable; yet everybody knows that this is a fiction. Moreover, all experience shows that there cannot be, for any considerable length of time, a constant ratio between the exchangeable values of gold and silver. The statu-

tory ratio is 1 to 16; that is to say, the law fixes the weight of a silver dollar at 16 times that of a gold dollar. The real ratio of their values in the world's commerce is about 1 to 23 at this time, and may be, five years hence, 1 to 30, for aught we know, or 1 to 12. In ancient Egypt the ruler fixed it at 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$; throughout the East in the fifth century it varied from 1 to 6 to 1 to 8; in Greece, in the time of Plato and Xenophon, it was 1 to 10; in Europe, in the sixteenth century, it was 1 to 10, though at times 1 to 11 or 1 to 12; in the eighteenth century, in Europe, it became about 1 to 14, and in the earlier part of the present century it stood 1 to 15 or 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$. These facts show the absolute impossibility of fixing by law a ratio which shall correspond continuously to that fixed by the law of supply and demand. The opening of new sources of supply of either metal, improved processes of separating the pure metal from the substances with which it is found, new uses for the one or the other creating a new demand—these and many other contingencies may change the ratio of the values of the two metals, as well as their respective values as compared with other commodities.

It follows logically, therefore, that gold and silver cannot equitably be employed *together* as a standard of value, except for those brief and rare periods when the ratio of their coin values coincides with the ratio of the market values of the two metals in the form of bullion. At all other periods one or the other will lose its character as money, and become a commodity merely, subject to the same laws as other commodities.

Ever since the Bland act went into operation, our currency has been gradually drifting on to a silver basis, and a continuance of our present policy must ere long drive out of circulation all our gold coin. The poorer always displaces the better currency. When United States treasury notes were worth less than par in gold, the latter went out of circulation. Our silver dollars are worth less than par in gold, and it needs no prophet to foresee the disappearance of the gold coin from our currency. The treasury notes were for years an irredeemable currency; and notwithstanding the fact that their maker was a great, powerful, wealthy, and honorable nation, they were discredited, because they were not money, but only promises to pay money. The

silver dollars have not even this advantage. They bear no promise of the government to pay their nominal value in money. They are evidence in themselves that they are not what the law declares them to be, that is, equal in value to gold dollars. The treasury notes, though irredeemable at the moment, gave assurance that they would be redeemed ultimately in the amount expressed on their face. The silver dollar holds out no hope that it will ever be redeemed at what the law declares to be its nominal value. At present it is redeemable at about 70 per cent; next year it may be worth 50 per cent. The director of the mint is authority for the statement that the price of silver has declined 20 per cent. since 1878. If the next twelve years should show an equal decline, the Bland dollar should then be worth 56 cents.

But it is alleged by the advocates of free coinage of silver dollars of the present weight and fineness, that the price of silver will be raised; that a piece of silver weighing $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains, of standard fineness, when it shall have received a certain impression at the United States mint, will be worth one dollar, though without such impression it is worth only about seventy cents. Since the Bland act went into operation, in 1878, the United States mint has put that impression on about three hundred and fifty millions of such pieces of silver, and yet their value to-day is much less than it was in that year. The reason is manifest. The stock of silver on hand, as compared with the demand for it, has increased relatively to the stock of gold on hand, as compared with the demand for gold. The fact that the stock of silver on hand is in the form of coins or of ingots; the fact that it is in the possession of individuals, banks, or the United States treasury—these are powerless to change its market value so long as it is accessible to any demand that may be made for it. The silver which is piled up in the treasury vaults, whether represented by certificates of deposit or not, is just as much in the market as if it were held in the purses of the people.

It is in circulation when represented by outstanding certificates of deposit. Though locked up in the treasury and not represented by outstanding certificates of deposit, it can be drawn out at any time by those having other forms of currency. Coinage, therefore, does not withdraw silver from the market,

and consequently is powerless to raise its price. Whoever expects that free coinage will materially affect the value of the product of the silver mines of the country, will be disappointed. But so soon as the United States government shall adopt the policy of taking silver bullion and coining silver dollars therefrom, free of charge, the pace at which our gold coins leave the circulation will be accelerated, and our entire currency will soon consist of silver and its representatives.

Much has been said concerning the demonetization of silver by the coinage act of 1873. The truth is that the only silver coinage in use in 1873, and for many years before, in the United States, was the subsidiary coinage. The silver dollars had disappeared because their nominal value as coins was less than their value as bullion. They left the circulation for the same reason that gold coins are now leaving it—because they were then the better, and the gold coins were the poorer, currency. Their demonetization was an accomplished fact when the coinage act of 1873 was passed. The entire coinage of silver dollars from the foundation of the government till 1878, had been but \$8,045,000. The outcry against the demonetization of silver did not begin till the price of that metal had so fallen that $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver were worth less in the market than a dollar. Then debtors began to perceive that it would be advantageous to them to pay in coins called dollars, but of less market value, debts contracted in real dollars. Then they clamored for the remonetization of silver, and that clamor, aided by the fancied interests of the producers of silver bullion, brought forth the Bland act.

In 1873, and for many years before, the word dollar had a definite and well-understood meaning, and that meaning it bore in every contract in which it was used. That meaning was not "the value of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of silver of standard fineness." That quantity of silver in coin form existed then only in the cabinets of coin-collectors. It formed no part of the currency of the country. The meaning of the word dollar in all contracts, in every treasury note, in every national-bank note, was "a value equal to that of $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of gold of standard fineness." Nothing occurred between 1873 and 1878 to change the signification of

the word. By the Bland act Congress decided to change it. Had Mr. Bland proposed to diminish the weight of the gold coins of the United States; had he proposed to reduce the gold dollar and the other gold coins by three tenths of their standard weight, and to declare that such reduced coins should be able to discharge the same amount of debt as before their reduction in weight, the moral sense of the American people would have been so shocked that the proposition would have met ignominious defeat. It would have been an act on the part of the government of precisely the same character as the "clipping" or "sweating" of coins by individual criminals. Despotie rulers in semi-barbarous times have often done this to make the burden of their debts lighter. By the common consent of the civilized world, now that better morals prevail, such a practice would condemn to infamy the sovereign or the people that should repeat it.

Yet the result which would have been attained by lessening the quantity of gold in the gold coins, was as effectually secured in an indirect way. The silver coin containing $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver was endowed by law with all the attributes then possessed by the gold dollar of $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of standard gold, though it was well known that the former was of less intrinsic or purchasing value than the latter. The signification of the word dollar thereby became ambiguous, and has varied from that time to this almost from day to day.

Had the purpose of the advocates of the Bland act been simply to restore to the currency the metal silver, the obviously equitable scheme for the time being would have been to make a silver coin containing such a weight of that metal as would equal in purchasing power the gold dollar. This would, for the moment, have provided an honest dollar; but for the moment only, because no assurance could be had that the ratio of values of the two metals fixed by statute would continue for a single month to be the ratio of their values in the markets. Had the promoters of the Bland act endeavored to provide such an honest dollar for the time, that would have indicated at least a purpose to deal fairly with citizens, both in their mutual relations and in their relations to the government.

If great interests are to be subserved by the use of silver as

well as gold in the currency, in the name of common honesty let the ratio of coin values be readjusted; and though it may be impossible to adjust them with precision, an approximation to an equitable adjustment may be attained by taking an average of the ratio of the values of gold and silver bullion for a series of years, and establishing that average ratio as the statutory one till the course of events shall require another adjustment. That this plan has great inconveniences, is admitted. No plan which uses the two metals is exempt from difficulties. The simplest plan, and the one which most thoroughly attains substantial justice, is the use of one metal, whether it be silver or gold. Experience has shown that gold possesses in most respects the greater number of requisites for a measure of value and for coin material, save in cases where the values are so small that the gold coin representing them would be inconvenient in use, as in our fractions of a dollar. Here silver is in use, and properly so; but no attempts are made to have the coins intrinsically worth the sum for which they are counted. The subsidiary coins are mere counters.

It may be said that, admitting the constant change in the ratio of the values of gold and silver, it is equally true that the power of either metal to purchase other commodities is subject to change. So it is. But the labor required to bring forth from the earth a pound of pure gold is probably, in a long series of years, as nearly a constant quantity as the labor required on the average to produce any other given commodity. In other words, the cost of production and purchasing power of gold are as nearly constant as the cost of production and purchasing power of any known substance which possesses the requisites for a circulating medium and a standard of value.

The evidence that the general purchasing power of gold has materially increased since the weight of our gold coins was fixed, is by no means clear. That an ounce of gold can now be exchanged for a larger quantity of some commodities, is true; but it will probably be found that the reason for this is the decreased cost of production of those commodities. Vast areas, formerly uninhabited, now opened to tillage; their wonderful fertility; the introduction of labor-saving machinery in cultivation; improved methods in every branch of agriculture, saving much that was

formerly wasted—these and many other causes have reduced the cost of production, while transportation to market has been cheapened in even a greater degree. But of that one commodity which all have to sell, namely, labor, gold will buy less than when the weights of the gold coins were fixed.

If it were shown that the gold dollar has now a purchasing power generally largely in excess of what it had when its weight was fixed, and that thus the intent of contracts made before such increase was materially changed, there might appear to be a plausible pretext for diminishing the weight of the coin, and providing a silver dollar of corresponding value. It is doubtful, however, whether any gain in equity by such a measure would counterbalance the evils it would produce. Absolute justice is unattainable in human affairs; but the palpable injustice wrought by the existence of one set of dollars worth thirty per cent. less than another set, and yet legally declared to be equal, might easily have been avoided by the exercise of a sounder judgment, and by a stern exaction of conformity, on the part of the law, to a higher moral standard.

FREDERICK A. SAWYER.

BIBLE INSTRUCTION IN COLLEGES.

THAT many whose experience testifies to the ennobling influence of the Bible should regret its partial exclusion from our public schools, is not surprising. In many instances the use made of it may very likely have been such as to justify a demand on the part of some citizens that our accepted principle of separation between church and state should be applied in the public schools in this matter of Bible-reading. For the sake of eliminating an ecclesiastical or sectarian use of the Scriptures, it may have been necessary to sacrifice, or rather to relegate to the ecclesiastical and parental sphere, a use which all admit to be important and beneficial. No considerable part of the people, however, will be disposed to deny that the loss of the non-dogmatic, ethical, and spiritual use of the Scriptures in public education, if unavoidable, is nevertheless to be regretted.

It is perhaps a matter for surprise that we should not long ago have perceived that the return of the Scriptures to their legitimate place in public education must be made by way of the universities. But now that a well-endowed chair of biblical science has been established at Yale, it is most earnestly to be hoped that the example will be followed by the leading universities of the country; and if the friends of the Bible in public schools do not welcome this new departure in the colleges as a movement of profound and encouraging significance, it must be for the reason that they are not so much in earnest for the restoration of the Scriptures to their right and proper use in education, as they are for the perpetuation of the possible if not actual evils which in a measure justify the exclusion of the Scriptures altogether as a school reading book.

For it is not the Bible in the sense that the average Sunday-school teacher, and doubtless many a public-school teacher, gives to the word, that will be taught in these university chairs; it is "biblical science," or the application of the ordinary and ac-

cepted processes of logical reasoning to Hebrew literature as we have it in the Old and New Testaments. In itself this science is no more and no less religious than any other science; but its subject matter, Hebrew and Hellenistic thought, constitutes, to a greater extent even than the Roman and Greek, the foundation of modern culture. In themselves, the sciences of biblical literature, of the critical history of Israel, and of the development of Hebræo-Christian religious thought, are no more ecclesiastical, dogmatic, or sectarian than the critical history of classical antiquity, of Greek and Roman literature, and of the development of philosophy, art, and jurisprudence; but whereas it is only in specially-cultivated circles that the man of academic education will find full use for his knowledge of the latter field, there is absolutely no circle of intelligent society to which a scientific mastery of the former is not a matter of the profoundest interest. In spite of the laborious efforts of teachers, tutors, and professors during some ten years of boyhood and youth, the average B.A., ten years after graduation, is densely ignorant of Greek and Latin literature and institutions, and willingly testifies that this ignorance gives him no practical inconvenience. His ignorance of Palestinian literature and history is not quite so great, although his university training has done absolutely nothing to enlighten it; but his deficiency here gives him far more real inconvenience than his inability to appreciate Homer, Plato, Sophocles, Cicero, or Lucretius.

The scientific study of biblical literature and of the development of Hebrew and Christian religious thought, may be in itself no more religious than the study of Sanskrit literature and the criticism of the Rigveda; but as a science it has received the attention of a vastly greater number of minds of the first order, and stands upon a much surer and more exactly-determined foundation. Every day it opens out into wider fields of archaeological discovery; it connects us with, and puts us more completely in command of, the enormous gift made to modern civilization and culture by the Semitic race. For all these reasons, it is simply astounding that the academic curriculum even of our great Christian and Puritan universities, founded mainly for the training of ministers, should have hitherto ignored the claims of

the science of biblical literature and critical history to form a part of the training of every cultivated man. It can be explained only by the expectation that parental and ecclesiastical training would supply this deficiency. But family and ecclesiastical instruction will and must contain little or nothing of the *science* which the university should teach; while, on the other hand, the university course, in the nature of the case, will contain little or nothing of the didactic, dogmatic, and (to use a technical term) "parænetic" or moralizing tone of the Sunday school and pulpit. It is as a science, the logical and orderly classification of data, that biblical literature and history will and should be taught in the universities. As such it simply stands on a par with other sciences. In its method it is neither more nor less religious than they. It is its subject matter which is, more than that of any other science, indispensable to the maturing of an ideal manhood. This subject matter may be defined as the development of the religious consciousness of the Hebrews as effected in their history and exhibited in their literature, New Testament literature being of course included. This development we may fairly call a divine revelation. To have some rational and scientific conception of the process and history from which the religious and spiritual consciousness of Christendom has issued, would seem to be essential to the training of every man of culture, while the study itself is no less fitted to stimulate the spiritual and moral faculties than the study of the history of philosophy to stimulate the reflective and critical faculties. We judge, therefore, that it must soon become as much a recognized part of the ordinary university curriculum as the study of classical history and literature, and with results to spiritual and moral growth in the student which will be all the more profoundly beneficial that they are incidental.

Nevertheless, we must perhaps expect to meet an obstinate opposition to this kind of study. On the one side will be those who oppose such instruction *in toto*—extreme secularists and extreme conservatives; on the other will be those who are disappointed either because the instruction given is not flatly materialistic and anti-supernaturalistic, or because it is not boldly doctrinal, catechetical, homiletic. Thus the two wings of the op-

position will be, first, those who would have science warned off from the ground of revelation, and, secondly, those who under the guise of "scientific" would introduce partisan teaching, or transform the lecture room into a Sunday school.

Doubtless the most determined opposition will come from pseudorthodoxy, or "orthodoxism," as it has recently been called. The application of the scientific method to the data of revelation cannot fail to be obnoxious to minds incapable of modifying an inherited theory. To classify in logical order the content of biblical literature and deduce an *a posteriori* history of the development of the Hebrew religious consciousness, is to conceive of revelation rationally; but to many minds discrimination between rational and rationalistic will be impossible. For them there is no virtue in belief when belief has become easy. Faith that can be "counted for righteousness," for them must be like that of Tertullian, a *credo quia impossibile*. Fifty years ago, Dr. Edward Robinson, exploring the northern extremity of the Gulf of Suez, observed a shoal which to his mind might easily have been uncovered by a strong east wind, and thus have given passage to Moses and Israel fleeing before Pharaoh. Lord Nugent, a later traveler, of the Tertullianesque type of mind, deplored what he termed the "rationalism" of Dr. Robinson in making the miracle of the Red Sea so easy that even a skeptic might believe it. *À propos* of this, Dr. Leonard Bacon related at a public meeting the anecdote of a farmer accustomed to sharpen his razor on his boot sole. A knife-grinder passing through the neighborhood offered to put a razor edge on the instrument, and did so. On the next Sunday morning an exclamation of disappointment broke from the soapy lips of the farmer as the razor reaped the stubby harvest of his chin. "Why, I don't feel it at all!" said he, and fell to stropping it again on the sole of his boot. Then, as the razor took hold with the long-accustomed grip and pull, "Ah," he remarked, "now I feel it; now it cuts something like a razor."

There is a school of orthodoxism which thinks it has no faith unless it can feel it pull. The men of this school object, not without cause, to the intelligent study of the Bible as being hurtful to faith; for one effect of such study is to give faith a better

edge. To take a well-known instance: the story of the arrest of sun and moon at the command of Joshua is clearly recognized as a quotation from a collection of poems called the "Book of Jashar," for the historic veracity of which neither the author of Joshua nor the church undertakes to vouch. This is only one example out of many, of the effect which a rational study of the Bible will often have. In like manner, a truer translation removes in the Revised Version the miracle of the spring bursting from Samson's "jawbone of an ass." With a rational treatment of the Bible, faith tends, it must be confessed, to lose its pull. Those whose belief in these miracles afforded them satisfaction as a kind of *immolatio rationis*, have our profound sympathy that this their mortification of the spirit should have proved needless; but while we persistently refuse to follow that rationalism which sets out with the assumption that all phenomena of sacred history are somehow or other, by hook or by crook (oftenest by the latter), to be brought within the sphere of natural laws already known to science, we cannot but rejoice that it is the unmistakable tendency of biblical science to make faith easy.

For the science of biblical history and criticism is not still waiting to be formed. The critical history of Israel is an older science, more thoroughly studied out, more completely equipped, than the critical history of Greece or Rome. If it were something new and untried to apply the processes of literary and historical criticism to the subject matter of revelation, there might be some excuse for still delaying the introduction of so novel a science, however important, into the curriculum of our colleges. But this is far from being the case. For more than a century many of the greatest minds of Europe have been directed to the problems of Hebrew literature and history,—an Ewald, a Gesenius, a De Wette, not to speak of living writers and teachers. True, it is, like almost all theological science and a very large part of other science, principally developed in Germany; but the very fact that the "higher criticism," under which head may be included a great part of the teachings of biblical science, is to so many both of the learned and unlearned practically *terra incognita*, is itself a forcible illustration of that unreasonable prejudice against the application of the scientific method to the data of

revelation which has resisted, and doubtless will continue to resist, all attempts to introduce any study of the Scriptures independent of the catechetic and homiletic.

Up to the present time, the great body of scientific discovery in this field has been a sealed book to the average man of culture and intelligence—a book sealed not so much by neglect as by prejudice and unreasonable fear. The literature of this labor, research, and discussion fills shelf after shelf of some libraries, though conspicuously absent from others. It would surely be strange if in all this there were nothing worthy to be included in a science of revelation. But very few of these works are translated, and aside from an exceedingly small but rapidly-increasing number of specialists, their contents are unknown even to the clergy. It is probably no exaggeration to say that not one college graduate in a thousand has any knowledge at first hand of what criticism has done to unveil the method and process of revelation. If any history is profoundly important to our civilization, it is the history of the moral and religious ideas we have inherited from Semitic sources; and upon this history the critical study of biblical literature has thrown a flood of light. Still even professors in theological seminaries confess their ignorance of the higher criticism, or endeavor to conceal it by making a show of second-hand information derived from controversial reviews and meager translations. The whole subject, vitally important to science as it confessedly is, is

“as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot; for it is sealed: and the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned.”*

But the days of this ignorance are numbered. It is no longer to be considered a liberal education to train a man thoroughly in the results of critical research in the literature and history of classical antiquity, and to leave it to the Sunday school to inform him as to the results of similar research in the literature and history of Semitic antiquity. It is no longer to be considered sufficient to give him an insight into the development of the institutions and ideas we derive from Greece and Rome pertaining to

* Isaiah, xxix. 11, 12.

the civil, social, and intellectual capacities of man, and to ignore the legacy of ideas and institutions pertaining to his moral and spiritual nature which we derive from Palestine. The time has passed wherein the conceptions of a man of culture as to the progress of the human mind in things moral and religious can be left entirely to chance, or to merely *a priori* reasoning. Hitherto the ideas of a student in regard to revelation in its method and progress have been left to be formed by Col. Ingersoll or by the Sunday-school teacher, according as he was piously or skeptically inclined. In all other branches of human development he was supposed to be led to the sources of current ideas, and taught to trace their development and history by the scientific method; nor was the tracing of their gradual growth supposed to exclude or in any way to interfere with a sincere conviction that these also were taught of God, that

“There is a spirit in man,

And the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding.” *

But when man's progress in moral and religious ideas was considered, especially as these are illustrated in the history and literature of that people whose genius is as unmistakable in things moral and religious as that of Greece in art and philosophy or of Rome in jurisprudence, he was left purely to his own imagination, or to the chance instruction of some would-be teacher, ignorant and superstitious but dogmatic, or anti-Christian and materialistic but equally dogmatic, as the case might be. It may have been a fear that any conception of a gradual development of these religious and moral ideas, “line upon line and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little,” would exclude or interfere with a conviction that these truths were taught of God, that fenced off this field of scientific research from the feet of the student; it may have been a natural timidity about exposing truths so profoundly felt, yet so delicate, to the handling of science; it may have been pure neglect and ignorance. But whatever the reason, the fact, the condition, exists, and is undeniable. It exists, but is to be remedied; the ignorance is no longer to be winked at. There is to be a study of our moral and religious ideas historically, objectively, scientifically considered.

* Job, xxxii. 8.

The Bible enters the university curriculum as the subject matter of a study as purely scientific as the study of Homer and the early Greek history, and as much more important as the influence of the Scriptures upon the development of the modern man, intellectual, social, and moral, has been more profound and permanent. It is this recognition in the university which will give to the Bible its best title to reintroduction into public schools and educational institutions generally. Historically, objectively, scientifically treated, it will prove itself an essential factor in the preparation of the citizen, but especially of the man of culture, to play his part in the midst of institutions and ideas derived from it. Assuredly its value for the stimulation and direction of a godly life and the formation of Christian character will not be diminished if it becomes the chief witness for a scientific analysis of that progress of moral and religious ideas which has been going on in all the world under divine guidance, but is most marked in Hebrew prophetism and at the period when Semitic and Hellenic thought came into conjunction.

The facts of sacred history are admittedly a part of universal history, whose importance is measured by their decisive influence upon the career of man. Both theologian and scientist should unite, therefore, in demanding that they be treated by the same critical methods as all other facts within the domain of science. What they need for the best fulfillment of their purpose as historical facts, is the application of the scientific method. Who does not know the loss we experience from the fact that in the general comprehension the events of sacred history now stand by themselves, unconnected with secular history? The inferences to be deduced from them, for example as to the relation of the divine to the human spirit, and the light they throw upon problems of religious importance, are quite another matter, the affair of the religious instructor. The work of the pastor and religious guide may be, will be, greatly facilitated by the preliminary establishment, by the scientific historian, of the facts from which he reasons, unless indeed he be building upon facts which an unprejudiced science shall show to be no facts. But this religious instruction cannot supersede the scientific teaching which forms its natural basis.

The Bible as it is taught in Sunday schools and pulpits is not suitable for introduction to public schools nor for the academic curriculum. The Bible as it will be taught from university chairs by teachers like Prof. W. R. Harper, of New Haven, will be discovered to be a science neither for nor against any particular religious faith, but, like all other sciences, running parallel to religious teaching. That there is abundant room for instruction in biblical science, over and above the doctrinal and catechetical teaching of religious instructors, in all our educational institutions, should be sufficiently manifest. That the instruction in this *quasi*-secular science, which, however nearly related, is yet independent of the work of parent, Sunday school, and pastor, will strongly tend to commend and promote this latter wherein it is really worthy and commendable, there is every reason to hope.

BENJAMIN WISNER BACON

JURY VERDICTS BY MAJORITY VOTE.

ALL English-speaking people justly boast of the institution of trial by jury as the palladium of their civil rights, and it certainly is, in theory, an excellent method of arriving at the truth in legal contentions; but in practice it often results in a burlesque of justice, in unjust convictions, or in the protection of crime. What are the practical defects that so materially affect its theoretical usefulness and so frequently render it an impediment to the attainment of justice? The question is one of supreme importance, one which concerns every lover of free institutions; for unless we discover those defects and find appropriate remedies for them, there is great danger that the already widespread dissatisfaction with trials by jury will assume more threatening proportions, and that the institution, even now the subject of scorn and derision in many quarters, will eventually fall under popular condemnation.

The method of making up jury lists, though recently somewhat reformed in several States, is far from satisfactory. The jurors are much below that standard of intelligence which the nature of many of the cases submitted to them seems to require. The practice of summoning talesmen by special venire is vicious in itself, and a powerful aid to those who practice the art of jury-packing. The rules regarding competency for jury service, and especially those disqualifying persons who have formed or expressed an opinion based upon information other than original evidence, are, in these times of rapid dissemination of news, an absurd anachronism, a disgrace to the civilization of the country.

I might mention other faults of the system, perhaps equally significant; but the one considered in the following pages—the requirement of unanimity—seems to me to deserve special attention, because if this be remedied, all the rest will lose in a great measure their power for mischief. Another reason why it should command special attention is the fact that, in most of the States,

this feature of jury trials cannot be abolished except by an amendment of the State Constitution, approved by popular vote, while all other vices of the present system are remediable by acts of the Legislature.

One of the strongest arguments commonly advanced in favor of the rule is its ancienry; the judicial wisdom and the legislative policy of five centuries ago are cited as reasons for its retention. Surely in no other department of human action, intellectual, moral, political, or industrial, is the march of progress so slow as in the field of law. Would anybody dream of citing the views of philosophers, political economists, or masters of statecraft, or of writers on chemistry, astronomy, physics, or technology, of five hundred years ago, as authorities upon these various subjects? As regards our rules of law and our legal institutions, however, we go back to the middle ages for ideals and authorities, and the very antiquity of a principle of law is held to be a strong argument for its wisdom and correctness. Thus, while all the rest of the world is moving onward, the law and the lawyers are hemmed about by a wall of musty and rusty precedents.

Be that as it may, an examination of the historical background of the rule of unanimity shows that originally the verdict of juries was not required to be unanimous. In Ethelred's laws we find this provision:

"Let doom stand where [the twelve senior] thanes are of one voice; if they disagree, let that stand which eight of them say, and let those who are there outvoted pay each of them six half marks."*

It should not be forgotten that originally the jurors were not what they are to-day, but witnesses cognizant of the facts which formed the basis of the action. This is the reason why the jurors had to come from the locality where the cause of action arose. It is true that at an early date the concurrence of twelve men was required for a verdict; but where the original twelve could not agree, those who were dissentient from the majority were supplanted by others by a process called *affortiation*,† that is, by put-

* Thorpe, "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England." London, 1840. Vol. i., p. 299.

† Bracton, in his "*De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*," Book 4, Chap. 19, gives an interesting account of this process.

ting new members in the place of the minority, until there were twelve men who concurred in one opinion.

It was only in the fourteenth century that this practice was superseded by the requirement of unanimity on the part of the original twelve, as a more convenient and expeditious process, so as to save the necessity of having the evidence repeated over again by the witnesses to the additional jurymen. It was believed that, where a majority of the jurors related their own knowledge of a state of facts, and the minority did not agree with them, such minority was willfully disregarding the truth; hence the jury were forced to agree unanimously on their verdict, and effective means of compelling them to agree were soon devised. The jurors were locked up without meat, drink, light, or fire, until they were unanimous. The verdict, however, was sometimes taken from eleven, and the refractory jurymen committed to prison, until this practice was declared illegal by a decision of the Court of Common Pleas, in the forty-first year of the reign of Edward III. Thenceforth it became the law, as stated by Blackstone,* that

“if the jurors do not agree in their verdict before the judges are about to leave the town, though they are not to be frightened or imprisoned, the judges are not bound to wait for them, but may carry them around the circuit from town to town in a cart.”

Without going into further details, it may safely be stated that the requirement of unanimity grew out of the anomaly of having the functions of jurors and witnesses united in the same persons. It was tacitly retained even after the jurors had become judges of facts who should have no previous knowledge of the evidence. The rule, however, has been so far relaxed that where, after the lapse of a reasonable time for deliberation, it appears that the jury cannot agree, they are discharged, and the cause is tried again; also that it is nowadays left to the discretion of the trial judge to allow jurors such refreshment as will keep them from starvation.

The propriety of the rule of unanimity, even in this modified form of enforcement, has been a subject of grave doubt for more than a century. Emlyn, as early as 1730, in his preface to the

* “Commentaries,” Book 3, p. 376.

second edition of Howell's "State Trials," makes an eloquent appeal for the abolition of the rule. Hallam, in the supplemental notes to his "Middle Ages," designates it "a preposterous relic of barbarism." The English common-law commissioners of 1831 condemn the rule in very positive language, and propose that the jury shall not be kept in deliberation longer than twelve hours, unless at the end of that period they unanimously agree to apply for further time; and that at the expiration of twelve hours, or of such prolonged time for deliberation, if nine of them concur in a verdict, it shall be taken. Dr. Francis Lieber, in his "Civil Liberty and Self-government," and more particularly in an article in the "American Law Register" for 1867, is outspoken in his condemnation of the practice of requiring unanimous verdicts. Bentham, in his "Essay on the Art of Packing Juries," says it could not have been the work of calm reflection, working by the light of experience, and calls it "no less extraordinary than barbarous." Judge Cooley, in his edition of Blackstone, characterizes it as "repugnant to all experience of human conduct, passions, and understandings," and further says that "it could hardly in any age have been introduced into practice by a deliberate act of the legislature." Ex-Governor Koerner, of Illinois, calls it "the illogical unanimity system, which has become a great source of corruption and consequent denial of justice." In 1876, Governor Carpenter, of Iowa, in a message to the Legislature of that State, called it "an antique absurdity which has too long fettered the administration of justice." In the same year, a committee of the Wisconsin Legislature reported in favor of submitting to the people of that State a constitutional amendment empowering a less number than twelve to return a verdict. These few, selected from innumerable similar expressions, will suffice to give an idea of the development and strength of the opposition to the iron rule of unanimity.

In this connection it might not be uninteresting to cast a glance at the laws of other countries. In Scotland trial by jury in criminal cases is an indigenous institution. The jury consists of fifteen, a simple majority of whom decides. In civil cases, trial by jury of twelve men has been introduced in Scotland, by acts of the British Parliament, in comparatively modern times,

and originally the verdict was required to be unanimous in such cases. This latter requirement created so much dissatisfaction, that in 1854 it had to be abolished by a law which provided that, after six hours of deliberation, a verdict might be taken from three fourths of the jury.*

The Code of Criminal Procedure for British India, of 1882, provides as follows:

“If the jury are not unanimous, the judge may require them to retire for further deliberation. After such a period as the judge considers reasonable, the jury may deliver their verdict, although they are not unanimous.”† “When in a case tried before a high court the jury are unanimous in their opinion, or *when as many as six are of the same opinion*, and the judge agrees with them, the judge shall give judgment in accordance with such opinion.”‡

By the Code of the Bahama Islands, passed April 19, 1848,§ it is provided that in all criminal cases other than capital, and in all civil cases, a valid verdict may be returned by two thirds of the jury.

In most countries of the European continent trial by jury is known only in criminal cases. The jury does not find a general verdict, but simply answers questions formulated by the court, with reference to the guilt of the prisoner and the existence of aggravating or mitigating circumstances. The jurors, after full deliberation, vote upon each question separately, by depositing a ballot of “yes” or “no.” Only one ballot is taken upon each question. For a decision adverse to the defendant upon the principal question of guilt, and upon questions with reference to the existence of aggravating circumstances, a simple majority is necessary and sufficient in France,|| Italy,¶ and Germany.** In Austria at least eight votes are required and sufficient for conviction, and for an affirmative answer as to the existence of aggravating circumstances.†† I have had no access to the codes of

* 17 and 18 Vic., c. 59.

† Section 302.

‡ Section 305.

§ 11 Vic., c. 21.

|| *Code d'Instruction Criminelle*, Art. 347, as amended by *Loi du 10 Juin*, 1853; see also *Loi du 13 Mai*, 1836.

¶ *Codice di Procedura Penale*, Arts. 503, 504, 505.

** *Strafprozessordnung für das Deutsche Reich*, §§ 305, 307.

†† *Strafprozessordnung vom 23 Mai*, 1873, §§ 328, 329.

the smaller European countries in which the institution of trial by jury exists; but it is a fact that there is not a single country anywhere, except England and the United States of America, in which the verdict of the jury is required to be unanimous.

So far as the United States are concerned, there are three States in which, in civil actions, a three-fourths majority is sufficient for a valid verdict. The respective provisions may be found in the Constitution of California of 1879,* the Constitution of Nevada,† and the Constitution of Texas of 1876.‡ In the latter State the same section of the Constitution provides that the verdict of a three-fourth majority shall also be valid in trials of criminal cases below the grade of felony. In Connecticut it is provided by the Revised Laws of 1887,§ that a legal verdict may be rendered by any number of jurors not less than nine, in any civil case in which the parties shall agree in writing, before the rendition of such a verdict, that such portion of the jury may render it. Thus we find that even some States of the Union have departed from the rule of unanimity.

Let us now consider the arguments, outside of that of ancientry, advanced by the defenders of the requirement of unanimity, and examine what strength of reason they possess. The concurrent opinion of twelve men, say they, is, by the doctrine of chance and probability, more likely to be correct than that of nine. True enough. But if we once enter the field of probabilities, then it must, *a fortiori*, be true that the verdict of nine or ten men is more likely to be correct than that of a minority of three or two; in other words, that it is senseless to allow the opposition of a small minority to override the judgment of a large majority.

It is further said that, as a necessary consequence of the present rule, each member of the jury, knowing that his individual concurrence in the verdict will be exacted, becomes impressed with a sense of his own responsibility in the matter before him, and the imperative necessity of giving to it his undivided attention and the utmost powers of his mind. This is a very beautiful sentiment; but, after all, does not the oath taken by the juror, if he is at all conscientious, impress him with the

* Art. 1, Sec. 7.

† Art. 5, Sec. 13.

‡ Art. 1, Sec. 3.

§ Section 1,103.

same sense of his important duty? Moreover, under the present system jurors often deposit ballots contrary to their conviction, only for the purpose of "drawing out" other jurors; the voting is often repeated over and over again, and each juror knows that his individual vote will not be conclusive unless perchance all the other eleven shall happen to agree with him. Even then he can change his vote at any time before it is recorded in court. Where in all this is the careful weighing by the juror of all the arguments for or against conviction before determining his vote? On the other hand, his sense of the grave responsibility resting upon him will and must be intensified, if he understands that his one and only vote, as under the system of continental Europe, cannot be changed at pleasure, but will finally and absolutely decide the fate of the parties to the suit.

It is also claimed that the rule of unanimity secures a full, free, and effective discussion and deliberation of the case by the jurymen. But experience teaches that in most cases the jurors' minds are finally made up before they retire for deliberation. The juror who does not leave the jury box with a strong opinion one way or the other, is a weak-minded creature, who will vote with the majority every time, and whose judgment is therefore of little account. That one or two jurors should be able to bring about a real change in the opinion of the majority, is probably a case of the rarest occurrence, though they might, by persistency and superior powers of endurance, succeed in tiring the majority into submission against their conviction. If, on the other hand, the minority yield, it is perhaps because they have become convinced of the soundness of the judgment of the majority—which would simply prove its correctness; or their submission is due, not so much to deliberation, as to intimidation, exhaustion, weak-mindedness, or fear of censure, in which case their enforced concurrence adds little weight to the verdict of the majority.

Whatever value there is in prolonged discussion and deliberation, might be insured by a law allowing the reception of a verdict of less than the whole twelve after it appears that the jury have made an honest effort to agree unanimously and have failed. A communication of ex-Governor Koerner, of Illi-

nois, to the Chicago "Legal News" of February 8, 1869, contains a valuable suggestion on this head:

"A verdict returned within six hours should be unanimous and signed by every jurymen; after that time and within six hours thereafter, a verdict signed by eleven jurors may be given; after twelve hours and within six hours thereafter, one signed by ten; after eighteen hours and within six hours thereafter, one signed by nine; and after twenty-four hours, one signed by eight may be returned."

Some such course would certainly insure the fullest, freest, and most effective discussion and deliberation of the case by the jury.

The friends of unanimity further argue that the confidence engendered in the public mind in the decisions of a tribunal which speaks with an undivided voice, is so great a benefit that it should not be given up. Against this argument I desire to array the records of experience. Whenever, in a case attracting public attention, the jury disagrees or returns a verdict which bears upon its face the evidence of a compromise, public opinion becomes enraged at the stubbornness, crankiness, corruption, or thick-headedness of the one or two jurors who would set up their opinions against the judgment of the majority.

Let us now turn our attention to the arguments against the requirement of unanimity. First of all, it ignores the fact that all men are not constituted alike. As men differ in physical constitution, and at best only bear a resemblance to one another, so they will differ in their mental and moral make-up. A great many causes tend to produce sharp contrasts in the operation of the minds of different people. Different minds present innumerable shades and degrees of intelligence, education, strength of character, power of observation, and judgment of human nature. The opinions of men are influenced to a great extent by their preconceived ideas upon matters of religion, ethics, politics, etc. Their judgment is influenced by the peculiar experiences of their lives, by their habits of thought, by their vocations and businesses. A man's mind is the result of the countless impressions received during a lifetime; and as our experiences and our impressions, our associations and our surroundings are different, so our minds and the operation of our minds will become different. Add to that the necessary imperfections of human testimony,

brought about by imperfect means or deficient faculty of observation, want of clear recollection, or the corruption or bias of witnesses. Is it possible that all men should have equal power of discerning truth from falsehood? Is it reasonable to expect that the same evidence will have the same effect upon twelve different minds, where there is a controversy upon the facts, each version being supported by proof? Again, we find that many jurors are easily led away by the eloquence or sophistries of able advocates, or by statements outside of the evidence, while others are able readily to distinguish between evidence and mere claims, between facts and fiction.

There is hardly an important question that occupies the human mind or heart, be it in the field of ethics or philosophy, politics or political economy, art or music, or in any other department except that of the exact sciences, on which there are not two opinions, each strongly advocated and supported by apparently sound reasoning. Think of the differences of opinion on such questions as free trade or high tariff, centralized power or State rights, the problem of the emancipation of labor, etc. Why, then, should it be astonishing that twelve men, taken from different walks of life, should reach different conclusions from the same premises? Remember the difficulties often experienced by a judge in deciding controverted questions of fact: will twelve men, coming perhaps from weighing butter or measuring calico, have less difficulty in weighing evidence and measuring the credibility of witnesses than a trained chancellor? It is the height of absurdity. So long as jurors shall be taken from the mass of common humanity, their opinions will differ in every case in which the evidence does not all tend in one direction. Consequently, when the jurors do not all honestly agree, the issue must be left altogether undecided, the trial must be a nullity, or a verdict will be returned, which, though having the appearance of unanimity, is in reality the result of compulsion, or the effect of a compromise which does justice to nobody.

We want truth. Everybody will admit that the due administration of the law requires that each juror shall be free to decide according to his own convictions. The word "verdict," *vere dictum*, means truly spoken; but a verdict which is the re-

sult of an enforced agreement is intrinsically untrue, is a legalized falsehood. The juror who has agreed to a verdict against his real conviction, is compelled to prostitute his solemn oath by the declaration in open court that this "was and is his verdict."

There was a time when people were convinced by the "persuasion" of the rack and the gibbet, the stake and the dungeon. We all glory in a civilization which looks upon such methods as barbarous; and still we maintain a system under which dissenting jurors are often "convinced" by methods differing only in degree, but not in principle, from those of the Spanish inquisition. For though jurors nowadays are not subjected to the strange logic of cold, hunger, and darkness, still their practical imprisonment during deliberation, for hours or days, with all the deprivations incident thereto, will make many a juror change his position for the mere sake of going back to his work, to the circle of his family, to his business, and to his accustomed surroundings.

And why should we hesitate to accept a verdict in which a small minority does not concur? If you exhibit a physical object to the view of twelve men, eleven of whom pronounce it to be blue, while one man claims that it is black, will any sane person doubt for a moment that the one man is color-blind? And if, at the end of a trial, eleven jurors say "guilty," and one says "not guilty," can there be any less doubt that the one man must be color-blind morally or intellectually? Whatever you choose to call the particular defect, be it corruption, stubbornness, or stupidity, the one man or the small minority is abnormal, and presents a case of mental aberration. Deny this, and we might as well open our insane asylums and our penitentiaries, and in the place of their present inmates, shut up all the rest of the people as either intellectually or morally warped.

The absurdity of the requirement of unanimity is that it gives one mind weight equal to that of eleven; its unsoundness, that eleven honest and intelligent men may be defeated by one fool or crank; its moral deficiency, that it constantly holds out a premium to the professional jury-manipulator. Men conversant with the art of packing juries are probably to be found at the bar of every large city. That attempts at jury-bribing are constantly made, is a fact too well known to be called in question.

Under the unanimity system, "any one juror, gained and properly armed—armed with the necessary degree of *patience*, suffices." * This makes the temptation to resort to bribery very great indeed. But if a majority of, say, nine were sufficient for conviction, it would require the bribing of at least four jurors for any purpose of corruption—a thing not so easily accomplished.

So far as criminal cases are concerned, the principle of unanimity is usually defended upon the ground that if among the twelve there is one juror whom the evidence has failed to convince of the guilt of the prisoner, there exists such a reasonable doubt as ought to preclude a conviction. If this sentimental argument were sound, then it should follow as a logical conclusion that the accused should be acquitted whenever one juror believes him not guilty. But no; the absurdity of the unanimity rule is carried so far that even if eleven men vote for acquittal and one holds out for conviction, and there is hardly any doubt of the *innocence* of the defendant, he cannot be acquitted; the law requires that he be put again in jeopardy.

There are, unfortunately, no statistics of mistrials resulting from disagreements; but the number is enormous. In any case involving complicated questions of fact, not supported on either side by any but circumstantial evidence, it might easily happen that no decision could ever be reached. For instance, I know of a suit for damages against a railroad company, now pending, in which four successive trials have resulted in disagreements.

A similar result in a criminal case would be a matter of greatly-aggravated seriousness. Suppose that in the trial of the Cronin murderers, recently held in Chicago, the one juror, instead of forcing the others to a compromise, had held out for acquittal, and the jury had been discharged on account of their disagreement; this would have necessitated a new trial. How many men in Cook County, nay, how many men in the State of Illinois, would be competent for jury service in such new trial? With the exception of illiterates, I do not believe that one out of a thousand men can be found who did not eagerly scan the daily papers throughout the trial for the reports of the evidence, and who has not formed a decided opinion as to the guilt of the

* Bentham, "The Art of Packing Juries," Chap. 5, § 1.

accused, based upon reports of sworn testimony. All these men would be legally incompetent. It might take years and cost a million dollars to procure a jury; the fear of being kept in practical imprisonment for so long a time would prompt men, even if perchance competent, to disqualify themselves by untruthful answers; and if one hundred competent men could possibly be discovered in Cook County during a search of years, the defendants could peremptorily challenge every one of them. In other words, a disagreement of the jury in the Cronin trial would have meant the eventual escape from all punishment of the perpetrators of a brutal murder.

But the escape of criminals in itself is not the most serious consequence of such a failure of justice. Another result more to be dreaded, more to be deplored, is its demoralizing effect upon the community. It tends to destroy the faith of the people in the power of the arm of justice, and in the efficiency of the safeguards provided for the security of the citizens—that faith which is the very foundation of free government. It tends to embolden the criminal classes, to breed contempt for the law, and to encourage the preachers of anarchism.

Just observe the inconsistency of our system. We exact unanimity in juries; but appellate tribunals, which often have to pass on controverted questions of fact, are allowed to decide by simple majorities. Suppose that an appellate court of seven judges affirms a conviction of the lower court, but that three judges dissent for the avowed reason that the evidence fails to convince them of the guilt of the accused, still the judgment of the bare majority rules.

Legislative measures involving the welfare and happiness of the people at large, the adoption or rejection of the most vital constitutional amendments, and questions of peace or war affecting the lives and prosperity of millions of people, are determined by bare majorities. Unanimity is not required in grand juries, though upon their decision depends whether men's lives shall be put in jeopardy. Unanimity is not required to impeach the president of the United States. In a trial before the English House of Lords a majority is sufficient, provided it consists of at least twelve. A person tried by that tribunal may be sentenced to

death by an assembly consisting of twenty-three peers, twelve of whom, upon their honor, declare him guilty, while eleven declare him not guilty under a like sanction.

In spite of all these analogies, we continue to place it in the power of one corrupt or foolish man to pollute the fountain of justice, to defeat the ends for which courts are organized, to upset the judgment of eleven honest and intelligent men, and to make jury trials a mockery.

The rule of unanimity may have worked well enough in olden times, when competent jurors were easily obtainable; but in our age of a free and enterprising press, which daily supplies millions of people with intelligence on all the details of every important event, it is an obstruction to the administration of justice, it is fruitful of litigation, it retards justice, and it shields crime. The system may also be accompanied with less evil results in England, where the average material for jury service is of a higher standard, and where the judge's charge, discussing, as it does, the evidence in all its bearings, is of so great significance and influence that in a majority of the cases the juries find their verdicts without leaving their seats.

Altered circumstances, resulting from the march of progress and the development of civilization, should result in appropriate changes of legislation. We have abolished slavery and admitted the freedmen to citizenship, have made important innovations in social laws, have emancipated woman from her former inferior position and admitted her to the rights of individual proprietorship and the practice of the learned professions. We are constantly concerning ourselves with the improvement of the condition of the laboring classes, have succeeded in removing the school from the influence of the church, have adopted compulsory education laws. We are ever devising useful inventions and putting them into practice. Only in the matter of the administration of the law do we stand still. We have given up the barbarous practice of subjecting jurors, while deliberating, to hunger, thirst, and cold; why not give up that other relic of barbarism, the senseless rule of unanimity?

The rule of decision that we should adopt, when we have once abolished the principle of unanimity, is a matter with which

our legislatures will have to concern themselves after the way is once paved by constitutional amendments. I, for one, after giving the question considerable thought, and influenced partly by the successful working of majority rules in European countries, am in favor of two-third majority verdicts. At the same time, for the purpose of securing proper deliberation by the jury, some such safeguard as that suggested by ex-Governor Koerner might be adopted. In criminal cases, unless at least two thirds of the jury agree upon a verdict of guilty, the defendant should be acquitted, and in capital cases I should favor a proviso that the death penalty should not be inflicted unless the jury should unanimously agree upon a verdict of guilty. These, of course, are simply suggestions. My main purpose has been to point out the evil. The discovery of the proper remedy is a task well worthy of the exertions of the best minds. But some change must be made, otherwise the entire institution of trial by jury may eventually fall into disrepute and possibly into desuetude.

SIGMUND ZEISLER.

THE NAVAL BATTLE OF THE FUTURE.

IN former times, the armed galleys of the Mediterranean, rowed by slaves chained to their seats, were manned by soldiers as a fighting force. Sir Francis Drake was both an admiral and a general. As the seaman's art developed—as ships became heavier, and masts loftier, and sails larger, and rigging more complex—the sailor, as a man apart, came into being. The war ship was a ship like other ships, with the addition of guns, nothing more; and the man-of-war's man was a sailor like other sailors, save that he was taught to wield the broadsword and serve the guns.

The genius of Nelson brought the sailing ship-of-war to its perfection; and his stately squadrons, covered with thousands of yards of canvas, filled with tier on tier of guns, high of mast and strong of timber, some ships holding a thousand men, carried England's victorious standard in many a hotly-contested fight. A battle was preceded by more or less of preliminary maneuvering, to get the weather gage, or to secure some other advantage depending on the direction of the wind. When once the battle had begun, ships got close alongside of each other, and a *mêlée* ensued. The yard arms became locked, guns frequently protruded into the adversary's ports, men went aloft and dropped bombs and grenades on the enemy's deck or down his hatches, and hand-to-hand duels went on in the rigging. The crew of one ship boarded their antagonist, and drove the other crew below hatches, or were themselves driven back to their own vessel. The ships were usually not injured very much, and were frequently towed or sailed into port as prizes by the victorious contestant; but the slaughter on board was dreadful. A sea fight was a wholesale killing; the endeavor was, not to destroy war material, but to destroy men.

In the war of 1812 we see a new element coming into prominence, that of accurate gunnery; and shortly after followed the

first suggestion of modern naval warfare, in the launching at New York, in 1815, of the "Fulton the First," the most complete and most powerful engine of war that had, up to that time, ever been conceived. Propelled by steam, protected on her upper deck with oak redoubts four feet thick, provided with apparatus for deluging a boarding party with prodigious quantities of scalding water, armed with the largest guns yet constructed, equipped with contrivances for firing red-hot shot, carrying submarine guns for attacking the enemy below the water line, and formed of twin hulls with the propeller between, she was beyond comparison the most wonderful craft that had ever been constructed. She made a number of successful trial trips, but the war ended just before she was completed; Fulton died, and men were unable to follow the path he had so plainly pointed out. So the navies of the world went along as before; and though Samuel Colt invented and perfected the torpedo in 1841, his invention was promptly frowned out of existence by the authorities. From Fulton's time till our war of the rebellion, little change took place in naval warfare or in war ships. Ships were made larger, as a rule, and some ships had steam; but there was no endeavor on the part of the powers that were to take Fulton's hint and make the war ship a special contrivance, though Ericsson and Stevens labored through many years to induce them so to do. At last the war broke out; Ericsson seized the long-awaited opportunity, and the "Monitor" met the "Merrimac" at Hampton Roads.

The "Merrimac" had been one of the finest frigates in the world. She was 300 feet long, and was specially strengthened for fighting by an armor of railroad iron. The "Monitor" was a half-worked-out theory. She was about 120 feet long, and was designed, put together, and sent to sea with incredible haste. She was faulty in a thousand ways, as are all first attempts in new inventions. But she drove the "Merrimac," disabled and bewildered, back to Norfolk, and became at once the type of the battle ship of the future. Never in history had there been so sudden, so complete, and so dramatic a victory of science over mere strength. Worden and Greene were men of the highest order of courage; but the whole reason why the "Monitor"

worsted the "Merrimac," was simply that she was a better fighting machine. This plain fact was recognized at once here and the world over, and Ericsson became one of the men of history.

Following the "Monitor," came at last the torpedo, and by the tremendous effectiveness of these two inventions the world was made to see that other things besides bravery and skill can assist a nation in war. Since then, the inventive and constructive resources of mankind have been ransacked to provide engines of offense and defense. The pale-faced scientist in his laboratory has put into the hands of our naval commanders weapons that surpass in power and in length of reach the fabled weapons of mythology. The chemist has contributed high explosives and smokeless powder; the metallurgist, steel and bronze for armor and for guns; the electrician, telegraphs, signals, range-finders, motors, and torpedoes; the highest engineering talent has been straining itself to improve the engines; and the constructors' corps of all nations number men of the highest order of scholarly attainment. What is the result? A modern battle ship has become the most intricate machine existing. It takes five years to build her, and one submarine mine or dynamite projectile may sink her in a moment. Why, then, do nations build such ships? Because they must. A nation's existence depends on her ability to assert herself at junctures; and while a powerful and expensive battle ship may be sunk as stated, yet she is less likely to be sunk than a cheaper and weaker one.

But there is one great drawback to the modern war ship, and that is the time required to get her ready. No one without personal acquaintance with the subject can form any conception of the number of things that are put into a man-of-war at a navy yard, even after all the stationary fittings, such as engines, torpedo tubes, guns, gun carriages, electric lights, etc., have been put in place. The time required to get ready is an obvious source of danger; for in a modern war nothing is more essential than dispatch, and in any naval war that country which has its fleets ready first, will, *ceteris paribus*, win the day. The destruction which a modern fleet can work, if unopposed, is far beyond anything popularly supposed to be possible. When the Achill fleet broke the blockade at Bantry Bay during the naval maneu-

vers in 1888, Admiral Fitzroy, with the "Rodney," "Warspite," "Iris," and "Severn," made a sham raid on the enemy's coast, and the supposititious damage for two days amounted to £5,400,000. It is the consequent necessity for being always ready that causes the large naval establishments of Europe; and in all modern navies—which means all European navies—no expense is deemed too great and no detail is deemed too small which bear in any way upon it. In those countries where annual maneuvers are held, the beginning of the maneuvers is the mobilization, and the time required for each vessel to go into commission, get out into the stream, and report herself ready for duty, is taken as carefully as the time of a trotting horse. In all modern navies, moreover, it is the practice to keep as many ships in commission as possible, and to keep those not in commission as nearly ready as may be. Perhaps it is in Germany that the most complete preparations for mobilization exist; and so perfect are they, that in from six to eight days the entire imperial fleet in the first class of the reserve can put to sea ready for battle.

On the outbreak of a naval war, the first duty of a nation is the defense of its own coasts. This being provided for, offensive operations are in order. But to provide for the coast defense is no simple matter, as was shown by Admiral Fitzroy, who demonstrated the possibility of devastating sea-board cities almost in the presence of the hostile fleet from which he had just escaped. The amount of attention to be required from the fleet depends on what is to be expected from the enemy, and even more on the condition of the land defenses. If the principal ports are well commanded by modern forts, having thick iron casemates, heavy guns, sunken batteries, position-finders, and search lights; if the harbors themselves are well sown with submarine mines, connected with protected operating rooms by an efficient system of cables; if the land works, as a whole, are manned by large and competent garrisons, thoroughly drilled in the use of the guns and apparatus; if there is an efficient system of coast signals and of telegraph communication with the interior, then we can use the fleets for their proper work of offensive operations on the high seas, and in assisting the land defenses of any port actually attacked.

In the event of a war between this country and any great commercial power, a prominent feature would be the dispatch of swift, unarmored, but well-armed, cruisers, to prey on the commerce upon which the enemy's greatness rests. Many of the merchant steamers of the enemy would be armed with a few rapid-fire guns, but their engines and boilers being above the water line, they could defend themselves against similar merchant steamers only. A cruiser meeting one of these craft would have an easy victory, if she could catch her, or hit her with a shot from one of the six-inch or eight-inch rifles. But suppose she meets a similar cruiser of the enemy bound on a similar errand; a struggle to the death is the only possible result. Each will clear for action as soon as the other is discerned—perhaps five miles away. Each will probably slow down at first, in order to gain time for preparation, and especially for getting the steam pressure up to the highest point. Forced draught will at once be started, and the subdued roar of the air driven through the furnaces, to accelerate combustion, and the whirr of the dynamos, will be added to the clang of the gun breech blocks, as they are swung open to admit the projectile to the breech, the hum of the ammunition hoists raising powder and shell to the decks, and the quiet, firm orders of authority. On deck, the Gatling guns and revolving cannon, and the rapid-fire guns in the tops, are got noiselessly into readiness; the captain takes his place in the armored conning tower, with the chief quartermaster and his aid; the executive officer assumes charge of the battery, and remains near at hand to take the captain's place in case of his death or disability; the range-finders are got into position, and the officer in charge begins to report from time to time the distance of the enemy, now drawing closer.

Probably not a shot will be fired until this distance is reduced to 2,000 yards, and probably both ships will keep pointed toward each other until that time. But now what will the contestants do? It has been held that both will advance steadily toward each other—each commander hoping that some false move on the part of his adversary will enable him to rush forward, discharge his bow torpedo at 500 yards, and perhaps follow it up with his ram and end the fight at once—until they have

approached so close, say 500 yards, that neither dares to swerve lest he himself be rammed, and that the ships will at length collide end on, and possibly both sink! This seems absurd, yet is it impossible? But if one commander feels great confidence in his gunners, and especially if the sea is smooth, he may turn his broadside toward the enemy, so as to bring his guns to bear in the most effective way, and begin a careful cannonade, knowing that one well-placed shot may rake the enemy fore and aft and disable his best gun. In case the enemy adopt similar tactics, fearing the effect of a fore-and-aft raking fire, a long-range duel may be kept up, until one or the other scores a sufficiently effective shot to warrant closing and trying the torpedo and then the ram, each hoping meanwhile to get in a heavy shot near the water line, as the adversary rolls the other way. But in case both elect a closer range, we may see the "Kearsarge" and "Alabama" duel re-enacted, each vessel steering toward the other until so close as to fear a raking shot, then sheering off toward the other's stern—not her bow, for fear of being rammed—and then each going ahead with the helm over, describing a circle with a common center. If the contestants, while possessing about equal strength, differ in one being stronger in fore-and-aft and the other in broadside fire, the former may keep pointed toward his adversary, using his bow guns, while the latter will reply with the full strength of his broadside. But should this broadside fire fail to stop the other's advance, it must soon be discontinued, and the bow turned, to avoid being rammed in the side. Here the judgment of the commander will have its fullest test, for if he delays too long—if he delays, for instance, until the distance is down to, say, 500 yards—he will not have time to turn his bow, and will certainly be rammed and sunk. He must know to a nicety the exact turning power of his ship, and must keep careful count of the distance, so that while using to the utmost the power of his formidable broadside, he will always reserve ability to turn his ram to the enemy. He must allow a margin, too, lest a sudden, even a temporary, accident or disablement to the engines or the steering gear should leave him helpless at the critical instant. The weakness of the side of the ship, and the time required to turn, which is, on the average,

almost two minutes for 90° , show the advantage of bow fire, and of protection on the bow against a raking fire.

But the diversities of sizes and types of ships and of the circumstances under which they may meet, are so great that a thorough discussion of the naval duel cannot be made within any available limits. And what can be said of a fight between two fleets of, say, twenty-four vessels each, of which scarcely two in the whole forty-eight are exactly alike in size, speed, armament, armor, time required to turn, or size of circle for turning in?

A modern fleet is an engine of vast complexity, composed of parts dissimilar one from another. It comprises battle ships of various types, armaments, size, and speed; armed cruisers, protected cruisers, unarmored cruisers of many kinds, torpedo-catchers, torpedo boats, gun boats, dispatch vessels, and probably in the near future dynamite or gun-cotton throwers. So numerous are the requirements which war ships must fulfill, that it is impossible to combine all in one hull; hence this great dissimilarity, each vessel being built to carry out some one idea, subordinating others.

Let us imagine two fleets at sea in war time, each conscious that the other may appear at any instant upon the horizon. In the center of each fleet are the heavy battle ships of the first and second class and the armored cruisers, steaming ponderously along in columns of division, the flag ship of each division leading, and the center flag ship bearing the flag of the commander-in-chief. Close in the rear of each of the heaviest battle ships, are one or more torpedo boats, looking to her as their parent ship. On the right and left wings, and ahead and astern, as far away as clear signaling will admit, are the light, swift cruisers—the eyes of the fleet, the scouts; these scan the horizon incessantly. All the ships have distinguishing pennants unmistakably displayed, and frequent signals convey to the various captains the instructions of their admiral. Suddenly the advance scouts of the opposing fleets discern each other as specks on the horizon. The announcing signal is already bent on, and up it goes. It is read at once, and now follow the rapid signals of the admirals to their ships. All clear for action; forced draught is started, if not already up. The admirals reform their fleets, the

scout ships exchanging perhaps a few shots as they fall back to take up their allotted positions. Undoubtedly the simplest formation for each force is the line, in which each ship heads toward the enemy, the line being at right angles to this direction; and probably each admiral will at first so arrange his fleet, and slowly advance until he has made an estimate of the number of the opposing ships, their size and character, and has formed the plan on which he purposes to open the engagement. Perhaps one admiral will at once precipitate the action by signaling "engage the enemy," especially if, from any evidences he may see of hurry, confusion, or misunderstanding, he judges that the other is not quite prepared; then the fleets will rush at each other and a *mêlée* will at once ensue. Battles have been thus fought ere this both on sea and land, one side or the other eventually coming out victorious, nobody ever knew how or why; and the lucky commander has been crowned with imperishable laurel. Possibly the next great naval battle will be fought in this way; but it is the opinion of the writer that at present the whole tendency is in the other direction. The increased use on shipboard of fine guns requiring great care, the employment of so much delicate electrical apparatus, the necessary precautions attending the storage and firing of high explosives, the nicely-compensated compasses, the precise method essential to effective gunnery at sea—all are breeding an exact habit of thought and action. This exact habit is not incompatible with bravery and dash, but it predisposes an officer to plan deliberately, not to throw away good ammunition by reckless firing, coolly to take advantage of every mistake and every mishap of the enemy, and at the proper moment (but not till then) to overwhelm him by a decisive charge. Perhaps the one of the new inventions that will make the most radical change and that will contribute more than anything else to bring this about, is smokeless powder, or powder so nearly smokeless that a battle can be seen as well as heard. In the battles of the past, an admiral had little control over his fleet after the action had once begun; he had to depend on his captains to carry out the general instructions with which the battle had been opened, for the smoke of the guns obscured the field of action. Farragut's fa-

mous ascent of the rigging of the "Hartford," made in order that he might see above the smoke, will occur to everybody. With smokeless powder, an admiral need no longer be a simple spectator of a conflict, as Sieglinde was of the duel between the mist-enshrouded heroes of the Teutonic legend, but from the armored conning tower of his flagship may exercise as active a control over his ships as does a chess-player over his pieces. With a well-trained signal corps, and with swift dispatch vessels to act as messengers, an admiral can mass his whole force upon a given point, or give re-enforcement where his own line seems to waver.

While the battle ships bear the brunt of the engagement, the lighter and swifter cruisers seek out each other, or assist the battle ships at some designated point. In obedience to signal, the stealthy torpedo boat darts out at intervals from her hiding place behind her parent vessel, delivers a torpedo at some ship that has approached too close, and runs back for shelter, or perhaps is sunk by a single shot. Meanwhile some "Vesuvius," also hidden behind the parent ship, throws long, arrow-like projectiles, each holding 200 pounds or more of dynamite, perhaps a mile. Her target is the whole surface, deck and sides of an enemy's ship, while that of the powder guns is only the area presented by the vertical side; and one hit from her means wreck.

In view of the destructiveness of the new weapons of offense, there has been no lack of predictions that the naval duel of the future may simply reproduce the conditions of the famous conflict of the Kilkenny cats. While it is hardly wise to go to such an extreme as this, it is none the less true that the modern naval conflict may be affected by causes far less overwhelming in appearance, but none the less potent in reality, than those which gave victory or disaster in the battles of the past. The vast multiplication of delicate apparatus increases the chances of accident, and therefore the difficulty of predicting the result of any given engagement; but it must always remain true that the chances will still be in favor of the ship that is the best equipped and the best managed. The various inventions of the past few years—rapid-fire guns, high explosives, torpedoes, submarine boats, dynamite guns, and range-finders; the increased power and perfection of steam and electric machinery; the improvements

in powder and in steel for projectiles and for armor—have not revolutionized naval science so much as they have broadened it. The principles of strategy remain the same, and so does the necessity for the seaman's skill. New tools have been placed in the hands of naval commanders, and with them comes the necessity for learning how to use them. Torpedoes have not abolished iron-clads, but they have made constructors build iron-clads with an eye to resisting them, and they have made commanders study how to avoid torpedoes and how to use them in return. Rapid-fire guns came into use just when ordnance men were declaring that the future held only very large guns, and that ships would carry but few; and now we see a suggestion of the olden days in the numerous small rapid-fire guns carried in every war vessel on the seas. There is a perpetual readjustment of the powers of offense and defense; new weapons of destruction call forth new methods of protection. Engineers construct, inventors invent, experiments are tried, sham battles are fought, and heated discussions agitate the naval mind; but the only thing that can determine the real conditions of modern naval warfare is a modern naval war.

BRADLEY A. FISKE.

WOMAN'S INTUITION.

How very odd that those who love and reverence womanhood most, should often be regarded by the self-constituted champions of the "women's cause" as its avowed enemies. And yet perhaps not so odd after all, if one remembers that the object of the women's advocates is, not to defend and uphold womanhood as such, but on the contrary to turn women, if possible, into feeble, second-rate copies of men. Between those who admire woman, as woman, and those who think so ill of their own sex that they want to abolish all its distinctive and essential features, there can in the nature of things be no possible sympathy, and no room for compromise, now or ever.

Happily, however, women have still a vast body of friends left—friends who will succeed in saving womanhood from the "advanced" women who would fain abolish it; and those friends are, as might naturally have been expected, the men. In spite of all that lady lecturers and anti-feminine old maids can do to unsex their sisters, men will for the most part continue to choose their wives—the mothers of future women—from the most womanly of their kind; and so will aid and abet in handing down to coming generations those fine and beautiful feminine qualities that the recalcitrant mannish women of our age are so anxious to disown in favor of male peculiarities. Men will protect women against the enemies of womanliness in their own sex. The celibate lady lecturer will die unrepresented; the woman with grace, tact, high emotional endowments, pure womanly gifts, will hand down her exquisite and charming qualities to other women, her likes, after her.

And these qualities, the finest flower and most ethereal outcome of our race, manly men are certainly the last persons to underestimate. What a vulgar, material view of humanity it is that treats the power to teach school or to earn a livelihood as the sole measure of efficiency in the race. What a vulgar, ma-

terial view it is that brings everything down to the rule of three in dollars and cents, and endeavors to exalt the harder mannish qualities at the expense of the softer, purer, and finer womanish ones. What a vulgar, material view it is that looks upon the shop and the factory as the sole end and aim of our race. It takes all sorts to make a world, says the quaint old English proverb, in homely words, but with wide human philosophy; and it takes men and women both, with all their specialities, to make the highest humanity. If the anti-feminine women could have their way, and could crush out womanhood, what a hard, gray world they would finally make of it—a world all speechifying, and conventions, and manufactories, and shops; a world of type-writers, clerks, and dry-goods women; a world governed throughout by the most narrow and rigid politico-economical laws; a world out of which all the grace and the softness would be gone; a world of self-supporting old maids and business men; a world without any real women, any home life, any disinterested emotion, above all, any round-armed babies. But, thank heaven, they can never have their way; for the men will go on marrying womanly women; and the womanly women will go on being the mothers of pretty girls, with all the inherited emotional wealth of a thousand generations in their bosoms.

The great part that woman plays in thus keeping up and improving the normal high standard of the species, is just this: she contributes in the main the emotional element. From the very nature of her bodily organization, woman is emotionally more resonant than man. Her frame is made up of sounding-boards. She has a greater number of nervous reservoirs, as it were, whence stores of emotional energy can be drawn to meet occasion; and in moments that conspicuously call forth this energy, one can see her whole bodily form vibrating to the particular chord that happens for the time being to be touched by circumstances. But this emotional endowment is not, we may be sure, a small matter in the economy of the race. It is the basis on which are reared the whole vast superstructures of the artistic, the musical, and the imaginative faculties. Not only do we owe to it the poetical element in man, the groundwork of the arts of painting, sculpture, music, and decoration, and of much

that is essential in literature as well, but we owe to it also, I believe, a large part of our practical gains, because without the emotional tinge and the faculty of imagination, no great work in any direction—not even in mechanics—was ever accomplished.

To be sure, I persist in believing that in the future, as in the past, the greater part of such gains, and of all other main gains of our kind, will be due directly to the brain of man rather than to the brain of woman. But since women almost undoubtedly transmit to their male offspring a certain proportion of their emotional endowment—exactly as they even transmit certain functionally-useless counterparts of their own distinctive feminine organization—it must necessarily result that where women are most purely womanly, there even the men will indirectly participate in the high emotional endowments of the women. And I believe that observation bears out this inference. Where women are least feminine, men are hardest and most practical; where the differentiation between the sexes is widest, the finest intellectual and emotional blends result from their intermixture.

Now, the intellectual quality in which woman is strongest is undoubtedly the intellectual quality nearest allied to the emotions; namely, intuition. And this is also the quality most peculiarly present in those high and exceptionally valuable individual organisms that we call geniuses. The genius is akin to the woman in this, that what he guesses and jumps at is almost more important than what he deliberately reasons and sees. His very *differentia* as a genius, indeed, is most often this: that he clears at a bound what other men would take long marches to get over. I well remember the greatest living mathematician saying to me one day that Laplace, in summarizing a mathematical argument, often wrote, “Hence it obviously follows that $x = f \times ab^2 + y$,” or whatever it might be; when he, the great living mathematician, could see the truth of the inference only after working out a page or two of elaborate calculations. Laplace’s mind cleared at a bound the “obvious” intervening steps, which genius of a somewhat less exalted type could only slowly and cautiously creep over. That is exactly what we call intuition—the power of seeing implications, one knows not how. And it is this sort of intuition, coupled of course with high masculine qual-

ities—knowledge, application, logical power, hard work—that gives us the masterpieces of the world's progress; that gives us steam engines and locomotives, telegraphs and telephones, Hamlets and Richard Feverels, Newton's "Principia" and Spencer's "First Principles."

Whence does humanity derive this extremely important and especially progressive gift? To a large extent, I believe, from its feminine half. The most averagely masculine men are not remarkable in any way for intuition. On the contrary, the common male way of going about anything—the safe, ordinary, business-like way—is the way of direct observation and strict reasoning, the matter-of-fact way, the way that proceeds wholly upon known methods, a step at a time, and arrives at comparatively familiar results. It is as far removed as possible from the feminine intuitive way—an unsafe, precarious, unsatisfactory way, when ill-employed in incompetent hands; but a fruitful, and sometimes almost miraculous way, when guided by competent knowledge, balanced judgment, logical ability, and critical acumen.

And why have women this gift of intuition at all? Well, its origins are not single or simple; they go down a long way into the past of our species, and depend upon many converging factors. In the first place, woman's intuition is a variety of instinct; and instinct is the common endowment of all animals possessing nervous systems at all. From a certain point of view, we may regard it as a survival in humanity—a partially one-sided survival, affecting chiefly a single sex, though extending in its outlying modes to a portion of the other. Mr. Herbert Spencer (who, if I may venture to say so, appears to me somewhat to undervalue the female idiosyncrasy) seems to imply that because it is a survival, it is therefore a low and comparatively undesirable faculty. In this I cannot quite agree with him. Intuition in women is the instinctive, immediate, and unreasoned apprehension of certain implications of the facts presented. But it is not necessarily unreasoning because unreasoned, any more than the born mathematician's faculty is unreasoning because it proceeds by great bounds where slower thinkers in that particular direction proceed by cautious steps and inferences. On the contrary, intuition, when you can get it, is better than reasoning. Nor is

it perforce low because woman shares it with the lower animals; on the contrary, it is rather a noble common endowment that man, as male, has largely lost through the gradual evolution, training, and discipline of his logical faculties. It is well known that "counting boys," if they learn the accepted arithmetical methods, lose thereby their extraordinary natural and instinctive power of arriving at the solution of problems intuitively. In the same way, man, the male sex of humanity, in acquiring his high intellectual development, has lost to a great extent his instinctive intuition. But this is not necessarily all gain; quite otherwise; we may compare it to that short-sightedness which comes with too much "poring over miserable books"—a thing that nevertheless is no real advance upon the keen vision and quick perception of the bookless savage. The first root of woman's intuition, then, I take to be the common instinctive endowment of the higher animals; it is the specially human form of that instantaneous apprehension of the meaning of external signs that we see in all the quickest-witted beasts and birds, as well as in the sharp discriminativeness of hunting tribes for the signs of game, enemies, danger, or weather.

The second main root, I take it, is to be looked for in the domestic affections. Woman leads, and has always led, an almost wholly social life. Hence this prime endowment, dwarfed and shriveled in man, has expanded in her with use and exercise till its extreme manifestations sometimes strike the cumbrous and slow-going male intelligence dumb with astonishment. The innate faculty has been quickened and developed by the spur of affection. Woman passes her life in watching her husband and her children. She is quick to observe passing moods and indications; and the quicker she is, the more does she do to preserve her own life, her companion's, and her offspring's. Even her strong sexual jealousy, essential to her own protection in earlier times, has added its part to the sum. She has learnt to detect in a moment the merest shades of expression on the face of husband or lover, to jump at conclusions with unerring instinct, to interpret correctly signs and tokens so small and inconspicuous that even the man who gives them is himself supremely and happily unconscious of them. And it is worth while to note in passing

that the greatest triumphs of feminine intuition are almost always thus social and personal. They consist in marvelous reconstructions of character, motive, or passing mood, fetches of insight into the mind of others, which the woman in whom intuition is highly developed can often read like an open book.

Hence it is, I would say parenthetically, that women make such admirable novelists. They are to the manner born. Men, and especially men of intellect, rarely observe much the petty doings and sayings of others. But women instinctively and unconsciously observe all these things; they go through life reading the minds of others at every turn, and with a store of accumulated observation upon motive and character that serves them in good stead whenever they take deliberately to reconstructive imaginative work. Most male novelists begin to observe for the first time, for the purposes of their romances, after they take (more or less *contre cœur*) to the trade of novel-writing; most women novelists can draw at once upon a vast stock of arrears unconsciously assimilated.

Many other minor considerations come in to help the high development of intuition in women. For example, there is the fact that woman's world is mainly a world of people, while man's world is mainly a world of things. Then there is the love of approbation, which the principle of sexual selection has rendered so important for women; together with the shrinking from blame, which in early stages of human evolution meant the avoidance of danger from a husband's, father's, or master's sudden outbursts of savage anger. The woman who could quickest detect the signs of rising wrath, and either keep out of the way or soothe and quiet her irritated lord; the woman who could best discern the moments when he might most safely be caressed or cajoled, when favors might be asked or favors granted, was the woman who in the end recruited the species with like-minded descendants. A dozen other concurrent strands occur to me as I write, but I forbear to mention them all; the experience of readers in their own domestic circles will doubtless amply supply the deficiency. For what we all ask even now most decidedly of woman is responsiveness and sympathy, and these imply at once the power of reading and interpreting emotion. The most

beautiful woman who fails to respond, does not touch our hearts; what we like is the eye that meets our own in every passing mood—that thrills to our thrill, dims to our dimness, darts contagious fire (the phrase is Milton's, and may therefore pass muster, I hope, even in America) to our glance of meaning.

I hold, then, that female intuition is a noble original endowment of our kind, possessed by us in common with all other animals, and shared in a high degree by both sexes among more primitive humanity, as among existing savages. But while, with civilized men, the faculty has tended to die out, under the influence of deliberate education of the reasoning powers and handicrafts, with civilized women it has grown stronger and stronger, in virtue of its alliance with the domestic functions, and its importance in the strictly social life of the wife and mother. We have lost, while they have gained. And this differentiation itself, again, I hold to be of distinct value and importance to the species. It is not for nothing that in the course of evolution the sexes have diverged; they have diverged because each has its own useful and essential part to play in the economy of the community. Man has specialized himself on logical intelligence and practical handicraft; woman has specialized herself upon the emotions and intuitions, the home and the family. To say this is no more to belittle woman, than saying that a man is a sculptor or a poet is putting him on a lower rank than a manufacturer or an engineer.

Furthermore, I believe that in the highest minds a certain intermixture of this feminine element of intuition with the masculine element of pure reason is always present. Great wits jump; that is to say, they are essentially intuitive. They see at a glance what plodders take years and years to arrive at; they catch instinctively at principles or generalizations that the solid business man could never compass. And this ability, it seems probable, comes to them largely from the female side of their ancestry. There is, indeed, in all genius, however virile, a certain undercurrent of the best feminine characteristics. I am thinking now, not merely of the Raphaels, the Shelleys, and the Mendelssohns, but also even of the Newtons, the Gladstones, and the Edisons. They have in them something of the womanly, though

not of the womanish. In one word, the man of genius is comprehensively human. As he always results from a convergence of many fine stocks upon a single point, so also, it seems to me, he often results from a convergence of male and female qualities. He has reason like a man, but intuition like a woman. It has frequently been said, with obvious lop-sidedness, that great men owe their greatness to their mothers. One might almost as well say that a chemical compound owed its properties to one alone among its various constituents. But there is a certain *substratum* of truth for all that, perhaps, in the oft-repeated fallacy; great men do probably owe a large element of their greatness to the imaginative faculty and to the intuitive faculty that they derive from their mothers. I think I have observed this in life more than once myself—that men of genius were the sons of mothers in whom the feminine attribute of intuition was highly developed, and that they themselves highly inherited it. Goethe's well-known lines avow it. Certainly, there are whole types of genius in which intuition is a necessary factor—in which intuition gives the very key note of the genius. A woman says: "I don't know how I know it; but I know I know it." So there are great thinkers upon whom truths flash with intuitive certainty, whence or why they know not; great discoverers upon whom discoveries or inventions come at a burst with synthetic completeness; and great poets or artists upon whom works of art dawn suddenly with imaginative perfection. "How do you do it?" such men are sometimes asked; and I have heard them answer more than once: "I don't know how I do it; it comes of itself to me." That, I take it, is essentially a feminine gift to humanity. If we were deliberately to educate out the intuitive faculty in woman, I believe we should leave humanity so much the poorer, and should get only inferior copies of men, to be mothers of an inferior sort of men in future.

GRANT ALLEN.

GOVERNMENT BY RUM-SELLERS.

WHY not government by rum-sellers ? Is not rum-selling a legitimate business? Are not business men well fitted to govern a city? Do we not need business talent to manage the finances and maintain a business system in so important a matter as the affairs of a great metropolis? In spite of these logical questions, we do not wish a government by rum-sellers. The idea is unsavory. No pleasant associations are grouped about it. We instinctively picture a government of dirt and disorder when we use the phrase. Why is this? A government of iron-sellers or wool-sellers would not sound so. What is there in the rum-seller that makes us cry, "*Habet faenum in cornu*"?

Let us first note that the term "rum-seller" has a meaning given it by usage, not the equivalent of its etymological signification. The rum-seller of etymology is any one who sells rum; but the rum-seller of usage is one who sells intoxicating liquors of any sort at a public bar, to be there drunk. Saloon is a word that has had a like restriction in meaning, and now rum-seller and saloon-keeper are synonymous. These words represent the men we are now speaking about. The community generally shrinks from being under a government of these people. There must be a reason for this. The fact that they are in a legitimate business does not protect them from this general opprobrium. And they alone sustain this opprobrium. There is no other class of business men that begets such revulsion in the public breast. We would discover the cause of this phenomenon. In speaking of the class we must not pick out exceptional cases. We must leave those, and argue from the great majority. So doing, we think we can find the following facts to help us answer our main question.

The rum-seller or saloon-keeper is engaged in an immoral business. It is an immoral business because it makes drunkards and ruins families. We know by the observation of years

that the frequenters of the saloon are not moderate drinkers; that they do not come to slake a reasonable thirst, as one does when he goes to the water pitcher. There may be here and there one such, but the mass of those who enter the saloon go for the excitement of drink, not for the quenching of thirst. It is no slander to say that the saloon is the resort of idlers, loafers, and roughs. Any one who has eyes may see who go in and out of the saloon and who stand at its portals. These are the representatives of the morality of the saloon, who render it disagreeable for refined persons to pass its doors; and hence the dread that respectable people entertain of having a saloon established in close neighborhood to their homes. Our police have often testified that they naturally go to the saloon when they wish to find a criminal. That is his natural haunt. However much a saloon-keeper may wish to keep such out, he can draw no line practically and exclude a customer on account of his moral character. No shop-keeper can do that. His shop is a public place for all who come to buy. And, as we have said, those who come to buy at the saloon are mostly those who drink to excess.

Any one who has had experience in visiting and helping the poor of a city like New York, knows that a very large part of the distress he sees arises from the waste of money on drink. Wages are spent at the saloon by the father, and the wife and the children suffer. The rent is not paid. The family move from place to place. The furniture is broken and soiled. The clothes are patched and ragged. The children become street Arabs and grow up to be criminals of all sorts. The father's drink has not only consumed the living of the family, but filled the family with strife and iniquity. This is but a plain, unvarnished statement of what is well known to every city missionary and to every benevolent visitor. How often have we warned the rum-seller not to sell to a father of the kind described! But with what avail. He has found a score of others ready to sell to him, and after a few weeks, when the warned rum-seller thinks that he is no longer watched, he resumes his sales to the drunkard. Then comes a complaint to the excise board; but the evidence is never satisfactory to that body, to whom the law (in New York) unfortunately gives absolute discretion. If we go to the courts

under the civil-damage act, the rum-seller, when convicted, is found to have no property to levy on. Supplementary proceedings are instituted, and the convicted man solemnly swears that he owns not a cent's worth; that all his liquor and the furniture of his establishment are owned by his brother! In both processes the laws are defective. In the first, the excise board should have no discretion. Proof of a breach of the law should compel forfeiture of the license. And the civil-damage act should provide for imprisonment on failure to pay the damages; not, of course, imprisonment for debt, but imprisonment for a stated time as an alternative to the fine implied in damages. But our main point now is, not to show the defects in the laws, but to show that the saloon business is immoral, because it makes drunkards and ruins families.

These truths have made the saloon odious in the eyes of the community, and have ever demanded special legislation to guard against its evils. The opium joint is the only parallel to it; but as that is almost exclusively a resort of Chinamen, it occupies a small part of public attention compared with the omnipresent saloon. What we have said is enough to show that the saloon-keeper is engaged in an immoral business; and we need to add only that the dread of the saloon's work and influence, as exhibited throughout the respectable classes of society, could exist only as produced by the danger to public morals connected with it. No mother would have her child visit a saloon; no sister would see a brother frequent a saloon without shuddering. How, then, are the saloons supported? By the depraved and careless classes. These classes are very numerous. The depraved find their inspiration in the saloon. The vulgar jest, the obscenity, the quarrel, the fight, which find a home in the saloon, exactly suit the depraved, and in that resort they strengthen their depravity. The careless comprise those men who know all this about the saloon and inwardly despise it, but yet, for a moment's gratification in drinking, do not hesitate to drop in and take their glass at the bar, thus lending an air of respectability to the loathsome place. The careless are a legion in every community. They care nothing for the public good, and hence they care nothing for example or influence. They could easily turn the scale in favor of

reform in any department of life, because of their great number, but they have not enough interest in humanity to bear a feather's weight of self-denial. They are not drunkards, nor akin to them, but they help to continue the evil quite as much as, if not more than, the depraved. Though moral persons, they abet immorality by their abuse of responsibility.

A second fact regarding the rum-seller is the moral obtuseness into which he falls. We presume that it can be said generally, that an immoral business, if persisted in, will sear the conscience of a man, and in this way lower his moral standard. He becomes accustomed to work evil, so that evil loses for him its evil character. This is emphatically the case with the saloon-keeper. His drunkard-making and family-destroying lose for him all their revolting features, or the speck of conscience in the matter that remains is easily satisfied by throwing all responsibility upon the drinker. Besides this, he is constantly surrounded by rough and vulgar conversation, and becomes used to a lying and obscene atmosphere, which imparts its character to his own soul. It is the experience of all who have had to prosecute saloon-keepers that their word is good for nothing. They do not hesitate to break the laws, and they do not hesitate to swear to falsehoods. Of course there are exceptions to this, but we are not dealing now with the exceptions. It is abundantly noticeable that the moral sense is defective in them, expediency taking the place of principle in all their dealings. A saloon-keeper, now and then, oppressed by a sense of his moral retrogradation, acknowledges that his business is a degrading one, and begs that he may be helped out of it into something where his manhood will not suffer. Such men are not yet completely hardened by their immoral business. They have some susceptibility left. But these are few. The great majority have no compunction, and some are so thoroughly obtuse in their moral sense that they boast of their virtues as displayed in their crimes. One prominent saloon-keeper of New York City, in whose den several murders had been committed, told me with pride that, after he had made a poor wretch drunk, he carefully put him to bed till he recovered consciousness. He considered this a proof of his christian character.

That which in other trades helps the moral nature, namely, intercourse with high-bred men and attrition with cultivated minds, is wanting with the rum-seller. In other trades are found refined customers, men and women of dignified character and self-respect, whose presence and conversation are incentives to virtuous thought, and hence in ordinary trade there is a wholesome air, beneficial to the community; but in this trade of rum-selling there is nothing of the kind to help lift the seller above the fetid morals of the depraved class. The frequenters of the saloon use language, illustration, story, argument, steeped in immorality, and the saloon-keeper must necessarily be affected by such surroundings. He must be more than human who escapes such a result.

Now, it is because of the two facts that we have stated—the immorality of the business and the liability to moral obtuseness in the rum-seller—that a government by rum-sellers is dreaded. No one interested in the justice of a suit wishes them on a jury. No one would have his own estate managed by them. No one would see them in responsible offices connected with education or religion. No one would have them control the railroad or telegraph interests of the community. No one would have them direct our banks. And yet, in spite of this universal distrust of rum-sellers as a class, political trickery and political prostitution put them into legislative and executive office in city and State. Party leaders stoop to this anomaly and party voters blindly obey them. What do we see in the city of New York to-day? Ten of the twenty-six members of the Board of Aldermen are rum-sellers. These ten, with four others who are like them, form a working majority to use their perverted moral sense in framing ordinances for the city. Their legislation has become a by-word, and is suggestive of “combines” and “boodle.” No one supposes for a moment that they study the interests of the city, that they are moved by arguments of patriotism and public virtue; but every one knows that they seek the emoluments and political prestige of office, which are the loftiest considerations with which their minds are familiar. When any ceremonial is held to greet distinguished strangers, the city is ashamed that such as these represent it officially, and apologetic

words have to be whispered to the guests. The city, manipulated by these low minds, is made to send like characters to the State Legislature, and our citizens are mortified at seeing in the chairs of the Senate and Assembly ignorant and vicious men, who cannot comprehend a moral purpose, and who are open always to the influence of a bribe. Parties work their evils with this material, and rich corporations know well how to use it. The giant evil of intemperance cannot be met by wholesome laws while these men sit at the source of legislation. The cause of education cannot be justly dealt with. The constitutional separation of church and state cannot be maintained. The sins of gambling and licentiousness cannot be honestly treated. All these important subjects, together with those involving the pecuniary welfare of the people, are unsafe in these polluted hands. We know well that others besides rum-sellers are open to these charges, but we also know that it is the saloon element that is mainly responsible, and that around it crystallize the other elements of evil. We have seen this power so successful in its strength as to carry a State election, and openly to boast that it rules and intends to rule the wealthiest State in the Union. This, if a true prophecy, means the destruction of all moral barriers and the establishment of criminal chaos. It means general corruption and the reign of injustice and oppression.

There is but one remedy—the destruction of the rumshop. But how can this be effected if the rum-seller rules? Let us ask, Why does the rum-seller rule? Is it because he represents the majority of our people? Surely not. He and his followers form a small minority of the whole. Their rule is the rule of an impudent oligarchy. Two large classes are responsible for this condition of things. First, the partisan voters of respectable character and life who deliberately vote their party ticket although it is defiled with names that are redolent of the odors of the saloon. They lay aside conscience and common sense under the false theory of loyalty to party, as if party were more than country and moral duty. Instead of rebuking party by an opposing vote, they go with the party to maintain corruption. These uncorrupt and incorruptible voters thus sustain the system that their own souls hate. Many of them are indifferent or care-

less as to results, having satisfied themselves that loyalty to the "regular" nominations is the one thing needful. Others wish reform, but are in despair concerning it. Let such understand that to have reform, *individuals* must be reformers; and that each individual can begin the reform most effectually by voting only for clean candidates. The other class responsible for a government by rum-sellers is that of the non-voters. These are chiefly well-to-do people who are too much engrossed in their own business or selfish pleasures to care for the public welfare. It is estimated that there are in New York City 20,000 men who habitually abstain from voting. Their votes, if cast, would all be on the side of public virtue, for they are men of correct sentiment and upright life. The depraved are never found wanting when voting time comes. These 20,000 could turn any election in New York City for good if they should exercise their right and do their duty; for not only would their votes count, but the knowledge that there was such an army of righteousness about to vote would purify the list of candidates. The rum-hole candidates are nominated because the politicians count on the absence of these 20,000 from the polls, as well as on the "loyalty to party" of 100,000 who do vote.

Were all right-minded electors to vote, and to vote according to conscience and not according to party, the rum power would be suppressed at once. The saloon would then be destroyed. This tap root of evil annihilated, public office would be in purer hands, legislation would run in moral lines, and the people would be more prosperous and contented.

This is the most important question now before the American public. Tariff, railroads, the Negro, the fisheries, Canadian reciprocity, Pan-American alliance, and the silver question are all of secondary consequence, when compared with this matter of the fundamental morals of legislation and society. It would be well if the attention of our citizens could be diverted from all other questions and concentrated on this, until it should be settled that rum is not to rule our land and spread its filth and corruption over the glorious potentialities of the heritage with which a gracious Providence has endowed us.

HOWARD CROSBY.

WHEN THE FARMER WILL BE PROSPEROUS.

IN a recent FORUM article it was shown that the absence of prosperity among farmers is largely due to excessive production of nearly all farm products. Such being the cause of the difficulties that beset the farmer, it is desirable to ascertain whether the conditions essential to prosperity can be restored, either by government intervention or by the operation of natural laws.

Doubtless a measure of relief would be had were a stop put to the dealing in options for farm products, were the rates for transportation always just and reasonable, and were all combinations deprived of any control over the prices of cattle and other farm products; but, it being doubtful if any amelioration can be hoped for in these directions, the needed relief must be found in the operation of such natural agencies as will bring about a readjustment between population and production.

That time will readjust the disturbed relations between production and consumption, is as certain as that population will continue to increase; and to show that such equilibration may confidently be relied upon, it will be necessary to proceed upon the hypothesis that the farmer can hope for prosperity only when domestic consumption shall absorb nearly all his products; but in order to show how and when this will be brought about, it must first be known how much present production is in excess of home requirements.

Assuming the population to be now 65,000,000, with the area in cereals producing average crops and current consumption 15 per cent. greater, per capita, than in the five years ending in 1874, present supplies are in excess of population as follows: corn for 5,500,000 people, wheat for 14,000,000, cattle for 6,000,000, and swine for 11,000,000. Should population continue to increase as heretofore, and production not increase more than seems probable, home requirements will absorb all food products before the end of this century. That there will be some

increase in food products is probable; but we can estimate the extent of such increase from data showing the area available for production, and a knowledge of the rate of increase and the distribution of the areas heretofore employed will aid in forecasting the future course and extent of production.

During the last five years population has increased 13.7 per cent., the area in corn $12\frac{3}{10}$, that in oats 29, cattle 20, and swine 14, with a decrease of $3\frac{4}{10}$ per cent. in the wheat area. Seven tenths of such increase in the corn area occurred in the first two years, indicating that the expansion in corn-growing is nearing its end. That such is the case will be seen when an inquiry is made into the present sources of supply, and we compare the present rate of increase and distribution of areas with those obtaining in preceding periods as set forth in the following table:

TABLE SHOWING ACREAGE OF CORN AND ITS GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE YEARS 1874, 1879, 1884, AND 1889.

Groups of States.	Corn Acreage 1874.	Corn Acreage 1879.	Corn Acreage 1884.	Corn Acreage 1889.
North Atlantic,.....	2,780,204	3,608,036	3,669,741	3,646,676
Lake,.....	13,903,883	18,353,646	17,311,852	17,499,440
Missouri Valley,.....	8,721,076	17,343,738	21,590,881	27,385,602
Southern,.....	13,292,302	19,136,458	21,339,493	22,783,290
Arkansas and Texas,.....	2,246,272	3,766,897	5,510,410	6,704,044
Mountain and Pacific areas,	93,181	160,094	261,403	300,599
Totals,.....	41,036,918	62,368,869	69,683,780	78,319,651
Percentages of increase, ...	.....	52.0+	11.7+	*12.3+

The preceding exhibit shows that corn-growing is apparently approaching its limit, and that contraction in area is not improbable, the increase in acreage having ceased in the coast region, extending from Maine to Maryland, and in the lake group, which includes such States as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

In the States of the Missouri Valley—Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas—the area in corn nearly doubled in the five years ending in 1879, and the reduction in the rate of

* The increase in the corn area during the last three years has been but 1.2 per cent. per annum, as against 4.1 per cent. in the two preceding years.

increase shows that the quantity of new land being devoted to this crop is less than formerly. This is the scene of the excessive expansion in corn-growing which flooded the markets, depressing prices to the present unprecedented level; yet in this district the corn acreage has nearly reached its limit, settlement having passed beyond the corn area and partially overrun the arid plains where corn culture is impracticable, except upon such limited areas as can be irrigated. The process of converting corn fields into dairy farms, orchards, and meadows is here in active operation, and we may conclude that the corn fields of this district will not in this century, if ever, exceed 30,000,000 acres.

South of the Potomac and Ohio, corn-growing made great strides from 1874 to 1879, but advanced much less rapidly from 1879 to 1886. Since 1886 there has been but small increase. In Arkansas and Texas the increase has been better sustained than elsewhere, and shows less signs of an early halt, although there is an encouraging slackening in the rate. A moderate increase may be looked for in these States.

The acreage employed in corn-growing in the vast regions extending from the 102d meridian to the Pacific, does not equal that of the corn fields of two counties in Kansas; and this entire area, being but poorly adapted to the production of this staple, will ever remain an unimportant factor in determining the extent of the supply.

From this survey of the sources of supply it appears that any material increase of the corn acreage must be looked for in the States of the Missouri Valley, in Arkansas and Texas, and in that portion of the Indian Territory lying east of the 98th meridian, the latter being the only body of land adapted to this product yet to be occupied. Of these lands, by far the best are likely to remain in the possession of the Indians, and those familiar with Indian farming will look for but little addition to the supply from lands so occupied. Nor are the blacks now migrating to the Indian Territory likely to increase the surplus, as much of their labor will doubtless be employed in cotton-growing, to which soil and climate are adapted. It is safe to say that the Indian Territory will not for years produce any considerable surplus, but will, by the end of the century, have two or three

million acres employed in growing corn, which will no more than compensate for losses in area east of the Mississippi.

The tendency of the present very low price will be to contract the area in corn wherever the land can be otherwise employed—at the South, for instance, in the production of cotton—and some expansion of the wheat fields may result from a decrease in the corn area in northern localities.

This review of the area of corn production leads to the conclusion that the acreage devoted to this staple will not exceed 83,000,000, until such time as far higher prices shall render profitable the cultivation of soils of very low fertility; and it is not likely to exceed 80,000,000 acres within five years. Careful computation of the extent of the exportation of animals and animal products, now and fifteen years since, shows the increase in such exports to be equal to an addition of one bushel of corn per capita; and what with the increased exportation of corn in this form, and its larger employment in the manufacture of various forms of glucose and as a substitute for Canadian and home-grown barley, a moderate estimate would put the per-capita requirements at least 15 per cent. above the amount consumed prior to 1875.

With consumption at the rate of 28 bushels per capita, an average yield from 83,000,000 acres would supply a population of 74,000,000, which we may expect to see as soon as the year 1895.

TABLE SHOWING ACREAGE OF WHEAT AND ITS GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE YEARS 1875, 1880, 1884, AND 1889.

Groups of States.	Wheat Acreage 1875.	Wheat Acreage 1880.	Wheat Acreage 1884.	Wheat Acreage 1889.
North Atlantic,.....	2,489,724	3,205,155	3,279,925	2,851,453
Lake,.....	11,011,734	16,221,457	14,183,543	13,621,659
Missouri Valley,.....	5,406,160	8,950,331	9,011,317	6,276,440
Southern,	4,869,364	6,109,064	6,472,815	5,883,817
Mountain areas,.....	125,213	293,100	442,795	507,136
The Dakotas,.....	10,000	300,000	1,540,200	4,431,034
Pacific Coast,.....	2,469,317	2,907,610	4,545,290	4,552,320
Totals,.....	26,381,512	37,986,717	39,475,885	38,123,859
Percentages of increase and decrease, .....	.....	44.0+	3.9+	3.4—

The table covers the period of greatest expansion in wheat culture, and shows the distribution of acreage now, at the commencement of that period, and at its climax in 1884, when acreage and aggregate product were at the highest point ever reached, with population about 9,500,000 less than now. Although the table tells the story of the westward movement of wheat-growing, and shows that it has reached and passed its limit, an analysis of gains and losses will enable us to estimate the future course and extent of production.

In the North Atlantic group the increase in acreage was constant until 1880, thereafter giving place to a material diminution. The additions to the acreage in the lake States was very great up to 1880, when a rapid decrease began, the loss now amounting to 2,599,798 acres. In the States of the Missouri Valley, exclusive of the Dakotas, the enlargement of the area was very great up to 1881, when a sharp corner was turned, the wheat fields of this district having since shrunk 3,038,260 acres. The southern States, including Arkansas and Texas, show a moderate increase from 1875 to 1884, but a loss of 588,998 acres in the last five years, now employed in cotton fields.

There occurred a rapid increase in the wheat area of the three Pacific States prior to 1884, since which time the increase has been less than one per cent.; and an immense forest growth, covering the best soils of Oregon and Washington, will preclude any rapid increase in those States. During the ninth decade the Dakotas witnessed the most rapid conversion of wild lands into wheat fields that the world has ever known; and these fields now furnish a large part of the exportable surplus, and tend to keep prices near the starvation point. The Dakotas and the mountain and Pacific regions include the only areas where the wheat acreage does not show a diminution; and in these districts the gain is not likely to equal the losses elsewhere, as the wheat fields have already invaded the arid regions where crop failure is the rule. Indeed, competent authorities declare that profitable wheat culture is impossible without irrigation in the Dakotas, or in the British possessions between the 100th meridian and the western slopes of the Cascade Mountains.

Notwithstanding the great additions to the area in the Dakotas,

the wheat fields of 1889 covered 1,352,026 acres less than did those of 1884, and were but 137,142 acres greater than those of nine years before. As there are no more Dakotas to be exploited, wheat-growing has evidently reached and passed its limit, and exportation will grow less and less until domestic requirements shall absorb our entire product of this cereal. That such will soon be the case follows from the complete occupation of the Winter-wheat area, where other crops are constantly encroaching upon wheat fields, as in the Spring-wheat regions east of the Dakotas; and even there the fields longest cropped show clear signs of exhaustion, and must soon be recuperated by a system of rotation that will prevent any material addition to the wheat supply.

Speculators in Canadian lands and politics have reiterated the wildest statements about an area unlimited in extent and fertility, and capable of supplying the world with wheat, lying fallow just north of the national boundary. It is now well established that the area where profitable wheat culture is possible, in Manitoba and the Assiniboin region, is included in a tract less than 300 miles from east to west and extending north less than 100 miles. This Canadian wheat region has been settled many years, yet the product is still very limited, as is shown in the following extract from the Montreal "Star" of January 9, 1890:

"W. W. Ogilvie is on his way back from Manitoba and the North-west, after having purchased practically all the western Canadian wheat crop. The securing of the crop by the Ogilvie Milling Company was not such a big job as might be thought. . . . It took [but] \$1,500,000 to work the deal, which was for cash."

There is, unquestionably, a fine wheat region north of the State of Washington, but many years must be occupied in removing great forest growths before much wheat can be produced. When our population is such as to require more wheat, limited additions to the area can be made by subjecting to cultivation so much of plain and mountain as is susceptible of irrigation; but increase from such irrigated lands will be slow, even if the national government unwisely commits itself to costly irrigation schemes.

We need not wait, however, till complete equilibration of pro-

duction and domestic consumption for a return of fair prices, as Great Britain alone requires 150,000,000 bushels of wheat annually, to supplement a home product steadily diminishing while the requirements as steadily augment. But a few years since it was widely predicted that the unlimited capacity of India to produce cheap wheat would deprive us of a market for our surplus, but these predictions have failed as completely as the assurances that India would furnish the world with all the cotton required. Neither the area, nor the product, nor the average annual shipment of Indian wheat has increased during the last six years—an outcome entirely consonant with the character of a people whose modes of husbandry and whose intelligence bear the impress of many centuries of mental torpor. In Australia there has been no increase of the exportable surplus of wheat since 1883; and it will be many years before the Argentine Republic can send abroad a large volume of this cereal, the estimates of the 1890 surplus (for export) in that country ranging from 3,000,000 to 7,000,000 bushels, and the entire product in 1889 being but 11,350,000 bushels.

With constantly-augmenting population, Great Britain and western Europe will soon require much more wheat than the exporting countries will furnish while prices remain near the present level. Meantime, our requirements increasing annually at the rate of 10,000,000 bushels, and our demand being made against a constantly-diminishing supply, prices will tend to rise rapidly at home and abroad. That our supplies of wheat will steadily diminish, is clearly indicated by the constant decrease of acreage in all districts other than those of the Dakotas, mountain areas, and Pacific States, such diminution during the last five years being at the rate of 13.1 per cent., and amounting to 4,314,231 acres, which is 1,352,026 acres more than the increase, in the same period, in the Dakotas, and in the mountain and Pacific regions. The question arises: Will contraction of the wheat area in the older districts continue at this rate, and how much of the loss thus sustained will be offset by the increase in the Dakotas and in the mountain and Pacific districts? Much light is thrown on this subject by the following table, showing the area in all staple crops, and, separately, the acreage in corn, wheat, oats,

and hay in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin in the years 1880, 1884, and 1887:

Year.	Total Acreage of all Staple Crops.	Acres of Corn.	Acres of Wheat.	Acres of Oats.	Acres of Hay.
1880,.....	42,960,311	17,338,964	13,161,177	5,058,026	5,876,079
1884,.....	46,044,738	16,606,512	11,429,727	6,531,317	9,641,625
1887,..	47,647,738	14,583,964	10,687,937	7,933,885	11,519,384
Increase,.....	4,687,427	.....	.....	2,875,859	5,643,305
Decrease,.....	.....	2,755,000	2,296,240	.....	.....
Percentages,...	10.9+	15.9—	17.4—	56.9+	96.0+

This exhibit shows that in seven years 2,755,000 acres of the corn fields and 2,296,240 acres of the wheat fields of the States named were converted into meadows, as were 592,065 acres of the new land brought into cultivation, the remainder of the new land, amounting to 4,095,362 acres, being employed in the production of rye, oats, barley, buckwheat, potatoes, and tobacco. Like conversions of old fields and employment of new ones are continuously occurring in all districts, outside of the Dakotas and the mountain and Pacific areas, and must greatly reduce the production of wheat; and such action is likely to be greatly intensified, as the quantity of new land being brought under cultivation is rapidly diminishing, as will be shown further on.

The following table shows the number and geographical distribution of cattle in the years 1880, 1885, and 1889:

Groups of States.	Number of Cattle, January, 1880.	Number of Cattle, January, 1885.	Number of Cattle, January, 1889.
North Atlantic,.....	5,594,000	6,276,058	6,360,438
Lake,.....	7,070,900	8,579,494	8,912,476
Missouri Valley,.....	6,039,700	9,454,608	10,525,961
Southern,.....	5,806,600	7,134,770	7,359,085
Arkansas, Texas, and Indian Territory,	5,900,600	6,203,155	9,348,249
Mountain areas,.....	1,200,000	4,350,785	6,358,877
Pacific Coast,.....	1,946,200	1,772,425	2,065,956
Totals,.....	*33,588,000	43,771,295	*50,931,042
Percentages of increase,.....	.....	30.1+	16.4+

* Includes cattle in the Indian Territory not reported by the Department of Agriculture.

This table shows that the supply of cattle increased 30.1 per cent. from 1880 to 1885, and 16.4 from January, 1885, to January, 1889; when 12.5 per cent. of the whole number was to be found in the seaboard States north of the Potomac; 17.5 in the lake group; 20.6 in the Missouri Valley; 14.4 south of the Potomac and Ohio; 18.4 in the South-west; while the mountain areas contributed 12.5 per cent., and the Pacific Coast States brought up the rear with 4.1 per cent.

That cattle are too cheap and the numbers greatly in excess of requirements, is incontrovertible; and it is equally true that the increase has, of late years, been almost wholly in the Missouri Valley and the range regions, where cattle subsist, Winter and Summer, upon the untaxed grass of the public domain. It is the cattle from these free pastures and the new farms of the Missouri Valley that have so overstocked the market and depressed prices.

Much can be found in the table to indicate that the increase has become very slow, if it has not virtually ceased, especially in the Atlantic, lake, and southern groups; and this becomes the more apparent when it is known that of the increase shown in these three districts, amounting to 641,677 animals, no less than 542,290 were cows kept for dairy purposes. In Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska the increase in all grades of cattle, from 1885 to 1889, was 546,433, of which 421,308 were milch cows; and the net increase in the Pacific States, since 1880, is but 119,756. Practically the only increase, since 1885, in cattle other than such as are kept for dairy purposes, has been in the range country; there the increase has been great, and statistics fail to show that it has ceased.

Throughout the greater part of the range country, the valleys are being occupied by farmers, thus forcing the cattle men and their herds away from the water and compelling removal to other pastures. This crowding-out process has been going on for years, and has greatly restricted the available pasturage. Moreover, many ranges have been so overstocked as to destroy the grass, which has been replaced by a worthless growth of weeds.

The severe storms of the winter of 1886-87 were disastrous to the herds on the northern ranges, destroying great numbers of cows and younger animals; and such losses will now be felt in

a diminishing supply of steers from those districts. Financial distress among owners of range cattle has been extreme, forcing the marketing of every possible animal, old or young, male or female; and this has greatly reduced the rate of increase in such herds. Indeed, many entire herds have been shipped to market as fast as transportation could be had. This is especially true of the cattle held in the Indian Territory. Such excessive marketing has made the supply appear even more abundant than it is.

During the last four years, cattle increased 16.4 per cent., an average of 4.1 per cent. per annum; but most of this increase was in the first two years of the four, the rate of increase in the last two years being but 2.4 per cent. per annum. Here we see, for the first time in many years, a lower rate of increase than is shown by population. Of the late increase of cattle, an unusual proportion are milch cows.

Swine being, in large measure, the product of the corn field, and capable of being increased at will, do not call for separate treatment; nor does the oat crop, which is used almost wholly as animal food and can very largely be replaced by corn.

Possessing, as we do, a virtual monopoly of the world's supply of cotton, the demand, at fair prices, has been sufficient to absorb the entire product; and the demand being likely to increase more rapidly than the supply, in consequence of the near exhaustion of the arable areas, it is not probable that the American cotton-grower will have to contend with a troublesome surplus until the remote day when equatorial Africa shall enter the markets with abundant supplies. It is impracticable, however, to determine from the conditions accompanying the production and marketing of a portion of the staple farm crops, when or how the desired prosperity will come to the farmer; but we can doubtless do so when we review, as a whole, the field wherein all the great agricultural staples are grown.

Existing data show that to supply home requirements and export the same proportions of tobacco, cotton, and animal products as now, there should be for each unit of population 1.15 acres of corn, 0.47 of an acre of wheat, and 1.53 acres in other staple crops—a total of 3.15 acres per capita. This is exclusive of such lands as may be devoted to minor products or employed in pastur-

ing animals, the estimate being only of such lands as are necessary to produce the requisite amount of cereals, potatoes, hay, tobacco, and cotton. The following table shows how much in excess of such normal requirements the acreage has been in recent periods:

Year.	Acreage in all Staples.	Per Capita Acreage of all Staples.	Acres in Staples other than Corn and Wheat.	Per Capita Acreage of Staples other than Corn and Wheat.	Acres of New Land Brought into Cultivation in Periods Ending in 1874, 1879, 1884, and 1888.	Annual Average Increase of Acreage in all Staples in Periods Ending in 1874, 1879, 1884, and 1888.
1871	93,020,684	2.35	38,985,654	0.99	.....	.....
1874	113,412,764	2.65	47,408,819	1.11	20,392,080	6,797,360
1879	161,041,312	3.29	63,242,393	1.29	47,628,548	9,525,710
1884	195,249,619	3.51	86,089,954	1.55	34,208,307	6,841,661
1888	207,212,100	3.36	94,203,199	1.53	11,962,481	2,990,620

This table shows how very rapid was the increase in cultivated acres, especially in the three earlier periods, when population was much less than now. If the present increase in acreage were in the same ratio to population as in the five years prior to 1880, the annual additions to the area under the plow would exceed 12,000,000 acres. It also shows a very rapid increase in the per capita requirements for staples other than corn and wheat.

Upon the assumption that the requirements are now such as to employ 3.15 acres per capita to produce the cereals, potatoes, hay, tobacco, and cotton consumed at home, and the tobacco, cotton, and animal products exported, the preceding table shows that the troubles of the farmer may be attributed to the bringing of too many new acres into cultivation in the fourteen years ending in 1884; and that the process of readjusting the disturbed relations between production and consumption has been in operation several years, as is clear from the rapidly-diminishing quantity of new land being employed in the production of staple crops.

During the fourteen years prior to 1885, the increase in cultivated area was so great that, after assigning the required 3.15 acres to each unit of population, there remained a surplus of 20,248,000 acres, which was employed in growing products to glut home and foreign markets.

Fortunately the arable lands to be occupied had become so very limited that the additions to the area in cultivation, during

the next four years, were reduced to a yearly average of 2,990,620 acres, as against 8,183,685 in the ten preceding years, the result being to diminish the acreage in excess of home needs from 20,248,000 acres to 12,888,000 at the end of 1888; and a decrease, rather than an increase, of such additions of new land being probable, it is entirely safe to estimate that such additions will not, from 1888 to 1894, exceed a yearly average of 3,000,000 acres, while population will augment at a rate of not less than 2.7 per cent. per annum. This will, at the end of 1894, leave but three acres per capita to furnish so much of the agricultural staples as we may then use or export.

No doubt the average American could subsist upon the product of less than three acres, as he did prior to 1874; but it is very certain that he does not, nor will he until prices are much higher; neither is it probable that the average yield per acre of the staple crops will increase until a deficient supply shall necessitate improved modes of culture. Should the American people continue to require the product of 3.15 acres each, that will, after 1893, necessitate yearly additions of 6,000,000 acres to the area employed in growing staple crops, as well as great quantities of land to furnish the additional dairy, orchard, and minor products required by the growing population.

Where can be found available arable lands, of even moderate fertility, to meet these ever-increasing requirements? It seems wholly improbable that there can be any such future increase of cultivated area, when we remember how thoroughly the arable soils are occupied, and that for years the annual additions have been less than three million acres. If the computation of the area required per capita be correct, and if the Department of Agriculture has not underestimated the area employed in growing the staple crops, domestic consumption will absorb the entire product of cereals, potatoes, and hay within five years from January, 1890, and thereafter agricultural exports will consist almost wholly of tobacco, cotton, and animal products, the volume of which will shrink as constantly, if not in the same degree, as home consumption increases. An equalization of the supply of the various staples will readily follow from the application of corn and wheat fields to the growth of such products as

may, from time to time, be in most urgent demand. Meantime prices will steadily advance.

To most people it would probably appear absurd to suggest that well within ten years it may be found necessary to import large quantities of wheat to feed the ever-increasing population; but such will be the logical sequence of the necessity of employing wheat fields in the growth of other staples, and of the exhaustion of the material from which farms are developed.

Assuming the substantial correctness of the estimates of area by the Department of Agriculture, and that home requirements will be such as to employ 3.15 acres per capita, the answer to the question, When will the farmer be prosperous? resolves itself into a calculation as simple as the following:

January, 1894, a population of		
72,000,000 will require in staple		
crops an area of.....		226,800,000 acres.
Area now employed in growing such		
crops,.....	211,000,000 acres.	
Additions to be made to such area in		
four years,.....	12,000,000 acres.	223,000,000 acres.
Acreage deficit, January, 1894,.....		3,800,000 acres.

This deficit should be sufficient to neutralize any possible underestimate of the area now in cultivation.

Does not the evidence adduced show that before this decade is half spent, all the products of the farm will be required at good prices, that lands will appreciate greatly in value, and that the American farmer will enter upon an era of prosperity, the unlimited continuance of which is assured by the exhaustion of the arable areas?

C. WOOD DAVIS.

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NEW ENGLAND AND THE NEW TARIFF BILL.

IN her early history, New England's prosperity was the result of her agriculture and commerce. Her lands were then fertile and productive; they are now worn and wasted, and their annual yield is not sufficient to supply food for her own people. Then her labor was largely employed in ship-building and the carrying trade; these industries, instead of keeping pace with the growth of her population, have steadily declined.

The highly restrictive tariff of 1824 struck a deadly blow at our foreign commerce, in which New England was largely interested, and from which she drew a large share of her material prosperity. After its adoption she was compelled to turn her attention to manufactures in order to give employment to her capital and labor. In this department of national industry she soon took the leading part, which she has easily held for more than a half-century. At the time when she was forced to make this new departure, her population was more than one sixth of the population of the whole Union; it is now less than one twelfth, and the disproportion is growing greater as the years roll on. Situated as she is, she finds no contiguous population on the east and south to consume her manufactures; a Canadian tariff wall shuts her out from the people on the north; her home markets must be looked for in the West. Our population is

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moving southward and westward, to occupy the cheap and fertile lands that attract industrious and enterprising people from the Atlantic seaboard. The tide has been flowing westward for many years, and with greatly-increased volume since the development of our vast railroad system. Railroads have opened the way to immigration and reduced the cost of transportation. The swarms that settled this vast region brought with them not only the ideas and institutions of the East, but the enterprise and genius of the people from whom they sprang. The settlers from New England developed the same traits in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois that they inherited from their ancestors in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. They accepted the philosophy dictated by their situation, and embarked their capital, skill, and labor in manufactures as well as in agriculture.

A competition has sprung up in the West against which New England can have no protection. Her rivals are protected against her cheap and productive labor, not by congressional, but by railroad, tariffs. Freight rates and proximity to raw materials and the markets, constitute a Chinese wall around the western and southern manufacturers that no power can level. While these industries are not yet fully developed, they are in a vigorous condition. Their hold must continue to grow stronger and that of New England weaker, in all the territory of the West and South. During the last decade the precedence of New England in manufacturing has been constantly in peril. In some articles she will continue to hold the market for a number of years; in others she has already given up the contest.

The materials which she must have for her mills to manufacture, are not produced within her own limits. A great part of the food upon which her people subsist must be brought over long lines of railway, and the freight charges must be paid by the consumers. The chief necessities of life are more expensive to her people than to those of the West and South, from whom she procures them. Evidently she cannot buy her raw materials from them, pay cost of transportation back to the producers, and sell in competition with local rivals. Many branches of manufacture that until recent years had not crossed the Ohio River, are now fully domiciled in the West, and a western purchaser

may now procure almost any article of manufacture from a western factory.

The South, too, is beginning to attract the attention of the manufacturer, and her industrial growth in the last decade has been marvelous. Enterprising young men reared in New England are erecting factories and furnaces all through the South, establishing their plants in close proximity to the materials which they are to consume, and to the customers whom they are to supply. They are prepared to produce at the lowest cost, and to reach their customers with the lowest charges for transportation; hence they will hold the markets within their reach against all rivals. This is the condition of the manufacturer of the South and West, and it is a condition not in the power of New England to change. She cannot import hides from west of the Mississippi River, manufacture them into leather, and then transport the leather back to the West, and sell it in competition with the manufacturers of Chicago and St. Louis. She could not import cotton from Texas, manufacture it into cloth, send the cloth back to Texas, and sell it in competition with Texas manufacturers, if we of Texas had the factories with which to supply the demand.

Thus situated, what is New England to do? She cannot go back to agriculture, because in this she cannot compete with the West and South. Their lands are new and fertile; hers are exhausted. She cannot go back to the sea, where she was once at home, because the tariff has laid an embargo on our commerce. She cannot go into mining, because she has no mineral resources. She cannot go into forestry, because her lands are denuded, and even the lumber required for her manufactures must be brought from beyond her borders. She is restricted to manufactures. She must live by manufactures, or "go west and grow up with the country." With rivals at home and abroad calculating closely every item of advantage over her, she must "lay aside every weight" and run the race. She must cease to follow Pennsylvania, and must pursue her own interest. Instead of helping to pile up burdens on her own shoulders, she must help to take them off. In short, she must produce all her wares at the lowest possible cost. The chief factors of cost in every article are mate-

rial and labor. She has now the cheapest, most skillful, and most productive labor. There is something in her soil and climate, and perhaps in her blood, that makes her people easily first in the invention of labor-saving machinery. And by the time the world has caught up with her inventions she is well advanced in the improvement of them. In labor, she is now and can continue ahead of her competitors. In cost of raw materials, she is at a great disadvantage, because they are taxed. If they come from foreign countries, they are taxed for transportation charges, and taxed for government revenue, and taxed for the protection of the home producer against foreign competition. This burden she must unload. To continue to carry it is to abandon the contest and to contract the circle of her trade. A certain area of trade she will always hold, but that will not be sufficient to give employment to all her labor. By lowering the tariff so that she may obtain her raw materials on the same terms with her rivals, she can largely extend her markets, and dislodge many competitors who now feel securely established.

She should begin at once the work of emancipation. She has already delayed it too long. She should to-day, with her united political power, demand the removal of all taxes on all articles that she employs in manufacture. She should not stop with free wool; that would afford only partial relief. She should demand the removal of taxes from all fibers, coal, ores, and all metals not sufficiently advanced in manufacture to go into immediate consumption, such as pig and bar iron, blooms, billets, rods, copper, brass, lead, and zinc; all oils and dyes; in short, she should insist on being allowed to purchase her materials as cheaply as her rivals. Then, having the advantage over them all in the cheapness of her labor, she would take from her competitors every market which she and they could reach at the same cost of transportation. Instead of contracting the circle of her trade, as she is now doing, she would in this way very greatly extend it at home and abroad. She would make tributary to her mills all ports of the East accessible by sea. She should likewise unite her whole political power to untax the food upon which her people live. Having accomplished these ends, and possessing the advantages derived from the constant

lowering of the rates of transportation by rail, she would enter at once upon a new life.

Is this the policy outlined by the new tariff bill? It is precisely the reverse. The bill proposes to increase the rates of taxation on many raw materials. It transfers some of the most important articles from the free to the dutiable list, and on some of them it imposes very heavy duties. Further, it increases the duties on all food products, a great part of which New England must buy from other regions. The duty on wool is increased from an average rate of 34 to an average rate of 46 per cent. Camel's hair, which is now free, and of which we import six million pounds, is taxed 12 cents per pound, which is equivalent to 77 per cent. Nearly one half of the whole importation is used in the State of Massachusetts. Mica is taken from the free list and taxed 35 per cent. Its importation has been increasing for some years. Mica is used extensively in the manufacture of stoves, and the imposition of the tax will add to the cost of the stove and limit its sale. It is also used in electrical manufactures. The duty was placed on mica to exclude the foreign article, but much of the domestic product is wholly unsuited for electrical purposes. This tax increases the cost of both of these classes of goods, and may work their total exclusion from foreign markets. The cost of iron, enhanced by the tariff, is so much greater here than in England, that it requires all the advantage derived from our cheaper labor to enable us to obtain a small foothold in the foreign market. The difference in cost of stoves must be very small, for we export only about a quarter of a million dollars' worth. It may require but a very slight rise in the cost to extinguish that trade. It could be very much enlarged by reducing the cost.

The new bill greatly increases the duty on lime and cement, and this is in harmony with its general policy. As it serves a notice to quit on New England manufacturers, it is unnecessary for them to build any more houses or factories, or to repair those already standing. Instead of putting lime and cement on the free list and making it easier to build houses, giving employment to idle labor, the tax is increased on cement 50 per cent., and on lime 250 per cent., over present rates. This increase will make

building more costly, and, as a consequence, fewer houses will be built, and more people will be kept out of employment.

The duty on tin plates is increased 115 per cent. above existing rates. The purpose of this is to keep out every pound of tin plate and give the market to a domestic industry not yet born. The tax will increase the cost of tin plate to the consumers more than \$8,000,000. It will reduce the consumption of canned goods at home and the export of them. The New England manufacturer of tin will feel the burden which it places on his shoulders. We imported of this plate last year 729,000,000 pounds. More than 30,000,000 pounds came in at Boston, and of 300,000,000 pounds that came in at New York, a large part doubtless found its way to New England.

Again, the bill transfers a large number of articles from the free to the dutiable list. Among them are aluminium, broom corn, straw, china grass, sulphuric and muriatic acids, eggs, milk, fresh fish, and apples. The duties are increased on the following materials consumed in New England manufactures: ingots, blooms, billets, and sheets of steel; extracts of logwood, sumac, and hemlock; quicksilver, gold leaf, flax, tow, dyewoods, glue, glycerin, linseed and olive oils, caustic potash, ground sumac, and sulphate of soda. These increased duties will enhance the cost of the finished products and render New England manufacturers less able to compete for the market. But her injuries do not end with these increased burdens upon her industries. Her food products have received full consideration in the new bill. The duties on them have been largely increased. The tariff on buckwheat has been increased over existing rates 50 per cent.; on corn, 50 per cent.; corn meal, 100; oat meal, 100; wheat and wheat flour, 25; butter and cheese, 50; beans, 240; peas, 60; potatoes, 66; fish, 100; bacon and hams, 150; beef, mutton, and pork, 100 per cent. On articles of subsistence she is heavily loaded with a cargo of mock protection. These duties will increase the prices to New England consumers, because they have to import largely; but they will not increase the prices to western and southern farmers. New England farmers and gardeners may levy tribute on the bread and butter of their home community; but while it may be advantageous to a small class,

it will be injurious to a very large one. We import about 16,000,000 dozen eggs, which are now free. Of this quantity nearly half go into New England. Under the new bill, eggs will be taxed five cents a dozen. A small number of people along the Canada border may be benefited by this tax, but it will add several hundred thousand dollars to the cost of living of the whole population. The tax on hay is increased 100 per cent. We imported last year about one million dollars' worth of hay, nearly all of which was consumed in New England. This increased tax will put some money into the treasury, where it is not needed, and will take some money from pockets where it is needed; and while it will transfer some from one New England owner to another, in the end it will make the life struggle harder for all. All these things upon which taxes have been increased, New England must buy, because she does not produce them in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of her people; and she will find the strain on her finances doubly severe when by the same cause her expenditures are increased and her income diminished. But it may be said in reply that she has a counterpoise to all this, in the increased prices which the bill insures for her finished manufactures. She will soon find that these increased duties on manufactures, instead of helping her, will call into existence additional rivals in the West and South, where the manufacturer will be nearer to his materials and to his customers. The proposed tariff, instead of protecting her against competition, will create new competition and increase that which she already has.

While production will be increased, consumption will be diminished. The large increase in the cost of manufactures caused by the increase in the cost of the materials, will restrict sales to fewer persons and smaller quantities. The present high rates on woolen goods check the consumption, and the result has been the development of a large shoddy industry, that could never have come into existence if there had been no restriction on the importation of wool. It is now claimed by those engaged in the manufacture of shoddy, that it has fifteen millions of capital invested and gives employment to 100,000 persons. The product, whatever its amount, has taken the place of so much

woolen and worsted manufactures. The increased duties will further develop the rag-picking industry, and that will still further invade the business of the wool manufacturer. The same effect will follow in all manufactures. Increased duties will limit consumption; that will limit production; and that will limit employment and reduce wages.

Another feature of the new bill deserves the serious consideration of New England. The increased duties on finished products will largely reduce the importations we are now receiving even under our present high rates. The increased duty on tin plates is intended to prohibit their importation. This would keep out \$21,000,000 of imports. The increased rates on wool and its manufactures are intended to keep them from being imported. These duties would keep out \$71,000,000 of foreign goods. The same result is intended by the increases in the cotton, metal, and tobacco schedules. The importation will not be wholly cut off, but in all these it will be largely reduced. That is the object of the bill, and it is declared in its title. It proposes to reduce the revenue by increasing duties and decreasing the importation of the duty-bearing articles. There is no need for increased revenue. The treasury is full to overflowing now. If revenue were needed, it would be obtained by reducing rates nearer to the revenue standard and increasing the importation of revenue-producing articles. There are two methods of reducing revenue. One is to reduce the rates imposed on the imported article below the revenue point; the other is to increase the rates above the revenue point. By the first the importation will be increased; by the second it will be decreased. A duty of one per cent. would produce little revenue, but it would permit a very large importation. A duty of one thousand per cent. would likewise produce little revenue, but it would almost prohibit importation. The latter object is the one intended by the bill. The articles upon which the high duties are levied are to be kept out of the country, to give the market to the domestic manufacturer of similar articles at higher prices. Camel's hair was not taken from the free list and taxed 77 per cent. for revenue, but to keep it out of the country and to permit the wool-grower to supply its place with wool. A duty of \$2

per pound was not placed on leaf tobacco to obtain revenue, but to keep the Sumatra leaf out of the country. These ends will be reached just as far as these high rates can accomplish them.

Outside the sugar schedule, there is an increase, estimated on the importation of last year, of about \$65,000,000. But the importation of the last fiscal year will not be continued. Importation will be largely reduced, and the revenue will fall far short of that estimated increase. Our imports of merchandise last year amounted to \$745,000,000, and our exports to \$742,000,000. Both will be much less under the new bill. The reduction in imports will produce a corresponding reduction in exports. New England carries on about one tenth of our foreign trade. When she sees her exports rapidly declining, she will then begin to inquire where she is to find markets for her products. Her only dependence will be the home market, and that she will find oversupplied. Consumption being largely reduced, she must correspondingly reduce her production. She depends on the home market; the home market depends on western and southern farmers; they depend on their customers in Europe; and their customers in Europe depend upon American consumers of their products. Our farmers throughout our whole history have been supplying all the wants of our own people for agricultural products, and then have had a large surplus for which they have had to find a market in foreign countries. The agricultural surplus is increasing faster than the demand in the home market, and the farmer cannot sell because the consumer cannot sell, the new tariff bill not permitting us to buy. And thus our farmers are unhappily in the same condition as the manufacturer. If our farmers have to throw their whole surplus on the home market, that will reduce the prices of the whole agricultural production. A reduction of \$100,000,000 on the export of agricultural products would reduce the value of the whole annual output, and our farmers would be to that extent less able to buy the products of the manufacturer. And as New England supplies about one fourth of our manufactures, she would feel the loss of a market for her wares to the amount of many millions. The home market is ten times as valuable to her as the foreign market, and she should watch closely all measures calculated

to impair it. The way to make it able to consume the largest amount of her products, is to permit it to have as many buyers as possible and with all the money they can get; and the way to accomplish that, is to let the world come and buy all our surplus at high prices and pay us for them in the products which they can produce more cheaply than we. When we close our markets to them, we close their market to ourselves. They cannot take our surplus unless we take theirs; and when Congress prohibits the entry of their goods into our markets, they must go elsewhere to trade. We now have a surplus of agricultural products, of manufactures, and of minerals. What shall we do with it? The mills must stop, employment must cease, wages must be reduced, profits must disappear, and business must stand paralyzed in the presence of a congressional pestilence, while the country steps down to a lower round of the ladder of depression.

With a reduction of \$100,000,000 in her manufacturing products, how many establishments would be closed in New England? How many of her people would be thrown out of employment? How much reduction would there be in the rate of wages? Into how many homes would hunger look? Does New England realize that she is walking perilously near the edge of the precipice? There is now wide-spread depression in the West and South. Farm values are lower than they have been for years. Farms are mortgaged. Interest is accruing, and the owners have nothing with which to pay. Their markets have been limited, and the crops they raise do not pay cost of production. Further to restrict the sale of their products and to reduce their value, as the new tariff bill proposes, is but to deepen and intensify the distress which is now grievous enough. Bankruptcy and foreclosure are now standing at their gates, and the new tariff bill invites them to enter and take possession. When western and southern farmers fall, New England will fall with them. She has the fate of both in her keeping. It remains to be seen whether she will help those who are trying to help her, or whether she will continue to amuse herself in aiding Pennsylvania iron masters to build a wall around her deserted factories.

ROGER Q. MILLS.

CULTURE AND CURRENT ORTHODOXY.

No careful student of the movement of modern thought can fail to notice three very marked tendencies by which the second half of the present century has been distinguished. Foremost among these is the earnest ethical tone which pervades the utterances of both the apologists and the critics of Christianity. The questions in debate are recognized as possessing an impersonal and universal import, in which all have an equal interest, and the final settlement of which must be of permanent advantage to all. The flippant rationalism of the former century, which labeled Christianity a product of deliberate priestly imposture, and waged a crusade of merciless extinction against all religion, has long since ceased to command respect. No one demands that the idea of God shall be eliminated. With less reliance upon the formal and formidable arguments which once were paraded to prove the divine existence, the theistic conviction is more generally and strongly intrenched than ever. The being of God has become axiomatic for modern thought, and this result has been reached through the development and the ascendancy of the ethical consciousness. The reason in man has given earnest heed to the majesty of the moral imperative. The school of Schleiermacher, represented by Maurice, Kingsley, Robertson, and Stanley, opened the new path, and vindicated for religion a permanent place in human life and history. The feeling of dependence and the sense of duty lying at the basis of all self-knowledge, compelled the recognition of the living God. Agnosticism refuses to be called atheism. It does not deny that God is; it only affirms that man is not competent to declare what he is. It worships the Unknown God, but in so doing it claims that it worships God. And when, with Matthew Arnold, the Supreme Being is described as an energy "which makes for righteousness," there is an immense gain in the ethical affirmation, which calls for hearty recognition, however incomplete such

a definition may seem to be. The drift of modern thought, as any one can discover in our current literature—in newspapers, magazines, and reviews—is not anti-religious, but the reverse.

That the drift is anti-ecclesiastical and anti-dogmatic, is equally certain. On the surface, this may not seem to be true. Sectarian intensity and theological partisanship may appear to be in the ascendant. But beneath the surface waves of denominational activity runs the current of comprehension. The pulpit has almost abandoned polemic utterances. Scores and hundreds of churches would not endure them. They were once the fashion, and public debates on the rites and doctrines of opposing sects were in high favor. We have outgrown all that. The change is partly due to social and commercial causes. The Calvinist has fallen in love with the Methodist, and has not found the heresy to be very pernicious. The Trinitarian has entered into partnership with the Unitarian, and discovered the latter to be the soul of honor. Domestic and business relations have dulled the edge of sectarian rancor, and have prepared the way for a mental temper in which the things whereon good men agree are accented, while their differences are held in abeyance. Meanwhile, the essential content of religion has become more sharply distinguished on the one hand from church practices, which are only symbolic aids to religion, and on the other hand from theology, which is a philosophical analysis and synthesis of the conceptions which underlie religion and are involved in it. Naturally, in the revolt against an excessive and tyrannical dogmatism, which identified religion with subscription to a creed, there has been a tendency to deny that religion contains any intellectual element whatever, and to resolve it into vague pious sentiment, a nameless awe, an undefined and undefinable emotion. But neither can the pendulum rest at that extremity of the arc. The feelings are aroused only by the perception of their appropriate objects. The intellectual act precedes the emotional state. And the feelings are normal, quickening, intense, and permanent, only as the mental perceptions are natural, vital, clear, and continuous. Religion, as reverential and filial feeling, embodying itself in worship and trust, and manifesting itself in acts of philanthropy, is rooted in certain conceptions of God and of man, which when

formulated constitute a creed. Religion has and must have its theology, its doctrine of what God is and what man is, though it may decline to speculate on the Trinity, and refuse assent to a doctrine of sin which makes every man guilty of Adam's apostasy. Impatience with dogma is not necessarily the repudiation of doctrine. The truest reason may break with the logical refinements of the schools. The anti-dogmatic drift of our time does not impress me as antagonizing intelligence in religion, as hostile to analysis, definition, and systematic arrangement, but as intent upon calling a halt upon speculative audacity, and insisting that theology, like science and philosophy, shall deal only with what can be accurately known. It demands the rigid application of the Baconian method, in which facts are the ground-work of theory. It demands a simpler creed, but it wants a creed, and it would repudiate any creed which lacked the quality of comprehension.

Nothing is more characteristic of the culture of to-day, as compared with the literary temper of the preceding century, than its reverent attitude toward Jesus Christ. The Carpenter of Nazareth has won respect as the noblest, the purest, and the most helpful of all the world's religious teachers. To tear his name out of history, Renan declares, would be to rend the world to its foundations. In the March number of the *FORUM*, Mr. A. K. Fiske, while speaking of the clergy with scant courtesy and in no very complimentary phrase, and emphatically insisting that all supernatural and miraculous elements must be eliminated from traditional Christianity, speaks of "the wonderful psychological endowments of Jesus of Nazareth," and of "the magnetic ascendancy which he acquired over those who came under his personal influence"; and he proceeds to declare that the race is not likely to have a higher exemplar of the large doctrine of the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, purity of life, sacrifice of self, and devotion to common good, "than the marvelous man of Nazareth, who announced it with such confident and persuasive words, and who died a victim to the world's unreadiness to accept it." The man who could write these lines is not so much at variance with current orthodoxy as he imagines. He already holds the essential faith, and is dissentient only in his

critical assumptions and conclusions. And his positive attitude to Christ is fairly representative of the best literary judgment, which still maintains a hostile attitude to the organized church and to her dogmatic deliverances. The shallow rationalism of the eighteenth century freely charged Jesus with deliberate imposture. It was a distinct advance when Strauss, more than fifty years ago, in his "Life of Jesus," resolved the whole story into a skillfully-elaborated myth, historically false but philosophically and essentially true—a nursery fable with an impressive and wholesome moral. The Hegelian logic clung to the *idea* of the Incarnation, while rejecting the fact. The Tübingen criticism was a historical reaction against this speculative extreme; and Baur paved the way for a reconstruction of early Christian history by calling attention to the fact that the oldest documentary evidence was from the hands of Paul, whose four great epistles, genuine beyond all possible cavil, must be the point of departure in any intelligent and reliable judgment upon the origin and primitive content of the Christian faith. He magnified to the utmost the divergent conceptions of the gospel held by Peter and Paul. A fierce and protracted contest ensued, in which the latter finally triumphed, the issue being a supplementary literature, in the gospels and the Acts, which was declared to bear on every page the marks of compromise. The procedure was revolutionary, and so has come to be known as destructive criticism. But it was not primarily intended to be negative; it was designed to be positive and constructive. It sought to reproduce the living history of those early days, to pierce through the ferment of the apostolic age, and to secure once more a clear perception of the great central figure by whom the religious revolution was inaugurated and in whom it centered. The path broken by Strauss has been eagerly pursued, and a varied and voluminous literature is the result. Baur's labors have been supplemented, corrected, and enlarged, by his pupils and successors; and the Christian church is deeply indebted to them for their patient and scholarly researches. The result has been a substantial recognition, on all sides, that the gospels contain a fairly authentic and reliable report of the main facts in the life of Jesus Christ and of his teachings. The present debate concerns the supernatural and

miraculous elements in the story, which many are disposed to regard as legendary accretions, while even Baur admitted that the faith of the early Christians in the actual resurrection of Jesus, and Paul's conversion to the same, were incapable of "psychological analysis and explanation." The time has come when it should be freely recognized that modern criticism is at heart reverent and Christian, not flippant, atheistic, and anti-Christian. Its face is toward the manger and the cross, and the wonderful life which lay between them.

What, now, as over against this attitude of modern culture, is the contention of the current orthodoxy? And by the current orthodoxy I mean neither that system of doctrinal interpretation which is embodied in the creeds, nor what in some quarters is called the New Theology. The creeds are valuable historical documents, but they are no more authoritative for theology than the text books of a hundred years ago are authoritative for science. Even the youngest of the great creeds, the Westminster Confession, is being hammered to pieces in the house of its friends. The New Theology, on the other hand, is hardly more than a name. Its fundamental postulates are the monopoly of no school, but the common inheritance of Christendom. There is a living orthodoxy, a *consensus* of Christian critical judgments, which on the one hand maintains its fellowship with the great past, and on the other hand deals with the utmost freedom with all great names and with all historic creeds. It is perhaps an ambitious task to venture upon a general description of the current orthodoxy, the fluent and vital theology of the present, as it is held by the living expounders of the Christian faith; but this must be done if there is to be any clear understanding of the problem which confronts the earnest student of our day. The outline may be restricted to five great questions: the problem of the supernatural, the place and authority of the Bible, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the eternal destiny of man. What saith the current orthodoxy on these themes?

The first question is the one on which, perhaps, the lines are most sharply drawn. And yet, even here, the divergence is not as serious as it appears to be. In Mr. Fiske's article, the repudiation of every vestige of inspiration, and the summary dismissal

of all "miraculous interposition in human affairs," are qualified by recognizing "a reasonable theory of providential supervision." That, he declares, remains untouched. And I reply, that covers the essential claim of the current orthodoxy. Affirmation of a divine providence, by way of supervision, is recognition of the supernatural. "Providential supervision" implies personal and effective agency, however noiseless and inscrutable its methods may be. If once it be granted that human life and history are not the products of isolated human energy, but that the latter is charged and guided by the energy of God, the disputants already occupy common ground. "Providential supervision" implies some kind of communication and coöperation; in other words, it concedes the general fact of revelation. The questions of inspiration and of miracles are of subordinate importance under this main concession, and may be left to free and friendly discussion. They deal with the method of revelation, the periods and evidences of its disclosure—purely historical questions which can be settled only by historical studies. Current orthodoxy maintains that the general and universal revelation took a special form among the Hebrews, moved along continuously-progressive lines in this people, and reached its highest manifestation in Jesus Christ, whose resurrection it claims to be attested by indubitable historical evidence, and whose recorded miracles it regards as most reasonable concomitants of his ministry and mission.

But what about inspiration, and the inerrancy and infallibility of the Scriptures? Current orthodoxy does not teach verbal inspiration. It recognizes that the Bible is not a mechanical product. It emphasizes the historical setting of every book, and the definite historical meaning of every message. It concedes the pictorial and poetic drapery in the first chapters of Genesis, the dramatic cast of the book of Job, the allegorical features of many other parts of the sacred volume. It does not stamp as blasphemous even the extreme positions of Wellhausen, subversive as they are of traditional views of revelation, for the main outcome of Hebrew discipline remains the same under any theory. It simply insists that the compilers of the Scriptures were honest and trustworthy men, who were not engaged in literary fraud, and who are to be treated as honest and well-

meaning witnesses. The doctrine of inspiration is not handicapped by the denial that many books of the Bible are composite in structure, and have received several redactions, though the evidence for these claims is closely scrutinized and in many cases is regarded as trivial. Least of all is inspiration regarded as suspending the personal activity of the writers. They were not automata, but living men; and the Scriptures are the most vital of all literatures. Practically, current orthodoxy regards the Bible as a true historical record of God's revelation of himself to the Hebrews, and through them to all men, and as authoritative in its ethical content. On the method of that revelation, the technical question of inspiration, current orthodoxy is agnostic.

The wonderful psychological endowments and the magnetic influence of Jesus Christ, the purity of his life, the loftiness of his teachings, and his self-sacrificing devotion, are matters on which all are agreed. To this may be added the practically unanimous verdict of the best critical judgment that the gospels are authentic and trustworthy narratives. Christ is freely revered as the model man. Current orthodoxy maintains that in such a case he must be allowed to give an account of himself, and that his personal testimony on a matter of such importance may not be lightly treated. And when he declared that he had authority to forgive sin, that men must bear his yoke, that his words should never pass away, that all judgment was committed to him, that he was conscious of personal existence in Abraham's day, that he had come down from heaven, and remembered the glory which he had with the Father before the world was, the mystery of the Incarnation confronts us. I know that some of these declarations are from the fourth gospel; but the conclusions of such independent critics as Ezra Abbot and Bernhard Weiss justify me in quoting them as attributed by the Apostle John to his Master; and the undoubted Pauline epistles attribute a similar preëminence to Jesus. An extraordinary man he certainly was, unique in his endowments; and no theory covers all the facts which does not take account of his matured consciousness of a peculiar relation to God. Beyond this, current orthodoxy does not venture. It has no theory of the Incarnation. It makes no dogmatic statement concerning the union of the two

natures, which Melancthon, on his dying bed, confessed that he did not understand. Current orthodoxy holds fast to the man Christ Jesus, to the reality of his human life, to his moral perfection as the result of a real moral conflict, and to the presence in him, when his consciousness was fully matured, of a peculiar relation to the uncreated Godhead; but it ventures upon no dogmatic utterances as to the nature of that relation. It has listened to every explanation which has ever been given, and it rejects every one of them. Its philosophic attitude on the problem is agnostic.

The same thing is true as to the Atonement. That the death of Christ has made a unique impression is beyond a shadow of doubt. It has proved to be a fact of unique and tremendous moral energy. The cross has become a symbol of power and glory. It has made self-sacrifice the highest of virtues, and has made suffering for righteousness' sake sacred forever. It has served to give universal currency to the idea of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The reconciliation is a fact. God is regarded as loving men with all his heart, and all men are recognized as owing one another the duties of brotherhood; and of all this the death of Christ is the symbol and the seal. The cross has brought God to man, and it is beating down the hedges by which men have been kept apart. It is a message of peace. Passing beyond this general statement, the dogmatic interpretation of the Atonement runs into the substitutionary, the governmental, the moral, and the personal. The debate leads into abstract discussions of sin, law, penalty, justice, and the like, without any very clearly-marked and generally-accepted results. That Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures; that in him we have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins; that he is our high priest, our prince of peace, and the captain of our salvation, current orthodoxy maintains; but as to any theory of the great and joyful reconciliation, it is agnostic.

It remains only that a word be said upon the dark problem of eternal punishment. The references to this awful theme in current orthodoxy are infrequent and guarded. Many suppose that it no longer commands earnest belief. Current orthodoxy is silent because it finds so little to say. The future is not the main burden of the revelation in Scripture. The Bible deals

with man as he now is, and summons to an immediate repentance and to a present salvation. Current orthodoxy agrees with Mr. Fiske when he says that the proper work of the church is to proclaim "salvation from sin in this world, and not from punishment in another." It concentrates attention upon the present, not upon the future—upon character, and upon destiny only as dependent upon character. It feels, too, that the most satisfactory solution of the problem of moral evil is the final restoration of all souls unto holiness. It blames no one for entertaining such a hope; but it dares not make such a proclamation, when it remembers that man is a free agent, that moral law is unchangeable, and that Christ speaks of a sin which hath never forgiveness. The current orthodoxy cannot avoid recognizing the second and eternal death as possible, and as inevitable under certain conditions; but on the questions as to what constitutes the terrible penalty, and upon whom and how many it is likely to fall, it maintains the agnostic attitude, with full confidence that God is no respecter of persons, that Christ died for all men, that the Spirit of grace and of redemption is universally operative, and that the Judge of all the earth will do right.

Here are the two terms of the comparison. If modern culture and the current orthodoxy have been fairly sketched, it is pertinent to ask the question, How serious is the breach between them? To me, at least, it seems to be a thin and vanishing line; and the hope of a coalescence in the near future appears to me well founded. It cannot be otherwise. For reason seeks the truth, and all truth is sacred and binding upon human conduct; while Christianity is the religion of holiness, and the germinant energy in holiness is veracity, a truth-seeking, truth-loving, truth-compelling temper.

A. J. F. BEHREND.

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES.

It was about four years before the great upheaval of beliefs in England, which was partly caused and partly disclosed by the publication of the "Essays and Reviews," in 1860, that I entered Trinity College, Dublin. I had then a strong leaning toward theological studies, and looked forward to a peaceful clerical life in a family living near Cork; and in addition to the ordinary university course, I went through that appointed for divinity students. I found my life at the university one of more than common intellectual activity, for although circumstances and temperament made me perhaps culpably indifferent to college ambitions and competitions, I soon threw myself with intense eagerness into a long course of private reading, chiefly relating to the formation and history of opinions. The great High Church wave which had a few years before been so powerful, had been broken when Newman and many other leaders of the party had passed to Catholicism. Darwin and Herbert Spencer had not yet risen above the horizon. Mill was in the zenith of his fame and influence. The intellectual atmosphere was much agitated by the recent discoveries of geology, by their manifest bearing on the Mosaic cosmogony and on the history of the Fall, and by the attempts of Hugh Miller, Hitchcock, and other writers to reconcile them with the received theology. In poetry, Tennyson and Longfellow reigned, I think with an approach to equality which has not continued. In politics, the school of orthodox political economy was almost unchallenged. In spite of the protests of Carlyle, all sound Liberals in England then desired to restrict as much as possible the functions of government, and to enlarge as much as possible the sphere of individual liberty; and they regarded unrestrained competition and inviolable contracts as the chief conditions of material progress.

The first great intellectual influence which I experienced was,

I believe, that of Bishop Butler, who was at that time probably studied more assiduously at Dublin than in any other university in the Kingdom. There were few sermons in the college chapel in which some allusion to his writings might not be found, and few serious students whose modes of thought were not at least colored by his influence. That influence now appears to me to have been not only various, but even in some measure contradictory. The "Analogy" is perhaps the most original, if not the most powerful, book ever written in defense of the Christian creed; but it has probably been the parent of much modern Agnosticism, for its method is to parallel every difficulty in revealed religion by a corresponding difficulty in natural religion, and to argue that the two must stand or fall together. Butler's unrivaled sermons on human nature, on the other hand, have been essentially conservative and constructive, and their influence has been at least as strong on character as on belief. Their doctrine is that consciousness reveals in the inner principles of our being a moral hierarchy, "a difference in nature and kind altogether distinct from strength"; and that among these principles conscience has, by the very structure of our nature, a recognized supremacy or guiding authority which clearly distinguishes it from all others.

"The principle of reflection or conscience being compared with the various appetites, affections, and passions in men, the former is manifestly supreme and chief, without regard to strength. . . . From its very nature it manifestly claims superiority over all others, so that you cannot form a notion of this faculty, conscience, without taking in judgment, direction, superintendency. To preside and govern, from the very economy and constitution of man, belongs to it. Had it strength as it has right, it would govern the world."

It was a noble philosophy, well fitted to strengthen and elevate the character, and it has supported many amid the dissolution of positive beliefs. Utilitarian theories of morals move very smoothly as long as their only task is to define the course which it is in the interests of society that each man should pursue. They are less successful in furnishing any firm and adequate reason why a man should pursue that course when individual interests and individual passion are opposed to it. It is the merit

of the schools of Kant and of Butler, that they raise the idea of duty above all the calculations of self-interest, and make it the supreme and guiding principle of life.

Among living men, the strongest intellectual influence at that time in Dublin was, I think, Whately, our archbishop, an original and powerful thinker who has scarcely obtained a place in the literary and intellectual history of his time commensurate with the wide and deep influence he undoubtedly exercised. For this there are many reasons. Unlike the High Church leaders who flourished with him at Oxford in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, he never identified himself with any organized party or school of thought, and he thus deprived himself of many echoes and of much support. It was, indeed, one of his first principles that there is no more fatal obstacle to the discovery of truth than the deflecting influence of party and system, and that the jealous maintenance of an independent judgment is the first element of intellectual honesty. Few considerable writers have appealed less to common passions or wide sympathies; and the only passion—if it can be called so—that appears strongly in his writings, is the love of truth for its own sake, which is the rarest and highest of all. He was accustomed to speculate much upon that strange power of intellectual magnetism which enables some men to draw others to their views apart from any process of definite reasoning; and he acknowledged with truth that he was wholly destitute of it; that he had never produced any effect which could not be clearly accounted for, or altered any judgment except by distinct reasons. As a writer, his style, though wholly without grace, was admirable in its lucidity. He had a singular felicity of illustration, and especially of metaphor, and a rare power of throwing his thoughts into terse and pithy sentences; but his many books, though full of original thinking and in a high degree suggestive to other writers, had always a certain fragmentary and occasional character, which prevented them from taking a place in standard literature. He was conscious of it himself, and was accustomed to say that it was the mission of his life to make up cartridges for others to fire. The little volume of "Miscellanies," including his commonplace book and his notes for his books, which was published by

his daughter, exhibits with great clearness the character of his mind. Though a very candid and, in the best sense of the word, a very tolerant man, and an excellent scholar, he had, I think, little power of reproducing the modes of thought of men whose mental structure was widely different from his own, or of entering into the intellectual conditions of other ages; but he touched a large circle of subjects, social, political, and even scientific, as well as moral and religious, with an original and most independent judgment; and he raised greatly the moral standard of love of truth and the intellectual standard of severe reasoning wherever his influence extended. He delighted in that fine saying of Hobbes that, "words are the counters of the wise man, but the money of the fool"; he believed that most controversies might be resolved into verbal ambiguities; and his hatred of vagueness, grandiloquence, affected obscurity, and rhetorical exaggeration exercised a very useful influence over young men. He was also a most attentive and sagacious observer of human nature, and few modern writers have written so wisely on the diversities and the management of character and on the science of life. In this respect he had a strong affinity to Bacon—the Bacon not of the "Organon," but of the "Essays"—and perhaps still more to Benjamin Franklin. In theology he challenged the severest inquiry, and believed that if honestly pursued it would lead only to orthodox belief. "A good man," he once wrote, "will indeed wish to find the evidence of the Christian religion satisfactory; but a wise man will not for that reason think it satisfactory, but will weigh the evidence the more carefully on account of the importance of the question."

His strongest antipathy was to the teaching of the Oxford "Tracts," and he wrote about them with great severity, but more from the moral than the intellectual side. He believed the Tractarian doctrines of "reserve" and "economy" to be essentially disingenuous; he considered that there was good reason to conclude that leading members of the Oxford school had remained in the Church of England for a considerable time after they had adopted the Roman theology, had used language deliberately intended to mask their position, and had employed their influence as English clergymen to sap the English Church; and he

especially denounced as the grossest dishonesty the attempt that was made in Tract XC. to show that a man was justified in subscribing to the Articles of the Church of England and at the same time holding everything laid down by the Council of Trent, "though the Articles were expressly drawn up to condemn the authoritative teaching of the Roman Church, and after the Council of Trent had held 22 out of its whole number of 25 sessions." The quibbling, special-pleading, equivocating mind which is consciously or half-consciously endeavoring by subtle distinctions to maintain an untenable position, was of all things the most abhorrent to him, and while the Evangelicals denounced the Tractarians as leading men to Rome, Whately, perhaps alone among his contemporaries, steadily predicted that their teachings would be followed by a great period of religious skepticism. This, he said, would be the result of the discredit they were throwing on the evidential school, of their habit of coupling ecclesiastical with Scripture miracles, and of their doctrine that it is the function of faith to supply the missing links of imperfect evidence and to impart the character of certainty to propositions which in reason rest only on probabilities. He himself was of the school of Grotius and Paley, and believed that simple historical evidence established supernatural facts. This subject long held a foremost place in my thoughts and studies, and I afterward wrote much upon it in connection with the history of witchcraft and the miracles of the Saints.

I owed much to Whately, but I was studying concurrently with him teachers of very opposite schools, among others Coleridge, Newman, and Emerson in English; Pascal, Bossuet, Rousseau, and Voltaire in French. Locke's writings formed part of the college course, and I became very familiar with them, and fully shared Hallam's special admiration for the little treatise "On the Conduct of the Understanding," while Dugald Stewart, Mackintosh, and Mill opened out wide and various vistas in moral philosophy. The following passage from Coleridge, which I chose as the motto of almost my first published writing, exercised so great an influence over my later studies, and shows so happily the direction in which I was endeavoring to turn my mind, that I may be excused for quoting it at length:

“Let it be remembered by controversialists on all subjects, that every speculative error which boasts a multitude of advocates has its golden as well as its dark side ; that there is always some truth connected with it, the exclusive attention to which has misled the understanding ; some moral beauty which has given it charms for the heart. Let it be remembered that no assailant of an error can reasonably hope to be listened to by its advocates, who has not proved to them that he has seen the disputed subject in the same point of view and is capable of contemplating it with the same feelings as themselves ; for why should we abandon a cause at the persuasion of one who is ignorant of the reasons which have attached us to it ?”

Adopting an illustration which had been employed by Bossuet for another purpose, I came to believe that religious systems resemble those pictures occasionally seen in the museums of the curious, which appear at first to be mere incongruous assemblages of unconnected and unmeaning figures, till they are regarded from one particular point of view, when these figures immediately mass themselves into a regular form, and the whole picture assumes a coherent and symmetrical appearance. To discover in each system this point of view ; to cultivate that peculiar form of imagination which makes it possible to realize how different forms of opinions are held by their more intelligent adherents, appeared to me the first condition of understanding them.

In this method of inquiry I was, at a little later period, much aided by the writings of Bayle, a great critic who brought to the study of opinions an almost unrivaled knowledge, and one of the keenest and most detached of human intellects. Gradually, however, by a natural and insensible process I passed into the habit of examining opinions mainly from an historical point of view—investigating the circumstances under which they grow up ; their relation to the general conditions of their time ; the direction in which they naturally develop ; the part, whether for good or ill, which during long spaces of time they have played in the world. It was first of all in connection with the Roman Catholic controversy, with which we were much occupied in Ireland, that I learnt to pursue this course. Of the enormous and essential difference between matured Catholicism and the Christianity of the New Testament, I never doubted, and my convictions were much deepened by long travels in Italy, France, and Spain, during which I endeavored to study carefully Catholicism in its

actual workings as a popular religion, and not as it appears clarified and rationalized in such books as the "Exposition," by Bossuet. I often asked myself who could have imagined from a perusal of the New Testament, that Christianity was intended to be a highly-centralized monarchy, governed with supreme divine authority by the Bishop of Rome; that this bishop was to be connected, not with the great author of the Epistle to the Romans, but with St. Peter; that the figure which was to occupy the most prominent place in the devotions and imaginations of millions of Christian worshipers was to be the Virgin Mary, who is not so much as mentioned in the Epistles; that in the immediate neighborhood, and with the full sanction of the highest ecclesiastical authorities, graven images were to be employed in devotion as conspicuously as in a pagan temple, particular images being singled out from all others for particular devotion by special indulgences and by special miracles? I soon convinced myself that popular Catholicism, as it exists in southern Europe and as it has existed through a long course of centuries, is as literally polytheistic and idolatrous as any form of paganism, though it has many beauties, and though much of its very mingled influence has been for good. In the teaching of my early youth, this transformation of Christianity was described as the great predicted apostacy, the mystery of iniquity, the work of Anti-Christ among mankind. Under the influence of the historic method it assumed a different aspect, and the mystery became very explicable. Hobbes had struck the key note in a passage of profound truth as well as of admirable beauty:

"If a man consider the original of this great ecclesiastical dominion, he will easily perceive that the Papacy is no other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof."

Few evolutions in history, indeed, can be more clearly traced than the successive stages through which Rome, by a gradual and very natural process, obtained the primacy of Christendom. In the condition of Europe, again, at the time of the downfall of the Roman Empire, the invasion, the triumph, and the rapid conversion of the barbarians, the chief causes of the materializing transformation which Christian ideas underwent appeared abundantly evident; and it became clear to me that some such trans-

formation was inevitable, and essential to their enduring influence. Was it possible, I asked myself, that in ages of anarchy and convulsion, any religion resembling Protestant Christianity could have prevailed among great masses of wild and ignorant barbarians, with all the associations and mental habits of idolaters, at a time when neither rag paper nor printing was invented, and when a wide diffusion of the Bible was absolutely impossible? But such methods of reasoning could not stop there. I was naturally led to consider how different are the measures of probability, the predispositions toward the miraculous, the canons of evidence and proof, the standards and ideals of morals in different ages, and how largely these differences affect the whole question of evidence. I began to realize the existence of climates of opinion; to observe how particular forms of belief naturally grow and flourish in certain stages of intellectual development, and fade when these conditions have changed; how much that is called apostacy and imposture is in reality anachronism, the survival in one age of forms of belief that were the appropriate product of an earlier one.

A writer of extraordinary brilliancy and power was at this time exercising a great influence either of attraction or repulsion on all serious students of history. Those who are old enough to remember the appearance of the first volume of Buckle's "History," in 1857, and of the second volume, in 1861, will remember also how rapidly and how passionately it divided opinion. It was in truth a book in which extraordinary merits were balanced by extraordinary defects. On the special subject of the growth of religions, which most interested me, it was peculiarly deficient, for with all his great gifts Buckle was almost color-blind to the devotional and reverential aspect of things, and he had little more power than Whately of projecting himself into the beliefs, ideals, and modes of thought of other men and ages. His unqualified, indiscriminating contempt for the ages of superstition is the more remarkable, because fifteen years before the appearance of his first volume, Comte, with whom Buckle had some affinity, and for whom he expressed great admiration, had been placing those ages on a pinnacle of extravagant eulogy. His doctrine that there is no real progress in moral ideas and no real

history of morals, I have always believed to be profoundly untrue, and to have vitiated a large part of his conclusions; and although he rendered valuable service in showing by ample illustrations that the capital changes in history are much less due to the great men who directly effected them than to the long train of intellectual, political, or industrial tendencies that had prepared them, he pushed this, like many of his other generalizations, to exaggeration and even to extravagance. Individuals, and even accidents, have had a great modifying and deflecting influence in history, and sometimes the part they have played can scarcely be overestimated. If, as I have elsewhere said, a stray dart had struck down Mohammed in one of the early skirmishes of his career, there is no reason to believe that the world would have seen a great military and monotheistic religion arise in Arabia, powerful enough to sweep over a large part of three continents, and to mold during many centuries the lives and characters of about a fifth part of the human race. In one respect, too, Buckle was singularly unfortunate in the time in which he appeared. From the days of Bacon and Locke to the days of Condillac and Bentham, it had been the tendency of advanced liberal thinkers to aggrandize as much as possible the power of circumstances and experience over the individual, and to reduce to the narrowest limits every influence that is innate, transmitted, or hereditary. They represented man as essentially the creature of circumstances, and his mind as a sheet of blank paper on which education might write what it pleased. Buckle pushed this habit of thought so far that he even questioned the reality of such an evident and well-known fact as hereditary insanity. But only two years after the appearance of the first volume of the "History of Civilization," Darwin published his "Origin of Species," which gradually effected a revolution in speculative philosophy almost as great as it effected in natural science; and from that time the supreme importance of inborn and hereditary tendencies has become the very central fact in English philosophy. It must be added that Buckle had many of the distinctive faults of a young writer; of a writer who had mixed little with men, and had formed his mind almost exclusively by solitary, unguided study. He had a very imperfect

appreciation of the extreme complexity of social phenomena, an excessive tendency to sweeping generalizations, and an arrogance of assertion which provoked much hostility. His wide and multifarious knowledge was not always discriminating, and he sometimes mixed good and bad authorities with a strange indifference.

This is a long catalogue of defects, but in spite of them Buckle opened out wider horizons than any previous writer in the field of history. No other English historian had sketched his plan with so bold a hand, or had shown so clearly the transcendent importance of studying not merely the actions of soldiers, politicians, and diplomatists, but also those great connected evolutions of intellectual, social, and industrial life on which the type of each succeeding age mainly depends. To not a few of his contemporaries he imparted an altogether new interest in history, and his admirable literary talent, the vast range of topics which he illuminated with a fresh significance, and the noble enthusiasm for knowledge and for freedom that pervades his work, made its appearance an epoch in the lives of many who have passed far from its definite conclusions. The task which he had undertaken was almost too vast for the longest life, and when he died at Damascus, in 1862, he had not yet completed his 40th year, and his judgment was probably still far from its full maturity. A few lines of Pliny which I wrote on the title page of his history, will suffice to show the feelings with which I heard of his death:

“ Mihi autem videtur acerba semper et immatura mors eorum qui immortale aliquid parant. Nam qui voluptatibus dediti quasi in diem vivunt, vivendi causas quotidie finiunt ; qui vero posteros cogitant et memoriam sui operibus extendunt, his nulla mors non repentina est, ut quæ semper inchoatum aliquid abrumpat.”

I do not purpose to pursue these recollections further. I had drifted far from my Cork living and very decisively into the ways of literature, and after I left the university I spent about four years on the Continent. I read much in foreign libraries, and I also derived great profit as well as keen pleasure from the study of Italian art, which throws an invaluable light on the branches of history I was then investigating. In its earlier phase especially, before the sense of beauty dominates over the

idea, art represents with a singular fidelity not only the religious beliefs of men, but also the far more delicate and evanescent shades of their realizations, ideals, and emotions.

The result of those years of study was my "History of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe," which appeared in the early part of 1865. With many defects, it had at least the merit of describing with great sincerity the process by which the opinions of its author had been formed, and to this sincerity it probably owed no small part of its success.

W. E. H. LÉCKY.

THE LIMITS OF REALISM IN FICTION.

IN the last new Parisian farce, by M. Sarcey's clever young son-in-law, there is a conscientious painter of the realistic school who is preparing for the Salon a very serious and abstruse production. The young lady of his heart says, at length: "It's rather a melancholy subject; I wonder you don't paint a sportsman, crossing a rustic bridge, and meeting a pretty girl." This is the climax, and the artist breaks off his relations with Young Lady No. 1. Toward the end of the play, while he is still at work on his picture, Young Lady No. 2 says: "If I were you, I should take another subject. Now, for instance, why don't you paint a pretty girl, crossing a rustic bridge, and met by a sportsman?" This is really an allegory, whether M. Gandillot intends it or not. Thus have those charming, fresh, ingenuous, ignorant, and rather stupid young ladies, the English and American public, received the attempts which novelists have made to introduce among them what is called, outside the Anglo-Saxon world, the experimental novel. The present writer is no defender of that class of fiction; least of all is he an exclusive defender of it; but he is tired to death of the criticism on both sides of the Atlantic, which refuses to see what the realists are, whither they are tending, and what position they are beginning to hold in the general evolution of imaginative literature. He is no great lover of what they produce, and most certainly does not delight in their excesses; but when they are advised to give up their studies and paint pretty girls on rustic bridges, he is almost stung into partisanship. The present article will have no interest whatever for persons who approve of no more stringent investigation into conduct than Miss Yonge's, and enjoy no action nearer home than Zambesiland; but to those who have perceived that in almost every country in the world the novel of manners has been passing through a curious phase, it may possibly not be uninteresting to be called upon to inquire what the

nature of that phase has been, and still more what is to be the outcome of it.

So far as the Anglo-Saxon world is concerned, the experimental or realistic novel is mainly to be studied in America, Russia, and France. It exists now in all the countries of the European Continent, but we know less about its manifestations there. It has had no direct development in England, except in the clever but imperfect stories of Mr. George Moore. Ten years ago the realistic novel, or at all events the naturalist school, out of which it proceeded, was just beginning to be talked about, and there was still a good deal of perplexity, outside Paris, as to its scope and as to the meaning of its name. Russia, still unexplored by the Vicomte de Vogüé and his disciples, was represented to western readers solely by Turgeneff, who was a great deal too romantic to be a pure naturalist. In America, where now almost every new writer of merit seems to be a realist, there was but one, Mr. Henry James, who, in 1877, had inaugurated the experimental novel in the English language, with his "American." Mr. Howells, tending more and more in that direction, was to write on for several years before he should produce a thoroughly realistic novel.

Ten years ago, then, the very few people who take an interest in literary questions were looking with hope or apprehension, as the case might be, to Paris, and chiefly to the study of M. Zola. It was from the little villa at Médan that revelation on the subject of the coming novel was to be expected; and in the autumn of 1880 the long-expected message came, in the shape of the grotesque, violent, and narrow, but extremely able volume of destructive and constructive criticism called "*Le Roman Expérimental*." People had complained that they did not know what M. Zola was driving at; that they could not recognize a "naturalistic" or "realistic" book when they saw it; that the "scientific method" in fiction, the "return to nature," "experimental observation" as the basis of a story, were mere phrases to them, vague and incomprehensible. The Sage of Médan determined to remove the objection and explain everything. He put his speaking-trumpet to his lips, and, disdaining to address the crassness of his countrymen, he shouted his sys-

tem of rules and formulas to the Russian public, that all the world might hear.

In 1880 he had himself proceeded far. He had published the Rougon-Macquart series of his novels, as far as "*Une Page d'Amour*." He has added to the bulk of his works since then, with six or seven novels, and he has published many forcible and fascinating and many repulsive pages. But since 1880 he has not altered his method or pushed on to any further development. He had already displayed his main qualities—his extraordinary mixture of versatility and monotony, his enduring force, his plentiful lack of taste, his cynical disdain for the weaknesses of men, his admirable constructive power, his inability to select the salient points in a vast mass of observations. He had already shown himself what I must take the liberty of saying that he appears to me to be, one of the leading men of genius in the second half of the nineteenth century, one of the strongest novelists of the world; and that in spite of faults so serious and so eradicable that they would have hopelessly wrecked a writer a little less overwhelming in strength and resource. Zola seems to me to be the Vulcan among our later gods, afflicted with moral lameness from his birth, and coming to us sooty and brutal from the forge, yet as indisputably great as any Mercury-Hawthorne or Apollo-Thackeray of the best of them. It is to Zola, and to Zola only, that the concentration of the scattered tendencies of naturalism is due. It is owing to him that the threads of Flaubert and Daudet, Dostoiefsky and Tolstoi, Howells and Henry James can be drawn into anything like a single system. It is Zola who discovered a common measure for all these talents, and a formula wide enough and yet close enough to distinguish them from the outside world and bind them to one another. It is his doing that for ten years the experimental novel has flowed in a definite channel, and has not spread itself abroad in a thousand whimsical directions.

To a serious critic, then, who is not a partisan, but who sees how large a body of carefully-composed fiction the naturalistic school has produced, it is of great importance to know what is the formula of M. Zola. He has defined it, one would think, clearly enough, but to see it intelligently repeated is rare indeed.

It starts from the negation of fancy—not of imagination, as that word is used by the best Anglo-Saxon critics, but of fancy—the romantic and rhetorical elements that novelists have so largely used to embroider the home-spun fabric of experience with. It starts with the exclusion of all that is called “ideal,” all that is not firmly based on the actual life of human beings, all, in short, that is grotesque, unreal, nebulous, or didactic. I do not understand Zola to condemn the romantic writers of the past; I do not think he has spoken of Dumas *père* or of George Sand as Mr. Howells has spoken of Dickens. He has a phrase of contempt—richly deserved, it appears to me—for the childish evolution of Victor Hugo’s plots, and in particular of that of “*Notre Dame de Paris*”; but, on the whole, his aim is rather to determine the outlines of a new school than to attack the recognized masters of the past. If it be not so, it should be so; there is room in the Temple of Fame for all good writers, and it does not blast the laurels of Walter Scott that we are deeply moved by Dostoiefsky.

With Zola’s theory of what the naturalistic novel should be, it seems impossible at first sight to quarrel. It is to be contemporary; it is to be founded on and limited by actual experience; it is to reject all empirical modes of awakening sympathy and interest; its aim is to place before its readers living beings, acting the comedy of life as naturally as possible. It is to trust to principles of action and to reject formulas of character; to cultivate the personal expression; to be analytical rather than lyrical; to paint men as they are, not as you think they should be. There is no harm in all this. There is not a word here that does not apply to the chiefs of one of the two great parallel schools of English fiction. It is hard to conceive of a novelist whose work is more experimental than Richardson. Fielding is personal and analytical above all things. If France points to George Sand among its romanticists, we can point to a realist who is greater than she, in Jane Austen. There is not a word to be found in M. Zola’s definitions of the experimental novel that is not fulfilled in the pages of “*Emma*”; which is equivalent to saying that the most advanced realism may be practiced by the most innocent as well as the most captivating of novelists. Miss

Austen did not observe over a wide area, but within the circle of her experience she disguised nothing, neglected nothing, glossed over nothing. She is the perfection of the realistic ideal, and there ought to be a statue of her in the vestibule of the forthcoming *Académie des Goncourts*. Unfortunately, the lives of her later brethren have not been so sequestered as hers, and they, too, have thought it their duty to neglect nothing and to disguise nothing.

It is not necessary to repeat here the rougher charges which have been brought against the naturalist school in France—charges which in mitigated form have assailed their brethren in Russia and America. On a carefully-reasoned page in the copy of M. Zola's essay "*Du Roman*" which lies before me, one of those idiots who write in public books has scribbled the remark. "They see nothing in life but filth and crime." This ignoble wielder of the pencil but repeats what more ambitious critics have been saying in solemn terms for the last fifteen years. Even as regards Zola himself, as the author of the delicate comedy of "*La Conquête de Plassans*," and the moving tragedy of "*Une Page d'Amour*," this charge is utterly false, and in respect of the other leaders it is simply preposterous. None the less, there are sides upon which the naturalistic novelists are open to serious criticism in practice. It is with no intention of underrating their eminent qualities that I suggest certain points at which, as it appears to me, their armor is conspicuously weak. There are limits to realism, and they seem to have been readily discovered by the realists themselves. These weak points are to be seen in the jointed harness of the strongest book that the school has yet produced in any country, "*Crime et Châtiment*."

When the ideas of Zola were first warmly taken up, about ten years ago, by the most earnest and sympathetic writers who then were young, the theory of the experimental novel seemed unassailable, and the range within which it could be worked to advantage practically boundless. But the fallacies of practice remained to be experienced, and looking back upon what has been written by the leaders themselves, the places where the theory has broken down are patent. It may not be uninteresting to take up the leading dogmas of the naturalistic school, and to

see what elements of failure, or, rather, what limitations to success, they contained. The outlook is very different in 1890 from what it was in 1880; and a vast number of exceedingly clever writers have labored to no avail, if we are not able at the latter date to gain a wider perspective than could be obtained at the earlier one. Ten years ago, most ardent and generous young authors, outside the frontiers of indifferent Albion, were fired with enthusiasm at the results to be achieved by naturalism in fiction. It was to be the Revealer and the Avenger. It was to display society as it is, and to wipe out all the hypocrisies of convention. It was to proceed from strength to strength. It was to place all imagination upon a scientific basis, and to open boundless vistas to sincere and courageous young novelists. We have seen with what ardent hope and confidence its principles were accepted by Mr. Howells. We have seen all the Latin races, in their coarser way, embrace and magnify the system. We have seen M. Zola, like a heavy father in high comedy, bless a budding generation of novel-writers, and prophesy that they will all proceed further than he along the road of truth and experiment. Yet the naturalistic school is really less advanced, less thorough, than it was ten years ago. Why is this?

It is doubtless because the strain and stress of production have brought to light those weak places in the formula which were not dreamed of. The first principle of the school was the exact reproduction of life. But life is wide and it is elusive. All that the finest observer can do is to make a portrait of one corner of it. By the confession of the master spirit himself, this portrait is not to be a photograph. It must be inspired by imagination, but sustained and confined by the experience of reality. It does not appear at first sight as though it should be difficult to attain this, but in point of fact it is found almost impossible to approach this species of perfection. The result of building up a long work on this principle is, I hardly know why, to produce the effect of a reflexion in a convex mirror. The more accurately experimental some parts of the picture are, the more will the want of balance and proportion in other parts be felt. I will take at random two examples. No better work in the naturalistic direction has been done than is to be found in

the beginning of M. Zola's "*La Joie de Vivre*," or in the early part of the middle of Mr. James's "*Bostonians*." The life in the melancholy Norman house upon the cliff, the life among the uncouth fanatic philanthropists in the American city, these are given with a reality, a brightness, a personal note which have an electrical effect upon the reader. But the remainder of each of these remarkable books, built up as they are with infinite toil by two of the most accomplished architects of fiction now living, leaves on the mind a sense of a strained reflection, of images blurred or malformed by a convexity of the mirror. As I have said, it is difficult to account for this, which is a feature of blight on almost every specimen of the experimental novel; but perhaps it can in a measure be accounted for by the inherent disproportion which exists between the small flat surface of a book and the vast arch of life which it undertakes to mirror, those studies being least liable to distortion which reflect the smallest section of life, and those in which ambitious masters endeavor to make us feel the mighty movements of populous cities and vast bodies of men being the most inevitably misshapen.

Another leading principle of the naturalists is the disinterested attitude of the narrator. He who tells the story must not act the part of Chorus, must not praise or blame, must have no favorites; in short, must not be a moralist but an anatomist. This excellent and theoretical law has been a snare in practice. The nations of continental Europe are not bound down by conventional laws to the same extent as we English are. The Anglo-Saxon race is now the only one that has not been touched by that pessimism of which the writings of Schopenhauer are the most prominent and popular exponent. This fact is too often overlooked when we scornfully ask why the foreign nations allow themselves so great a latitude in the discussion of moral subjects. It is partly, no doubt, because of our beautiful Protestant institutions; because we go to Sunday schools and take a lively interest in the souls of other people; because, in short, we are all so virtuous and godly, that our novels are so prim and decent. But it is also partly because our hereditary dullness in perceiving delicate ethical distinctions has given the Anglo-Saxon race a tendency to slur over the dissonances between man

and nature. This tendency does not exist among the Latin races, who run to the opposite extreme and exaggerate these discords. The consequence has been that they have, almost without exception, been betrayed by the disinterested attitude into a contemplation of crime and frailty (notoriously more interesting than innocence and virtue) which has given by-standers excuse for saying that these novelists are lovers of that which is evil. In the same way they have been tempted by the Rembrandtesque shadows of pain, dirt, and obloquy to overdash their canvases with the subfusc hues of sentiment. In a word, in trying to draw life evenly and draw it whole, they have introduced such a brutal want of tone as to render the portrait a caricature. The American realists, who were guarded by fashion from the Scylla of brutality, have not wholly escaped, on their side, and for the same reason, the Charybdis of insipidity.

It would take us too far, and would require a constant reference to individual books, to trace the weaknesses of the realistic school of our own day. Human sentiment has revenged itself upon them for their rigid regulations and scientific formulas, by betraying them into faults the possibility of which they had not anticipated. But above all other causes of their limited and temporary influence, the most powerful has been the material character which their rules forced upon them, and their excess of positivism and precision. In eliminating the grotesque and the rhetorical they drove out more than they wished to lose; they pushed away with their scientific pitchfork the fantastic and intellectual elements. How utterly fatal this was may be seen, not in the leaders, who have preserved something of the reflected color of the old romance, but in those earnest disciples who have pushed the theory to its extremity. In their somber, grimy, and dreary studies in pathology, clinical bulletins of a soul dying of atrophy, we may see what the limits are of realism, and how impossible it is that human readers should much longer go on enjoying this sort of literary aliment.

If I have dwelt upon these limitations, however, it has not been to cast a stone at the naturalistic school. It has been rather with the object of clearing away some critical misconceptions about the future development of it. Anglo-Saxon criti-

cism of the perambulating species might, perhaps, be persuaded to consider the realists with calmer judgment, if it looked upon them, not as a monstrous canker that was slowly spreading its mortal influence over the whole of literature, which it would presently overwhelm and destroy, but as a natural and timely growth, taking its due place in the succession of products, and bound, like other growths, to bud and blossom and decline. I venture to put forth the view that the novel of experiment has had its day; that it has been made the vehicle of some of the loftiest minds of our age; that it has produced a huge body of fiction, none of it perfect, perhaps, much of it bad, but much of it, also, exceedingly intelligent, vivid, sincere, and durable; and that it is now declining, to leave behind it a great memory, the prestige of persecution, and a library of books which every highly-educated man in the future will be obliged to be familiar with.

It would be difficult, I think, for any one but a realistic novelist to overrate the good that realism in fiction has done. It has cleared the air of a thousand follies, has pricked a whole fleet of oratorical bubbles. Whatever comes next, we cannot return, in serious novels, to the inanities and impossibilities of the old "well-made" plot, to the children changed at nurse, to the madonna heroine and the god-like hero, to the impossible virtues and melodramatic vices. In future, even those who sneer at realism and misrepresent it most willfully, will be obliged to put in their effects in ways more in accord with veritable experience. The public has eaten of the apple of knowledge, and will not be satisfied with mere marionettes. There will still be novel-writers who address the gallery, and who will keep up the gaudy old convention, and the clumsy "Family Herald" evolution, but they will no longer be distinguished people of genius. They will no longer sign themselves George Sand and Charles Dickens.

In the meantime, wherever I look I see the novel ripe for another reaction. The old leaders will not change. It is not to be expected that they will write otherwise than in the mode which has grown mature with them. But in France, among the younger men, every one is escaping from the realistic formula. The two young athletes for whom M. Zola predicted ten years ago an "experimental" career more profoundly scientific than

his own, are realists no longer. M. Guy de Maupassant has become a psychologist, and M. Huysmans a mystic. M. Bourget, who set all the ladies dancing after his ingenious, musky books, never has been a realist; nor has Pierre Loti, in whom, with a fascinating freshness, the old exiled romanticism comes back with a laugh and a song. All points to a reaction in France; and in Russia, too, if what we hear is true, the next step will be one toward the mystical and the introspective. Tolstoi's "Sonata," still unpublished as I write these lines, is understood to be wholly distinct from his earlier novels—to be psychological and imaginative. In America it would be rash for a foreigner to say what signs of change are evident. The time has hardly come when we look to America for the symptoms of literary initiative. But it is my conviction that the limits of realism have been reached; that no great writer who has not already adapted the experimental system will do so; and that we ought now to be on the outlook to welcome (and, of course, to persecute) a school of novelists with a totally new aim, part of whose formula must unquestionably be a concession to the human instinct for mystery and beauty.

EDMUND GOSSE.

GENIUS AND WOMAN'S INTUITION.

THE article in the FORUM * on "Woman's Intuition," by Mr. Grant Allen, attracted me strongly by its title, as I expected to find in it a fresh presentation of this much-discussed subject from the point of view of modern biology and psychology. Almost every writer of any discursiveness whatever has had his say about the idiosyncrasies of the female mind, and how it differs from the male mind; its instantaneous and sometimes surprisingly accurate judgments being usually dwelt upon as the chief distinction. The only possible source from which anything new can be brought to the discussion is modern developmental biology. The reader had a right to expect that Mr. Grant Allen would draw the materials for his discussion chiefly from that source, but in this he is disappointed. Mr. Allen does indeed attempt to do this, and talks somewhat learnedly about natural selection, etc., but he fails to make the proper application of scientific principles to woman's intuition. He says that it is "a variety of instinct," and that it may be regarded as "a survival, affecting chiefly a single sex, though extending its outlying modes to a portion of the other"; but in so far as this is true it is nothing new.

The thing really to be noted about woman's intuition from the modern biological standpoint, is that it is a highly-specialized development of a faculty of the mind which originally had as its sole purpose the protection of the mother and offspring. It is a part of the maternal instinct, and, like all instincts, its acuteness and subtlety are proportioned to the narrowness of its purpose. The wonderful shrewdness which we observe in some animals, such as the fox, is due to the super-development of the knowing faculty in a single definite direction for a single definite purpose. The wants of animals are narrowed down chiefly to two general objects—food and protection; and nature can afford to expend

* May, 1889.

a large amount of energy in sharpening the faculties that are expressly adapted to secure these ends. When we rise above mere instincts, we find that this super-development takes the form of cunning, which is often so great as to cause astonishment. It is simply the concentration of psychic power, through the operation of heredity and natural selection, upon a single object, so that the totality of that power shall work toward the one most practical of all ends. The faculty which we are here considering scarcely differs from the rest of this class

The power in woman of instantaneous and accurate judgment as to what to do when her safety or that of her children is in jeopardy, was developed during the early history of the human race, as it emerged from the animal into the properly human state; its only use was to protect the mother and the young from such dangers as beset them—dangers which increased with the growth of the intellectual faculty and the dispersion of the race over the globe. And with the origin and progress of civilization this power has increased in complexity, and has ever been the safeguard of the family against all attacks, strifes, and abuses, from whatever quarter. In the highest stages of enlightenment it still comes daily and hourly into use in guarding the virtue of woman, detecting the infidelity of man, protecting the youth of both sexes from temptations and pitfalls of every kind, evading the wrongs of unjust husbands and cruel fathers, checking dangerous financial extravagance or undue liberality in men, and in a thousand other ways. Upon such questions the judgments of women seem to be already formed in the mind, inherited as organized experiences of an indefinite past; and when an occasion arises they come forth instantaneously, without reflection and without deliberation. The dangers that have threatened woman and her helpless charges throughout all her history, have usually left her no time for these slower mental operations. She must act at once or all is lost; and natural selection has preserved those who could thus act, so that in modern society it is still true, and in a far wider sense than Addison supposed, that

"The woman that deliberates is lost."

Such is the sphere—not an especially narrow, but yet a definitely-circumscribed one—of woman's intuition, the female in-

instinct of self and race preservation. But it must be remembered that every instinct is developed in harmony with the particular environment of the creature, and that outside of that environment it is useless. The quality of being "unerring," never fully attained, is lost the moment the possessor of an instinct is removed to a different environment from that in contact with which the instinct was developed. It is so with this adjunct of the maternal instinct which we call woman's intuition. It has value and real existence only within the sphere of its normal activity as above defined. Outside of this sphere, the judgments of woman are no more "unerring" than those of man, and to be equally accurate and reliable, they require the same data and the same reasoning processes as do the conclusions at which men arrive upon the affairs of life.

The above constitutes an explanation of woman's intuition in the scientific sense of the word, and it seems strange that our author should have so completely failed to understand it. That he does so fail is evident from his almost reverential attitude toward the subject of his article. He seems to regard it as something mysterious and occult, even supernatural, unfathomable by human reason, and quite beyond the reach of all known laws of cause and effect—a sort of odic force, at which we must content ourselves to gaze and mutely marvel. Regarding woman's intuition as a sort of supernatural ken, he of course sees no reason why it may not be exercised in one direction as well as in another; very much as those who know nothing of the science of meteorology cannot see why the weather bureau should not forecast the weather for a year as well as for a day. As already remarked, an intuition, whether of man or woman, is nothing more or less than a judgment formed in the mind upon some question that is before it, and must be based upon legitimate data in some form actually brought into requisition. It must be admitted that the habit of forming instantaneous judgments is carried by many women into departments of life in which there is no store of registered experiences whereon such judgments can be correctly constructed, and, as a consequence, they are usually erroneous. It is mainly a sense of this greater liability on the part of women to err when called upon to decide any of the

broader questions of society and the state, that disinclines men, and often women as well, to admit them to these fields of activity; although this is much like forbidding a child to go into the water till it has learned to swim.

Aside from the momentum, so to speak, of this instinct, inclining women to think rapidly and to judge hastily on all subjects, there is really no difference between men and women with respect to their ability to arrive at just conclusions. Differences in this respect, where they exist, are due to other things than sex, and chiefly to two causes, namely, unequal mental power and unequal information. In the first of these, as every one knows, men differ immensely among themselves; and whether the average in men is higher than the average in women may be open to question. Certainly this power is greater in many women than it is in many men. As to the second cause, it is true that the lines are more clearly drawn between the sexes; but why should they be? This is a matter that society can control, and the question is a pointed one: Should one sex be denied the means of forming sound judgments and of entertaining rational views and correct opinions on what are admitted to be the most important questions of human life? If such denial is not deemed desirable, it can be prevented by education, though this education must be something more than can be got from books or institutions of learning. These must, indeed, be opened to woman as freely as to man, but so must also every other source of information be opened to her; and, after all, it is direct contact with the affairs of the world that fits both men and women properly to act their part in it.

Again, the fancied analogy between woman's intuition and the manifestations of genius is not merely visionary and absurd; it is an exact reversal of the true relations between these two things. As already shown, and as was necessary from the very way in which and the purpose for which it was developed, woman's intuition is essentially subjective and egoistic. It has self, or what is scarcely distinct from self, for its sole object. It is the safeguard of its possessor's personality, the loudest demand for individual existence, the strongest assertion of the will to live, and the farthest possible remove from the contemplation of

truth in any form for its own sake and the concentration of the mental faculties upon the ideal and the abstract. This character it maintains even in its highest phases, and it becomes in civilized woman the embodiment of all that is prosy and practical, and the antithesis of all that is poetical and æsthetic.

Genius is the precise opposite of all this. It is purely objective and impersonal; it ignores self and despises the common things of life; it denies and shuts out the will, and concentrates the whole being upon the purely ideal and the purely abstract. In every department of art—sculpture, painting, poetry, music—in literature, philosophy, science, everywhere that true genius finds room to assert itself, the coarser wants of the body are forgotten or subjugated, the love of life and the desire for its enjoyment, preservation, and perpetuation are suppressed, and everything that belongs to the world, or that can be classed as practical, is sacrificed to the pursuit of the ideal—of abstract truth in form, color, sound, diction, thought, or fact.

But all this has long ago and many times been said. It is well known to the writer whose article is under consideration here, and the only way to account for so palpable an error on his part is to suppose his complete misconception of the fundamental nature and psychological position of the very subject of that article—woman's intuition.

It is worth while to note here that the true reason why women have always seemed to possess so little genius, relatively to men, is the predominance in them of this very intuitive faculty. From its nature, as explained above, it is incompatible with the development of great genius; and as the latter gains, the former must lose. Moreover, although genius is something more than "an unlimited capacity for work," still that hyperbole is calculated forcibly to dispel the popular illusion that it is independent of work. It presupposes not only work, but the materials to work with. Genius is the power to bring truth out of facts, and all truth must rest upon a basis of fact. Man has displayed more genius than woman, largely because he has been in possession of a wider range of facts, a greater supply of the only material out of which genius can construct and create, viz., knowledge. And if woman is ever to display equal creative power, she too must

be supplied with the same kind of raw material, for which no qualities of mind can ever stand as a substitute. But, thus supplied, there is no reason to doubt that very high flights of genius may be made by women; and their greater familiarity with the social microcosm might, as Mr. Allen suggests, give to their genius a character of its own.

According to Mr. Allen, "great men do probably owe a large element of their greatness to the imaginative faculty, and to the intuitive faculty which they derive from their mothers"; and he thinks he has observed that "men of genius were the sons of mothers in whom the feminine attribute of intuition was highly developed." In the first place, the "imaginative faculty" and the "intuitive faculty," as I have just shown, are precisely opposite faculties, intuition being purely perceptive—the best English word for the Kantian term *Anschauung*. It is directly opposed to the imagination, or the creative faculty which belongs to genius.

But aside from this slip in his psychology, there is nothing to justify what he intended to say. The popular view, expressed over and over again by philosophers, and exemplified in numberless cases by biographers, is just the reverse of this, namely, that "great men" and "men of genius" have been the sons of exceptionally *intelligent* or highly-cultivated mothers. It would be easy to enumerate a hundred cases in which high qualities have been, rightly or wrongly, ascribed to such intellectual superiority in mothers, but I have no recollection of ever seeing them ascribed to great emotional power or special intuitive perceptions. Mr. Allen probably had in mind cases in which women of real genius have been the mothers of men of still greater genius—as he confounds genius and intuition, than which no two things could be more unlike. Women of real genius have very little intuitive power. They are usually rather indifferent to the affairs of the household—the true *locus* and *focus* of that faculty.

Whether the popular theory be true or not, that theory is that women of high mental endowments, whether these come under the head of genius or talent, or under the more usual but less clearly-defined head of general intelligence, exceptional culture, mental breadth, and womanly wisdom, transmit a preponderance of these qualities to their male offspring. I am not now defend-

ing this theory, though it seems to rest upon a considerable inductive basis, and it must be true that these qualities are transmitted as well as others. I simply wish to show that Mr. Allen has entirely misconceived and misstated it, and has proposed a theory of his own, unsupported by facts, which violates the laws of heredity and of cause and effect, in making a class of mental qualities the parent of a totally unlike and diametrically opposite class.

If there is anything in this popular theory, it goes to prove that the true way to advance the human race is to educate mothers in the widest sense of the term. They already have all the intuition they want; nature has provided this in excess of their present needs. If, as Mr. Allen, fatally to his own argument, claims, it is really increasing with civilization, surely there is no need to stimulate it artificially, and no danger of its being "educated out" of the sex. No one who has any faith in evolution can fear that such attributes as those which belong to the fundamental distinction of sex and the perpetuation of the race, can be seriously affected by any social theory or any human institution. The race is going to continue as heretofore, and if a little reduction in quantity, with corresponding improvement in quality, of our sufficiently abundant and none too perfect humanity should result from a more enlightened womanhood, the race would only be the gainer thereby. But, really, the elevation of woman to something like an intellectual equality with man, must have a tendency to increase rather than to diminish the productiveness of the race. The tendency toward sterility in the intellectually higher classes which Mr. Allen so deeply deplores, is due entirely to the fact, which he so approvingly points out, that "the sexes have diverged," and that "man has specialized himself on logical intelligence," while "woman has specialized herself upon the emotions and intuitions"; for this amounts to an admission that while man has advanced, woman has been left behind, a prey to an instinct largely out of harmony with her higher and more complex environment. Man has reached a plane of intelligence on which he cares more for intellectual companionship than for the satisfaction of the instinct to reproduce, and unless he can find such companionship in woman, he will

often decline to recruit the race at the expense of his own well-being. There is therefore the added inducement that society should seek to make woman a companion for man, not through the fear that the race will not be recruited, but that it may be recruited from its highest elements, and not, as is now chiefly the case, from its lowest.

In view of all that has been said, a single reflection seems to be justified. It is pretty certain that woman's intuition, which has become, in the manner described, her habitual mode of thought, cannot be trusted in dealing with the broader concerns of human life and action. Woman must either be kept within the narrow inclosure in which that habit of thought was developed, as Mr. Allen would apparently insist upon keeping her, that is, in a condition akin to the perpetual childhood (*enfance continue*) proposed by Comte; or else, if she is let out into broader fields, she must be furnished with something besides registered experiences of an indefinite past ancestry as a basis for this mental reflex action which we call intuition. It is not at all a question of sex in mind. Unless we suppose that women possess a supernatural insight into things of which they have never heard, we must admit that they are necessarily incapable of reasoning correctly upon questions about which they have no information. And as, in spite of Mr. Grant Allen and the chivalrous band who stand with him around this little pen to keep them in, a considerable number of the precious creatures have already got out, and others are daily escaping, it would seem to be the better part of valor to make a virtue of necessity, and, accepting the inevitable, to endeavor to tame them into harmlessness, and if possible to win them back to the fold, by offering them a few grains of sense and crumbs of knowledge. There are no present indications that these would be refused.

LESTER F. WARD.

AMERICAN INTERESTS IN AFRICA.

THE scramble in Africa for "protectorates" and possessions, and for the extension of "spheres of influence" and "action," by the commercial powers of Europe, is the event of the century. It has for its chief cause the necessity of seeking new outlets for trade, new openings for increasing population, new markets for overproduction; for the appliances of steam have increased productive power a thousandfold in the half century, and among the increasing millions the progress of science and of civilization has greatly checked the ravages of plague and pestilence, and even of war. This ambition for extended dominion means, in our practical age, extended relations, more ships, more commercial activity and wealth, and added power.

In Africa, centuries ago, were great centers of civilization, of commerce, and of wealth. Modern Spain proudly shares the remains of Moorish art and magnificence. There was Carthage, whose ships were on every sea. There was Egypt, the home of the highest civilization while the Germanic and Latin races were yet barbarians. There, on the east coast, a thousand years ago, Arab commerce with the Indies built up great cities, now lost in the sands, and earlier still the opulent empire of Ethiopia flourished; but to-day the Queen of Sheba's direct descendant, Menelik, sues for an Italian "protectorate" !

Is Africa to help solve the tremendous problem, to come to the rescue of overcrowded, overtaxed Europe—to be a *dérivatif* for its internal troubles, a means of reducing the strain in political and social crises and threatening changes? Can it replace, as an outlet for impoverished, dissatisfied, migratory hordes, the United States, whose legislation clearly tends to check the movement hither? Certain it is that European forces, whatever the motive is, and whatever the issue shall be, are developing there an evolution which is to have important results in Africa, in Europe, and in America.

This movement, in which Europe is so intensely interested, and in which we of America are bound to take no insignificant part, has for pioneer Leopold II., king of Belgium. An elevated and liberal spirit of philanthropy, an enlightened desire to do some good work for humanity *in memoriam* of his only son and heir, prompted him, in 1876, to an effort to promote the extension of civilization in Africa. At his invitation a number of Americans and Europeans most noted for their knowledge of Africa met, September 13 and 14, in his palace at Brussels, and mapped out a general plan for an organization and for a conference of the principal geographical societies.

This conference was held June 20 and 21, 1877, at the royal palace of Brussels, where the American Geographical Society was represented by one of its members, and where the organization of the African International Association was completed, with branches in every European state and in America, presided over by princes or by eminent citizens. The method proposed was the establishment of "civilizing and hospitable posts" across Central Africa, starting from the east coast at Zanzibar; and it was proposed that each country should have at least one station in this chain of posts. A large fund was subscribed among the friends of the King, in addition to his own bounty. An executive committee of three, representing the Latin, the Germanic, and the English-speaking races, in the persons of Quatrefages of Paris, Nachtigal of Berlin, and Sanford of Florida, respectively, and presided over by King Leopold, was appointed, and, on the adjournment of the conference, proceeded to work. Caravans, with Belgian officers chiefly, were organized at once at Zanzibar, and dispatched successively to the interior from Bagamoyo. The station Karema, on Lake Tanganyika, was the terminal station of the Association, when it was determined to continue the work from the west coast, and by the Congo; for on Mr. Stanley's return from that river, August 9, 1877, the American member of the executive committee, and the secretary-general of the Association, met him on his landing at Marseilles, early in 1888, with a proposition to take the direction and continuance of the work of the Association in the Congo basin.

The result was that in the following year, Mr. Stanley, under

an engagement to the King, commenced preparations, and in 1879, August 14, with an expedition of four small steamboats in sections, and a force of men recruited at Zanzibar, landed at Banana and commenced his slow progress up the valley, establishing stations from Vivi upward to Stanley Pool, which he reached December 3, 1881. His toils and hard experiences, are they not all written in a book? And of Savorgnan De Brazza, the Franco-Italian explorer, sent out in the interest of the Association, with 30,000 francs furnished by King Leopold to the French branch through its president, M. de Lesseps, "to establish its posts and plant its flag," is it not also written, how, more lightly equipped, he first reached the great pool of the Congo, by the Ogowé, and made his Makoko treaty, not for the Association but in favor of France; and how he planted the French flag there, and thus laid the basis for a subsequent successful claim to the Association's Niada Quiolon territory, a region whose area almost equals that of France?

The funds of the sub-organization of the Association for this Congo work, called the *Comité d'Études*, becoming exhausted, the King, who had commenced by appropriating 500,000 francs a year from his private resources, assumed the whole work; and in 1884 he had established in the Congo basin, including the Niada Quiolon country, forty-three well-organized posts, with some 170 American and European agents, and had made between four hundred and five hundred treaties with the chiefs of the river tribes, who ceded to the Association their rights of sovereignty and territories in return for protection and other considerations. The civilizing influence of the Association, now practically the King of the Belgians, was potential throughout a wide area. The growing power and extending domain of the International Congo Association excited attention everywhere, and the jealousy and hostility of its neighbors, Portugal and France. France was placated early in 1884 by a reversionary right of purchase given to her by King Leopold, in the event of the disposal or sale of this territory. Portugal negotiated actively with Great Britain for a recognition of her historic claims over the Congo region. Great Britain for over a century had sternly denied these, and had directed her fleets to prevent any

exercise of sovereignty on the part of Portugal; but, true to her instincts of trade, she now agreed, mainly in consideration of the cession to her of some coveted and disputed territories on the south-east coast, to make this long-denied admission of sovereign rights of Portugal to the Congo. This treaty, signed February 26, 1884, came to naught, for it was found advisable, after the action of the United States in recognizing the flag of the International Association of the Congo as that of a friendly power, by the declaration of Washington, April 22, 1884, to rescind the agreement. Thus the Congo, thanks to American intervention, was opened to the free trade of the world.

As to the origin of this intervention, the first remark of Gen. Gordon to the American member of the executive committee, when the former was invited to act as the coadjutor of Stanley on the Congo, was: "But I must have a flag. I must kill men. There are slave traders to destroy!" It brought home vividly the fact that the Association was unknown to the nations, that it had no recognized flag or authority, and that Gordon or Stanley, returning home from Africa *via* Lisbon, for example, would be liable to be treated as a pirate if he had "put away" a Portuguese slave trader raiding the territories of the Association. No help was to be expected from any European power.

In these trying and critical circumstances, the American member of the executive committee volunteered to go to the United States to secure the recognition denied in Europe. He was empowered to offer in exchange therefor free entry for our goods, full rights of property and trade to our people, and the engagement to endeavor to abolish the slave trade—this throughout a region of over 1,000,000 square miles, peopled by 50,000,000 practically naked people, and with a water way not exceeded in extent by our own Mississippi.

President Arthur took kindly to the proposition. He recognized at once the important civilizing influences of the Association, and he was also influenced by the idea of covering those unclad millions with our domestic cottons. He saw the point suggested to him, that but three yards per capita would make an enormous aggregate for our cotton mills; and in his message to Congress of December 3, 1883, he strongly recom-

mended the recognition of the flag of the Association. The Senate took up the matter, and the discussion of the subject occupied several of the executive sessions of that body.

The Chamber of Commerce of New York, on motion of Mr. A. A. Low, supported by an able argument by Chief-Justice Daly, president of the American Geographical Society, unanimously passed resolutions indorsing the recommendation of the President and urging Congress to take immediate action upon it. Other chambers of commerce followed with the same recommendation; and on March 26 the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, in a very elaborate and learned report through Senator Morgan, recommended the recognition of the flag of the African International Association as that of a friendly power. On April 22, formal recognition of the Association was made by the United States government.

The ship of war "Lancaster" was then sent down to the Congo to salute the flag, and the political birth of the Association was accomplished. This act excited little interest at home, but caused wide comment and criticism in Europe. Its first result, as before said, was the breaking down of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty for the control of the Congo; its next was a moving of the European powers in the same direction. Germany first inquired if the same privileges would be accorded to her in return for the same recognition, and on this basis concluded the treaty of November 8, 1884. But Prince Bismarck saw the desirability of fortifying the concessions of the African International Association by a European sanction. From France he first secured the assurance that, in the event of availing herself of her reversionary privilege, no prejudice should inure thereby to vested rights. Then it was that Germany, in concert with France, issued invitations to the United States and to the European powers to attend a conference at Berlin, with a view to discussion and agreement upon the following propositions: 1. Freedom of commerce in the basin and at the mouths of the Congo. 2. Application to the Congo and the Niger of the principles adopted by the Congress of Vienna, with a view to sanctioning free navigation on several international rivers; which principles were afterward applied to the Danube. 3. Definition of the for-

malities to be observed, in order that new occupations on the coast of Africa may be considered effective.

The United States government could not be omitted from such a convocation. One of its citizens had first explored and made known the Congo region and displayed our flag there; and while it had not availed itself of this "right of discovery" upon which so much of Africa is claimed, it had first recognized the International Association, had aided its birth, had secured its political existence, and had acquired rights for American citizens in its territories.

Meeting November 15, 1884, the conference terminated its labors February 26, 1885, by the signing of the *acte général*, less than one year after the signing of the declaration of Washington. The additional advantages to the United States from this *acte général* were: the sanction and recognition by Europe of the rights and privileges accorded in the declaration of Washington by the International Association of the Congo, whose power, singly, to protect us in their enjoyment, with the hostile claims of France and Portugal on either side, might be subject to question; the very considerable extension of the area for these privileges; the right to carry our flag on all the waters within its borders—not only on the Congo, a navigable water way about equal in extent to that of the Mississippi and its tributaries, but on the Niger as well—with practical exemption from custom duties; the neutralization of its territory, and security from hostile acts of any civilized power; and, lastly—a matter which our cavilers against entangling alliances seem to have overlooked—the securing for our flag, at all times, of access to the finest harbor on the west coast of Africa, where is a broad expanse of water, affording in its lower portion a safe anchorage for the fleets of the world, and accessible for 110 miles to Matadi (the terminus of the railway now building around the Cataracts) for vessels drawing 26 feet of water. England surrounds Africa with her naval and coaling stations, and would gladly have placed restrictions here also. It is needless to comment upon the probable importance of this point to us and our flag in the future.

Before the conference had completed its work, every state represented therein (except Turkey, which concluded hers later

on) had made treaties based on the declaration of Washington, and its last act was to receive the representative of the Association. Belgium then permitted King Leopold, as chief of the state founded by the International Association of the Congo, by acts of Parliament of April 28 and 30, 1885, to carry on its government personally.*

And it may be well to note here that at this conference the representatives of the United States and Great Britain endeavored strenuously to secure measures for controlling the importation and use of spirits. Their efforts failed by reason of the insistence of Germany and Holland that this important product of their industries (two thirds of the exports of the former to the west coast being spirits) should come under the general rule of free entry. The article in the general act containing the *vœu* (earnest desire) on the subject, together with the right to control the internal traffic in spirits, was all that could be secured; and it is under this *vœu* that the conference at Brussels is seeking to secure restrictive measures on the subject.

It was at Berlin that the difficult question of territorial boundary was definitively settled—outside the conference, of course. An African Belgium of near one and a half million square miles, or one eighth of all Africa, was secured for free trade and equal rights to all; and an independent African state, thirty-three times the size of Belgium, was established, with its water ways free for all time to the flags of all nations.

Under the name of the Independent State of Congo, its government was organized after the most approved methods of Belgian administration. Its departments of administration are located at Brussels, under the direction of the King Sovereign. It has a numerous *personnel* in Africa, where its capital is Boma; numerous steamers and posts on the upper and lower river; an army of about 2,000 men, mostly native troops, under Belgian officers; and a budget nominally of about one million francs, but really about two, and, this year, three millions, nearly all from the private resources of the King. Within its area is an estimated native population of 40,000,000, with about 450 whites, one half

*“*L'union entre la Belgique et le nouvel état sera exclusivement personnelle.*”

of whom are government officials and employees. The population of the entire Congo basin, or free zone, is estimated at about 50,000,000.

With the closing of the conference, one of the important acts of which was to determine the formalities to be observed with regard to protectorates and other new possessions, commenced the "scramble in Africa." The area of Africa is about three times that of Europe, or 12,000,000 square miles, and some writers estimate it to contain about an equal population—325,000,000 souls. It is a great basin composed of plateaus, gradually ascending to 7,000 feet at some of the central lakes. It has four great river systems: on the west the Congo, second only to the Amazon in the volume of its waters, and the Niger; on the north the Nile; on the east the Zambesi. These rivers once formed vast internal seas, which finally, breaking through the mountain barriers, have descended by cataracts and *cañons* to the ocean, leaving great areas of rich deposits of wonderful fertility. The scramble commenced by fixing metes and bounds to the annexations and protectorates along the coast, which extended indefinitely into the interior under the names of "sphere of influence" and "sphere of action." Notably within the last five years the east coast has witnessed the eagerness of the Germans, the English, and the Italians to enlarge their African possessions, and of the Portuguese to assert their historic claims. The French having practically secured the Niada Quiolon region, Tunis, and Madagascar, have not sought to acquire new spheres of influence in Africa, unless the movement against the King of Dahomey may be found to require a new annexation. The English were once potential at Zanzibar, whose sultan, Said Bargash, asserted dominion over vast regions north and south, and indefinitely into the interior, and practically governed through the British Resident, Sir John Kirk, whose unbounded influence was exercised wisely and well for his own government and for humanity. One day Sir John Kirk was recalled—why, was a mystery—and the Sultan was left to the tender mercies of the Germans. It was said that Mr. Gladstone's government, finding it had quite enough to do to cope with France in Egypt, had made an agreement with Germany for "hands off" on the east coast, against "hands off"

in Egypt; at any rate, German difficulties with the Sultan, and German claims backed up by a fleet, and no support from Great Britain to protect him, resulted in important concessions to the German East African Company, which was and is still supported and sustained by its government with the greatest energy and liberality. The coast line south of Zanzibar some 300 miles, to Cape Delgado, was acquired in consideration of certain stipulations for the payment of moneys equivalent to custom-house dues; and here the Germans were soon involved in difficulties with the natives in the work of extending their sphere of action in Africa—a chronic peculiarity, this, it may be remarked, of the Germans in their dealings with the natives. The British public was greatly exercised over this transaction, and British merchants, headed by that great and liberal philanthropist, the Scotch capitalist, Sir William Mackinnon, lost no time in securing through him, from his friend the Sultan, concessions of a similar character for the remaining coast line and ports north, about 150 miles (subsequently extended to 250), which he made over to the British Imperial East African Company, organized under a royal charter dated September 3, 1888, with a sphere of British influence to extend indefinitely inland beyond the Victoria N'yanza. It may be stated here that limitations of spheres of influence had been agreed upon between Great Britain and Germany, October 26, 1886. Both powers, it should be observed, have also agreed in recognizing and assuring the Sultan in his *insular* possessions.

The Emin relief expedition was also organized by the same enlightened philanthropist, to confirm Emin in the highly important region of equatorial Soudan, commanding the gateways of Central Africa to the north; or to bring him away safely with his rich stores of ivory and ostrich feathers; or, perhaps, to extend still further the sphere of British influence to that province which Egypt, in the instructions which Stanley bore, offered to abandon. The result of the heroic efforts of Stanley and of that expedition has been unfortunate in this sense, that, failing to bring adequate relief in cartridges to Emin, this important position had to be abandoned, and the way was left open to the Arab fanatics and slave traders, who are now busy in exchanging,

through Khartoum and Massanah, Emin's rich stores of ivory for guns and munitions to carry on their barbarous traffic and to extend *their* sphere of action in Central Africa. It will take years of time and millions of money, and probably much bloodshed, to recover from this loss to civilization. Had Emin been enabled to hold his position, the suppression of slave trading and slave raiding would have been much easier.

It is estimated on high authority, that of Quatrefages, that 30,000,000 slaves were exported for the Americas from Western Africa, of which one million went to Brazil. Of the descendants of those who survived the horrors of the middle passage, we have by far the greatest number, probably eight million. We owe to our forefathers in England the imposition of this curse of slavery on our land. At the Peace of Utrecht, London and Liverpool merchants had the monopoly of the slave trade. In the Treaty of 1814, confirmed by the Treaty of Vienna, England recognized Portugal's right to continue the slave trade, but restricted it to north of the Equator; and it is a curious fact that the only white people engaged in slave traffic to-day are Portuguese of more or less pure blood, who still do a thriving business in slaves in the regions of the Upper Kassai, Lualaba, and Quango rivers. No slaves are exported as such, but it is more than suspected that many "colonists" and laborers booked as going under contract, are not by any means voluntary emigrants. Of the Zanzibaris employed as porters or soldiers on the Congo, many, if not most, were slaves. Even in the last expedition of Stanley, the Emin relief, it is credibly stated that most of the 623 Zanzibaris employed were slaves, and the value of those not returned to their owners at Zanzibar had to be paid. Much of the labor employed on the Congo has been of slaves, who, however, are emancipated by law, generally after seven years of labor. Slave labor is employed largely on the west coast, where the slave export of the olden time has ceased altogether.

Slavery, as it exists in the interior of Africa, is an institution dating back to biblical times, and carries in domestic life little privation or cruelty to the slaves in comparison with the horrors of the trade. They constitute a part of the family, and are evidence of the riches and importance of the master, whose

wives increase in number in proportion to his wealth, and augment it by their labor. It is useless to calculate upon eradicating slavery from the social life of Africa for many generations yet. Said Stanley when before the committee on the subject at the conference of Berlin, in reply to a question about doing away with slavery and the slave trade: "In this great and imperial city of Berlin it is quite possible for its government and police to prevent smoking in the streets, but I defy them all to prevent a German burgher smoking in his own house. The first is the slave trade; the last is slavery." Slave trading as practiced—mostly by Arabs raiding peaceful villages to supply the markets of North Africa, Arabia, etc., by which at least twenty lives are sacrificed to secure one slave, while of those secured a very large proportion perish on their way across the continent—is a barbarity that soon must cease. The civilized world is working in concert to that end, and if the outcome of the Anti-slavery Conference should disappoint the expectations of philanthropists, it must be remembered how difficult it is to secure among so many possessors of territory there the unanimity of action necessary even for the measures preliminary to the desired end. It is through the more potential influences of the spreading of a network of steam communication across the continent, that it will be effectually suppressed.

Much is expected from missionary effort in Africa. Thus far one is constrained to admit that the Negro there does not take readily to Christianity. The remains of churches and cathedrals on both coasts, now buried in the sands, are evidences of the efforts of Portuguese Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and the only vestige of their influence that remains is these ruins. In our own times the Catholic missions, of France especially, and notably those in Algeria, have made great efforts, and sacrifices of life and health, and the Protestant missions of Great Britain and America are actively engaged along the west coast and up the Congo; yet the number of Christian converts among them all will be found very small, and mostly among the slaves they buy to christianize. On the other hand, the Arabs are extending the Moslem religion wherever they go. For every convert the Christian missions in Africa combined can make, the Mohammedans probably make twenty.

But to return to the British East African Company. Within forty days of its incorporation, September 3, 1888, its administrator and officials were at Mombasa—destined to be the most important, as it is the best, port on the east coast. Within two months a caravan was started for the interior to found stations and establish relations with the various tribes and chiefs. This was to be followed by others, and a chain of posts was to be formed to the lakes, preparing the way for a railroad. The company is rapidly developing into a regular government. Its motto is "Light and liberty." It has a flag, an organized administration, tribunals, and an armed force. Already eleven tons of copper coins, with the stamp of the company, are circulating, and trade is growing rapidly. Lighthouses and piers, telegraph lines radiating to the other ports, connection by cable with the outer world, and a regular subsidized line of mail steamships, are developing Mombasa into a great port—the future station for the British naval forces on the East African coast. Forty miles of railroad, with its rolling stock complete, are now being constructed, and before long the line will reach the Victoria N'yanza. Its capital, within a year of its incorporation, was raised to £2,000,000, eagerly subscribed. Its sphere of influence is estimated by it, and admitted by its rivals, to be 100,000 square miles of territory; how much more, events will soon determine. Its territory, like the German company's, will be bounded on the west by the Congo State. It is highly probable that it will secure, if it can, the equatorial provinces of Soudan which Emin has just vacated, the richest of Central Africa, but which the Germans are likely to covet, if not to reach out for under the able lead of that clever and experienced officer, Major Wissmann, and with the help of Emin, now on his way thither. Uganda, where M'tesa's successor rules over 5,000,000 subjects, almost naked when Stanley saw them a few years since, and now clothed in European textiles unknown twenty years ago, will also, doubtless, be absorbed by British influence and action. This company is certain to do good work for British interests and for civilization. It is a type, and a grand one, of modern British methods. Says the prospectus of the company offering to the public the opportunity to subscribe for its new shares:

"It is seldom that an enterprise of such magnitude, and possessing such opportunities for administrative, commercial, and philanthropic success, comes within the range of a company having the liability of its shareholders limited by royal charter. Great opportunities will arise for utilizing capital in the development of the vast territories which come under the management of the company and are comprised within the sphere of British influence.

"The development of India by the Honorable East India Company was an undertaking involving a continuous struggle for many years; but in those days communication with that country was a matter of months, whereas communication between England and Mombasa is now a matter of a few days only. With the existing and ever-increasing facilities of rapid communication by steam and telegraph, the development of East Africa should not be a work of any great length of time; and with careful administration and the advantages which that country is believed to possess for a large and lucrative trade, the operations of the company should prove not only a financial success, but also a national benefit."

Extended plantations and improvements have been started with wonderful energy and method; the natives and the Arabs have been conciliated and inspired with confidence, and peaceful operations assured; while the Germans, with similar concessions and powers, have unfortunately involved themselves in trouble and wars, with the result of disturbing internal communications and of driving off the trade by caravans from the interior, which, thus diverted to the Congo, will perhaps permanently direct the current of the ivory trade down its waters to the Atlantic.

The Arabs, recognizing the sentiments of justice of the newcomers in respecting rights of property under their laws, have made friends with them, and become allies instead of enemies. Again, the Arabs have been taken into partnership in the English caravans, money and goods have been advanced to them, the posts of the company have been made depots for their produce and goods, and they have thus been encouraged to conduct legitimate trade, all slave trade being prohibited and severely punished. Is not this a practical solution of the slave-trade question? Show that born trader, the Arab, a legitimate field for lucrative commerce, and he will abandon the slave trade, especially where the appliances of steam for transport render human portage unnecessary.

Mr. Mackenzie, the representative of the company in Africa,

at the general meeting of the company, June 6 last, is reported to have said that

"he had heard a great deal of abuse of the Arab, who was denounced as bloodthirsty and reveling in the shedding of innocent blood. He would not contradict the statements of the many excellent men who might have ground to support them. He could only say that such statements were contrary to his experience of the Arab; and he spoke in all honesty and sincerity of the men among whom he had lived in relations of close intimacy for over fifteen years in the Persian Gulf, and now lately in Africa. The Sultan of Zanzibar, Sayid bin Hamid, and M'Baruk, and their sons and brothers, were all men whom he was proud to place in the category of his most trustworthy friends. That being so, they could not wonder if he desired to denounce the ignorant, he would even say the cruel and wicked, doctrine which was being preached to get up a crusade against the Arabs in Central Africa. That doctrine, he assured them, was as dangerous as it was impracticable. That was not the way to gain the sympathy, confidence, and coöperation of the Arab, who was a keen and astute trader. They must work with and through him in trading operations, and let him benefit by their presence. On the 1st of January this year he himself was enabled to obtain the liberation of 1,400 slaves, who now held their papers of freedom, and with whom the Arabs had no desire or intention to interfere. Some of these people had returned to their old masters' houses and were being treated with the greatest kindness."

The Imperial British African Company is rapidly developing into a regular government; its administration, tribunals, and armed force are steadily taking form. Silver currency will soon follow the copper coins already introduced. The Arabs will be powerful allies to carry on internal trade, and the Anglo-Indians to develop it and open commercial outlets abroad. A railroad will soon connect the Victoria N'yanza with the coast, and then will follow various railroad and steamer lines radiating from the high lake region of Central Africa. The papers announce the appointment as governor of Gen. Sir Francis De Winton, a capable and prudent man, whose experience as administrator-general for two years in the Congo State and in recent missions in West and South Africa will be turned here to good account.

In this connection may properly be mentioned other organizations of similar character. The Royal Niger Company, formed in 1886, with royal charter to take over the British houses on the Niger, and likely to extend still further to cover the Bonny and Calibar Rivers, or an area of about 75,000 square

miles, has made 300 treaties with the tribes back from the coast, and governs for the parent country in the same way as the British East African. The African Lakes Company, the outcome of the missionary societies established on Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, has an important station at Blantyre, on the Zambesi. It has done good work for civilization by introducing commerce, order, and means of transport, and with its roads, connecting water ways, and steamers on the Zambesi and Lake Nyassa, has established regular and safe communication and transport to Lake Tanganyika, securing British interests and trade over a very considerable region. South of the Zambesi, the British South African Company is extending the sphere of British influence over a vast and rich territory, embracing the area between the upper and middle Zambesi at the north, and Bechuanaland (British Colony) and the Transvaal on the south, and on the west reaching to 20 degrees east longitude to meet the easterly limits of German territory in Damaraland. So much for the extension of British spheres of influence within the last five years.

Italy, too, after vainly seeking to share with France a portion of the Mediterranean coast, all of which seems likely to follow Algiers and Tunis under French domination, has now established her influence and action on the Red Sea; and with the aid of Great Britain has extended her protectorate from Ras Hufin on the north, to the line of the Juba River on the south; thus including in its protectorate the kingdom of Abyssinia, and the Somalis and Gallas, and touching on the south the northern limit of the sphere of British influence as defined by the British East African Company. France, in addition to her extensive possessions of the upper Niger and Senegal on the west coast, was first in the scramble for African extensions. She has annexed to her colony of Gaboon the Quiolon region, which was first controlled by the International Congo Association under treaties made with the native chiefs, but which had to be abandoned under the pressure of France and the necessity of obtaining its aid for securing at least one bank of the Congo.

To return to the Congo. The example of the United States in recognizing the flag of the International Association, now the Independent State of Congo, was followed by all the powers in

Europe, as before said; and under this name, with the assent of the Belgian government, it entered into the family of nations, and its illustrious founder is carrying on effectively a model government in the interests of civilization and of freedom. Thus far, the receipts from export duties, licenses, sales of land, etc., are small as compared with the expenses, and amounted last year to \$600,000, the deficit being supplied from the privy purse of King Leopold; but capital is being rapidly attracted thither. Several Belgian companies have been organized, and are developing its resources, the principal one being a railroad company with a capital five million dollars, now engaged in building a road around the Cataracts, from Matadi to Stanley Pool, a distance of about 260 miles.

As the American flag borne by Stanley was the first one displayed to the natives in his voyage of exploration down that river, so the American flag was the first displayed on the waters of the upper Congo, leading the vanguard of commerce. The Sanford Exploring Expedition, organized June 28, 1886, launched the "Florida," the first commercial steamer on the waters of the Congo, after a year of laborious effort in transporting it, mostly in sixty-pound parcels, on the heads of some two thousand porters. This was followed by the little steamer "New York." On July 9, 1887, was formed the Belgian Company of Commerce and Industry, which is the parent, so to say, of the five or six Belgian Congo companies successfully working there. To show the growing popularity of Congo enterprises (held in such disfavor when the Sanford Exploring Expedition was formed, that only one third of its little capital of three hundred thousand francs could be obtained from Belgians), it may be stated that at a recent increase of capital of the Haut Congo Company to three million francs, the public subscription was covered ninefold.

The great profits of these enterprises have stimulated other companies, Dutch, French, and English, and, including the State and missionary steamers and those now building, by the end of the year the number of steamers on the upper Congo will have reached thirty, all carried around the Cataracts by porters in sections, and put together at the Pool. Three hotels, a club house,

a market, a tramway, and numerous and constantly-increasing trading stations are established on the lower Congo. On the upper Congo are numerous missions of various denominations. Stations of the State are scattered along the river and its tributaries up to and beyond Stanley Falls, where Tippoo Tib, with a numerous and increasing force of Arabs, rules as *vali* for the chief of the Congo State, King Leopold.

This movement of the Arabs from east to west, carrying with them their religion and their trade and the demand for our domestic cottons, is one of the marked features of the African movement. When Stanley left Nangwai, on his first expedition down the unknown Congo, in 1876, there were two or three Arab posts there. It is now a large center of Arab trade. Kasongo, which is near it, has, according to Captain Trivier, who visited it just a year ago, 20,000 people. At Stanley Falls there are probably as many more, with several thousand armed men who know only Tippoo Tib as their chief. There are now in those large settlements four or five of their places of worship. The ivory caravans, formerly going to the east coast, have now turned westward, and Stanley Falls, Nangwai, and Kassongo are great centers of trade. The Arab has brought order and cleanliness and a taste for European fabrics among the naked barbarians there. He is the pioneer of civilization in Africa. The Negro, under his stern and often cruel rule, is made more useful. Every village has its Arab post that controls the trade, exacts tithes, and administers justice in its way. The culture of rice and sorghum and onions, and the use of our cotton goods, called *Merikani*, are steadily spreading. The Arabs form an element that cannot be ignored, and a most formidable one if dealt with as enemies. Were the crusade proposed against them in the interest of the suppression of the slave traffic to be attempted, this cruel remedy would be found to be worse than the disease. All Central Africa would be ablaze with war. To-day, on the far upper Congo, they are most powerful auxiliaries to trade. Their numerous caravans from the interior are centering there, and the commercial companies are reaping rich harvests in exchanging European fabrics for their ivory, which, finding its outlet at Boma and Banana, swells largely that export

of the Congo State. The State has established an intrenched camp at the junction of the Aruwimi with the Congo, to head off, with a thousand troops and Maxim guns, any possible Arab hostile movement. A similar camp will be established on the upper waters of the Sankouru.

Meanwhile, the civilizing work of the King, conducted with a liberal and unsparing hand, is making great progress below. Take, for instance, Bangala, where Stanley had to fight his way through hordes of cannibals down the river. Those very people, a splendid race physically, are now among the best soldiers of the State. They are employed by missionaries and by merchants even as far down as the lower Congo, and prove to be excellent laborers. They make the materials of the brick buildings at Bangala, and show skill and adaptability in many handiworks. Their taste for European goods increases, and they labor more and more to supply these new wants. Cannibalism is a thing of the past, their cruel rites are rapidly disappearing, and the custom of human sacrifices is rapidly becoming obsolete. There are now twenty villages within the Bangala district occupied by posts of the State where order is established, tribute is paid, and new sources of revenue exist. These civilizing centers of the State are working enormous good with the order and security, the trade and production they bring.

The commerce of the State is rapidly increasing. The official bulletin, February, 1890, gives the exports as 8,572,519 francs. These comprise ivory, India rubber, palm oil, palm nuts, peanuts, sesame, coffee, wax, copal and other gums, orchilla, vegetable fibers, and hides. The Sanford exploring expedition brought from the upper Congo region the first India rubber, having collected 50 or 60 tons at one of its stations. Its successor will probably this year bring down 150 tons, purchased by it through its stations, which extend up to Stanley Falls.

One of the practical results of these new forces brought to bear upon different points of Africa in the interests of commerce is to be noted here—the extension of communication by steam across its territory east and west, north and south. Steamers now reach up the tributaries of the Congo, at two different points, to within one hundred and fifty miles of Lake Tangan-

yika. An expedition to start this month for Kasanga is likely to reach a point much nearer even, whence a narrow-gauge railway is likely to be projected to the great lake. The discoveries of Stanley on his recent expedition show that the Victoria N'yanza, with its expanse of twenty-seven thousand square miles, is but one hundred and fifty-five miles from Lake Tanganyika; steam and the iron horse will soon bridge that distance, and thus a route being opened to the Nile, communication will be established with Egypt on the north. On the south, the African Lakes Company has, as has already been shown, built roads to connect Lake Nyassa and Lake Tanganyika, and around the Shiré rapids, on whose waters are their steamboats; and here again is another outlet, by the Zambesi. We have already referred to the road extending from Mombasa to the Victoria N'yanza, to be completed in a few years, giving another communication to the Indian Ocean from the equatorial provinces of Soudan. From Cape Town and Port Elizabeth a railroad has been built to Kimberly, and is reaching forward to Shoshong, and it can safely be predicted that this line will be extended to Lake Nyassa, and so on to Tanganyika; and still another route north and south is to-day being discussed in France—a railroad from Algeria south across the desert to tap equatorial Soudan. The Portuguese are building a road from Saint Paul de Loando, on the west coast, to Malinge, expecting ultimately to tap the head waters of the Kassai, a great India rubber region, which is one of the important tributaries of the Congo.

The railroad around the cataracts of the Congo is being built after slow, careful, Belgian methods, to be finished in four years. Its 435 kilometers could be readily opened to traffic, on American lines and methods, in eighteen months, leaving to increasing trade to provide for more substantial and permanent works for which more time might be required. The rates given in its prospectus—as a maximum, to be sure—for passengers and freight, are so enormous that other lines will undoubtedly be tempted to reach up for the immense business soon to be developed there. A French company with two million francs capital has lately been organized for the preliminary surveys of a railway through its territory to Stanley Pool, and the road will

doubtless be built. Already an excursion to the Congo is advertised by a tourist agency; cost, all expenses included, 3,000 francs.

Within easy reach of our commerce is the Congo basin, equal in extent of navigable waters to any watershed on the globe, and second only in the volume of water discharged into the ocean (fifty thousand cubic meters a second); comprising one tenth the area of Africa, of which it embraces the central and richest part; greater in extent than India, and surpassing it in variety of products and in fertility of soil; open unreservedly to the free entry and free transit of our merchandise; with the finest port and harbor of West Africa, made neutral by European agreement. What a field for enterprise is here; what an opening for our manufacturers among its fifty million of unclad inhabitants "thirsting for trade"; what an opportunity for exerting civilizing and christianizing influence!

Has a wise providence prepared here another Canaan for our modern Israelites, to which they shall carry back the civilization and Christianity with which three generations of contact with the Anglo-Saxon race has impressed them, enlightening that pagan darkness, developing the wonderful riches of the country, and helping to make Africa again a potent factor in the world's affairs? "The Congo basin," says an eminent scientific authority, Prof. Dupont, fresh from a visit there, "is destined to be the granary of the world." Is this the ground to draw the gathering electricity from that black cloud spreading over the southern States, which thus far has dropped fatness upon them, but which is now growing big with destructive elements?

Perhaps here may be found a solution of the race problem that presses on us and must be met and solved. What eminent statesman will give himself to this great work, compel public attention, and point the way thither for these disturbing elements? An exodus of the better educated and more ambitious people of the colored race would lead up to practical, peaceful, happy results for us and for our African population, and to immortal honors for that statesman. When is the new colored Moses to arise for this exodus and lead his people home?

An exodus of the educated and independent among our African population is inevitable; but to direct it properly, organ-

ization and steamship and commercial companies are necessary. Our Negroes can find in Africa unexampled opportunities, and our capital, especially if used in the employment of our Negroes, unexcelled prospects of gain. Together these can supply to the native, with his incomplete faculties, his lack of reason and of initiative, what he most needs—a directing influence to civilize him, to teach him on the one hand the value of his tropical wealth, on the other to make that wealth available.

Our present markets are becoming overstocked, as is the case with all other civilized nations. The Congo offers us new opportunities; first, for the sale of the overflow of our markets; secondly, for earning new wealth in a country surpassingly rich in vegetable and mineral values, where labor costs two cents a day, and where the native's chief characteristic is his adaptability.

The country is not wholly barbarous, though the Negro does not appear himself to have discovered any of the germ ideas of culture. His dogs, cats, sheep, goats, pigs, fowls, and pigeons came from the east, as also his horned cattle, horses, and asses, and his skill in working copper and iron. Of his plant-food, the manioc, his staff of life, yielding ten to twenty times the return of wheat, beans, and Indian corn, was introduced by the Portuguese on the west coast. From India came the banana, sugar cane, lemon, mango, hemp, tobacco, and the domestic fowl. Millet was brought from Arabia and Egypt, the orange from China and Cochin China, and the sesame from the Sundo islands. From America, besides some of the above, came the pineapple, peanut, alligator pear, guava, sweet potato, tomato, and pimento. The Arab has introduced everywhere onion and rice culture, and trade. The great product, palm-oil, is essentially African; but of eight principal aliments in use, five came from America.* Evidently, then, the Congo man is not an utter barbarian. He has learnt the first lessons of humanity. He is docile and eager for trade and civilization, as is proved by the prosperity of the Congo Free State, and of the commercial companies on the Congo. Are we to avail ourselves of the opportunity at our hand, or shall nations reputed less enterprising than we alone reap benefits from it?

HENRY S. SANFORD.

* “*Lettres sur le Congo*,” Prof. Dupont, 1889.

FETICHISM IN POLITICS.

THE recent exposure of abuses flourishing under Tammany rule in New York, naturally calls renewed attention to the most serious problem in the development of American institutions—the application of universal suffrage to municipal government. This problem is becoming more serious year by year. The urban population increases disproportionately, through the tendency of modern civilization to stimulate the gregarious instinct by the facilities which it affords for supplying the needs of huge masses of men, by the higher degree of comfort or luxury which applied science puts within the reach of wealthy communities, and by the craving for excitement which is constantly becoming a more marked feature of average human nature. Professor A. B. Hart tells us that the growth of the urban population has been from 3.9 per cent. of the nation in 1800, to 22.5 per cent. in 1880. The process is continuing with accelerating force, and the cities probably now contain a full fourth of the inhabitants of the land. In the older States, any growth which the approaching census may show will be seen to be due to the cities, for the rural districts are fortunate if they hold their own. Not only are our towns thus absorbing yearly a larger proportion of the population, but a modern municipality is a much more complicated machine than the city of a hundred, or even of fifty, years ago. New wants have sprung up, requiring new instrumentalities for their satisfaction; and the socialistic tendency, which is becoming so strong, leads ever more and more to multiplying the functions and enlarging the operations of the public authorities. Thus the question as to the wise and efficient administration of large cities grows more intricate as it grows more important. It cannot be shirked, and on its proper solution will depend in great measure the verdict of mankind as to the success or failure of the grand American experiment of self-government.

It is not that municipal troubles are the symptoms of a spe-

cial disease or the outgrowth of special causes; it is simply that great cities are the weak spots, where functional and constitutional disorders manifest themselves soonest and in their worst forms. The cure is not to be sought in local applications, which, at most, even when valuable in themselves, are merely palliatives. To be efficacious, the remedy must be constitutional; it must be directed to the causes of which the visible effects are only the indications. These causes are manifold, but the most potent of them may be traced to a habit of mind which, for want of a better appellation, we may call fetichism.

One development of this fetichism ascribes to political institutions a sort of supernatural power. This has infected the speculations of almost all philosophers since the time of Plato, and perhaps has never been so strong or so widely diffused as it is to-day, especially among the believers in popular government. It seems to be thought that if a constitution theoretically perfect can be framed, it may be suffered to run itself; that it will have an inherent virtue to suppress the wicked and to elevate the good; that if evils occur they are attributable to some defect in institutions, and that they can be remedied with a few strokes of the pen when they become sufficiently onerous to arouse the attention of the majority. Far be it from me to deny the power of institutions in molding human character and in affecting human happiness, or the benefit which may be derived from well-devised reforms; far be it from me to decry popular government, in which I am a firm believer; but nevertheless we must remember that there is a partial truth, which we are apt to disregard, in the couplet—

“For forms of government let fools contest;
Whate’er is best administered is best.”

An enlightened despotism, the ideal of the so-called philosophy of the Carlyle school, would undoubtedly be the best, if the limitations of human nature did not always prevent the despot from being sufficiently enlightened for the proper discharge of his unlimited responsibilities. Self-government, by dividing and decentralizing responsibility, affords a fairer opportunity for good government; and the admirable structure of our Constitution, with the scope which it allows to the individual citizen to make

his influence felt in both local and general matters, unquestionably presents, with the possible exception of the Swiss Federation, the nearest approach to an ideal government that human wisdom has yet devised; but, for all that, its working will be good or evil as it is administered well or ill. The trite phrase that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, has a significance beyond what is usually attributed to it, for liberty imposes on the citizen duties which he can discharge only by incessant attention to the common weal.

Human nature is the same under all institutions. The ambitious and the unprincipled adapt themselves to their environment, and find means for the attainment of their ends. The favorite and his minions under a despotism, become bosses under a republic—men who learn how to lay hold of the secret springs of power, whether these lie in the favor of princes or in the manipulation of caucuses, and who plunder the public to keep it enslaved. What creates the peculiar class of the American boss and gives him his influence, is the careless indifference of one portion of the community, largely due to the fetichism of which I have spoken, and the blind partisanship of another portion. Here we encounter another form of fetichism. Government by parties would seem to be indispensable in the existing stage of political development. Parties are undoubtedly admirable things in their proper character of instruments to an end, but unfortunately party organization has become, in the eyes of a large portion of the community, an end in itself—a fetich which is worshiped irrespective of the objects for which the party was ostensibly organized. When the fetich-worshiper succeeds in establishing his special idol in the national shrine, he expects it in some supernatural way to shower blessings over the land; if he is defeated, he regards the elevation of the rival fetich as the triumph of a demon whose malignity in some occult manner will blight the national prosperity and ruin the national morals. Such being his frame of mind, the men whom he votes into office, and the means whereby success may be secured, become to him matters of comparative indifference. He is thus material suited exactly to the requirements of the boss, for he is no longer a freeman exercising intelligently the priceless right of suffrage,

but a slave to party, driven to the polls to vote as his masters may dictate. Those masters are the bosses, who could not exist without him, yet who naturally regard him with the contempt which he deserves. They are under no illusions; they know how worthless is the fetich which he worships, and of which they are the priests, and they despise him for the blind credulity with which he submits to their orders when speaking in its name.

These two varieties of fetichism are the main causes of our political troubles. The results are visible throughout the land, but they make themselves more apparent in the municipalities, for many self-evident reasons. In the eager struggle and excitement of city life, the citizen more readily yields to the temptation of neglecting his political duties, and comforts himself with the assurance that our institutions can take care of themselves. He is only one molecule in so large a mass that his influence and his vote seem of infinitesimal importance. The complexity of municipal machinery is such that to exercise the franchise intelligently, and still more to attend primary meetings and understand their intrigues, would require more time and thought than he could conveniently bestow. If inert, he consequently stays at home; if a partisan, he goes to the polls and votes the regular ticket with the proud consciousness of discharging a public duty. On the other hand, the boss finds in the city a field eminently suited to his peculiar gifts. The prizes are greater, and the dangers of detection less, than in the rural districts. The flock of sheep to be shorn is larger, and more helpless in proportion to its size. The political machine is so intricate that only a professional can comprehend and manipulate it. Thus, in the survival of the fittest, the shrewdest and most audacious bosses are developed in the cities or are attracted to them, and the evils of their rule are greatest; yet none the less the causes of mischief are general and not local, and if a cure is to be found, it must, as I have said, be constitutional and not topical. Amendments to city charters and modifications of municipal regulations, are often but doubtful expedients, and at best give relief only until the bosses devise means to circumvent them. The foundations of pure government rest on public virtue, and if that is lacking the superstructure must needs totter.

Yet I, for one, do not believe in the decay of public virtue. I believe that the world at large is constantly, though slowly, growing wiser and better, and I see no reason to think that our land is an exception. We are apt to be prophets of evil because we feel acutely the abuses existing around us, while forgetting those of the past; and we are thus led to imagine that public life is becoming more debased and corrupt. This is wholesome if it nerves us to stronger effort to promote righteousness; but it is more apt to lead to apathy and hopelessness, and the average man will struggle with more energy when convinced that he is on the winning side. Confidence in the ultimate triumph of right over wrong is therefore a frame of mind which it is wise to cultivate, and I see no reason for doubting it. The civil war, though glorified by a splendid outburst of patriotism, left behind it many evils, as all great wars must do. Not only was there the inevitable corruption attendant upon gigantic expenditures hastily made, but the overmastering passions of the time naturally erected a false standard of public opinion. Everything might be permitted to him who was sound on the main question, for all else was insignificant in comparison. It was hard for us to outgrow this fierce partisanship, and some of us have never done so; but it is rapidly declining, and the younger generation of voters has happily escaped its influence. To the conscienceless politician, who trades on the passions and prejudices of the public, no opportunity could be more tempting than that afforded by the war, and he made the most of it. Bosses had existed before, but now they came to the front with a boldness previously unknown. They have had their day, but it is waning. Every year sees an increase in the mass of intelligent, independent voters who cast their ballots according to their convictions and the dictation of the political machines. When parties are equal, the independent voter holds the balance of power and must be reckoned with. He strikes down a candidate of notorious unfitness, and the lesson is not forgotten; he demands a measure which will aid him in future struggles, and his demand is complied with after more or less resistance. Every advance he makes gives him a vantage ground for the next conquest. The future of the Republic is with the independent voter.

To descend from generalities to particulars, there are at present four measures for which the independent voter should strive with unremitting ardor, each of which is fitted to diminish some of our existing evils. These are civil-service reform, the Australian ballot, the restriction of the liquor traffic, and the regulation of immigration, with modification of our naturalization laws. The beneficial effects of these measures would be felt everywhere, but chiefly in the cities, where they would do much to facilitate the introduction of purer and more efficient administration. But these, like all other laws, are merely instruments. They are not automatic; to be efficient they must be used, and used properly, and such use can be made only by unceasingly vigilant public opinion, manifesting itself in constant action.

Of these measures, civil-service reform is the most urgent and the most efficient for good. To deprive the bosses of the control of "patronage," and of their consequent ability to maintain their henchmen and heelers at the public expense, is the readiest method of destroying the political machines and of restoring politics to its true function of wisely administering the affairs of the people, instead of being, as at present, for the most part, a selfish struggle for office. Yet the virus of the spoils system has so thoroughly infected our national life that it will yield only to heroic treatment. The reformer must resolutely determine to regard the question as the controlling one, and must strike unflinchingly at all candidates, whether Democratic or Republican, who cannot be trusted to enforce existing laws and to be guided by their spirit in dealing with the unclassified service. Party managers will not surrender control over the spoils until they recognize that the people are thoroughly in earnest, and this conviction can be impressed on them only by successive defeats. Usually the party in power is the one to be struck at, as it is, for the moment, the offender to be punished.

Yet all these, and all other devices, will be neutralized unless a check be put on the tendency, now so visible, to experiment with state socialism. This is in the air, and schemers and dreamers of every degree of irrationality are busy with their nostrums for the cure of all political and economic evils. Government ownership of telegraphs and railroads, government loans on farm lands, and

government advances on farm produce are proposed on the one hand, and, on the other, municipalities are expected, or are urged, to supply light and heat and water and locomotion and other public wants. Jeffersonian Democracy was right in seeking to restrict and simplify as much as possible the functions of government. More or less corruption there always has been in the management of public affairs, and always must be so long as human nature remains unregenerate. Government itself is an evil—a necessary evil incident to human imperfection—and the less of it we can get along with the better, for thus only can we reduce its accompanying abuses to a minimum. Every added function introduces additional corruption and renders detection and purification more difficult. The paradise of the boss would be a community organized on the Bellamy pattern.

HENRY CHARLES LEA.

ENCROACHMENTS OF THE SEA.

WITHIN the last two years a naval vessel was swamped in a dry dock in the lower Chesapeake that was supposed to be well beyond the reach of the highest tides; portions of the great chain of metropolitan dependencies stretching from Sandy Hook to Barnegat Bay, if not to Cape May, have been partially inundated; the mechanical world has been delighted and diverted by the spectacle of a team of locomotives hitched abreast and tandem to a grand caravansary—a miniature city in itself—to move it beyond the reach of the waves; on the shores of the Gulf, between Mobile Bay and the mouth of the Mississippi, villas embowered in fragrant orange groves and moss-festooned live oaks, are menaced by like perils and overtaken often by like catastrophes; broad lagoons and marshes stretching along hundreds of miles of coast have been submerged within a generation; thirty-four years ago, on August 10th, Last Island, a health and pleasure resort of New Orleans, was swallowed by the storm waves, with most of its transient population—"the wealth and beauty of the Creole parishes"—and naught but a tide-washed bank remains to mark its site; and more than once during later years villages and settlements upon the Gulf shores and upon the delta islands of the Mississippi, have been swept from the face of the land and made the prey of the insatiable waters. All of these occurrences, and scores of kindred events not mentioned, have a common feature: in all alike the sea encroached upon the land.

An immediate explanation of each disaster is readily offered: a high, perhaps unprecedented, tide; an unusual storm; a long-continued in-shore wind, by which the waves were driven upon the coast; great floods in the rivers discharging into bays or sounds. These "theories," severally or in conjunction, are promptly seized by the reportorial imagination and set forth in the daily press. But these immediate explanations, ready and rational though they be, fail to tell us why each great flux of the

tides is unprecedented; why the waves of this decade wash hights beyond the reach of those of the last; why the land, fortified by every device which human ingenuity has been able to invent and human skill to apply, cannot hold its own against the ocean; they merely state, and do not explain, attendant conditions. The explanation that the ocean is overflowing the land by a secular Spring tide not yet fully in, or by reason of an ebb of the continent not yet fully out, is adequate; but it is a harsh, heartless, pessimistic explanation, opposed by the instinctive notions of the stability of the earth and the buoyant optimism with which vigorous-minded man is inspired. Such an explanation will not and should not be adopted without the most conclusive evidence. Yet the disasters are so many that it would seem wise to scan the evidence. Its aggregate volume is indeed far too great for record here, but the ascertained facts with respect to one or two typical coast stretches may be summarized.

1. Evidence of the encroachment of the sea upon the land is given by history. The older shore lines recorded in maps, deeds, and other documents do not coincide with the newer; and while in some cases the newer shore is locally pushed seaward across an estuary or in the line of a bar, the general change is one of expansion of the ocean at the expense of the land. Comparison of Long Beach, from Barnegat Inlet twelve miles southward, upon the United States Coast Survey maps of 1839 and 1871 respectively, shows that during the intervening period of thirty-two years the land line retreated from 0 to 930 feet, or an average of 545 feet—more than one tenth of a mile. Thence southward to Little Egg Harbor the land line indeed advanced a little way seaward; but here as elsewhere the landward shifting far exceeded the seaward. Comparison of maps of a part of the shore of Cape May County, shows that in the century ending in 1866 Dennis Creek was shortened at its mouth 2,310 feet, and East and West Creeks each 1,880 feet; and that the shore in general receded three quarters of a mile for the surveyed stretch of three miles. In the annual report for 1885 of the State Geologist of New Jersey (the late Dr. George H. Cook, an eminently discreet investigator), many pages are devoted to accounts of coast changes

within the historical period, nearly all of which indicate considerable advance of the sea upon the land, either by the wearing away of shores or by the flooding of lowlands formerly beyond the reach of tide; and the conclusion is stated in these words:

“There is a general wear on the east shore, of the beaches along the Atlantic coast of New Jersey. As a result of this, and the action of wind and wave in carrying sand westward over the beaches, there is a change of position whereby most of what were formerly ‘sand reefs,’ are now mere accumulations of blown sand on the surface of a former tide marsh. This lateral movement has, in many cases, amounted to more than the breadth of the beach since the settlement of the State, and it is at present going on with undiminished activity. Although in places there has been a certain amount of eastward growth, this has in all cases been dependent on the action of currents which are governed by such local conditions as the position of sand bars, and may at any time be converted into agents of destruction. We must therefore accept it as a rule, on the east shore, that loss is absolute and gain but relative.” *

Further southward there are parallel, though perhaps less decisive, indications. Along the Carolina coast the advance of the ocean upon the insular rice plantations has been noted and discussed by observant residents during three generations. About Florida the indications are less decisive, but on the central Gulf coast they again become evident even to casual observation. The general facts, gathered by hundreds of observers and garnered in dozens of printed records, are thus graphically summarized by Lafcadio Hearn:

“The sea is devouring the land. Many and many a mile of ground has yielded to the tireless charging of Ocean’s cavalry. Far out you can see through a good glass the porpoises at play where of old the sugar cane shook out its million bannerets, and shark fins now seam deep water above a site where pigeons used to coo. . . . Grande Terre is going; the sea mines her fort, and will before many years carry the ramparts by storm. Grande Isle is going, slowly but surely; the Gulf has eaten three miles into her meadowed land. Last Island has gone!” †

2. Equally significant evidence that the tides now run higher than of old is given by submerged forests and meadows. In the official report for 1882 of the geologist mentioned above, there are accounts of ancient meadows and forests considerably below ordinary high-water mark, recently exposed by the wear of the

* Page 93.

† “Harper’s Magazine,” August, 1888, p. 735.

waves upon the coast. None of the numerous stumps are of brine-loving trees, but only of such as grow well above the reach of tide; and some of them had been cut with the ax. The meadows bear abundant impressions of the hoofs of unshod horses and cattle, though the waters have now so far flooded the beach that it is practically abandoned by men and animals. Dr. Cook adds:

“This fact furnishes another proof of the slow advance of the sea upon the land which is going on along the entire eastern sea coast of the United States, and a reason for the increased effect of the waves in wearing away the shore.” *

The tide-flooded forests and swamps of the Carolinas have been described and discussed by Toumey, Holmes, and others; and although the flooding has been by one student ascribed to the breaking down of wave-built barriers during great storms, the evidence is none the less decisive, for the alternate building and breaking down of barriers is the play of the advancing ocean. To-day the segment of the Gulf called Mississippi Sound has partly undermined Pascagoula City, at the mouth of the river of the same name; lines of piling, sometimes two and three deep, supported by fascines and protected by jetties, vainly strive to shield other portions; the waves are rippling and anon thundering over aboriginal habitations marked by shell heaps; charming villas flanking the sun-lit coast are threatened; a mile east of the village, the tap roots of upland pines are bound together by a younger mat of salt-swamp sod; and all, with a long-forgotten bit of “corduroy” road, are revealed by the retreat of a shifting sand levee a foot or more below mean tide.

Even more significant are the buried cedar swamps, which have given rise to a singular industry—the literal mining of timber. At several points in eastern New Jersey enormous quantities of white cedar, liquidambar, and magnolia logs, sound and fit for use, are found submerged in the salt marshes, sometimes so near the surface that roots and branches protrude, and again deeply covered with smooth meadow sod. Many of the trees overthrown and buried were forest giants. In the Great Cedar Swamp, on the creek of the same name, the logs reach a diameter

of four, five, and even seven feet, and average between two and three feet in thickness. Sometimes the ancient forests are above tide level, and indicate only the slackening flow of the streams; but this is one of the ways in which the rise of the waters is felt upon the land.

But only a tithe of the forest kings sacrificed to implacable Neptune are honored even by unmarked tombs. All along the New Jersey coast from Cape May to Raritan River, along the Virginia and Carolina shores, and on the mainland and the half-drowned keys confining Mississippi Sound, stumps of upland trees peep from beneath the tidal waters; or aged oaks, cedars, and liquidambars, still living, though stunted and gnarled by the poison of the brine, stand here and there to give rude measure of the rate of Ocean's advance. Reviewing these measures in 1868, Dr. Cook estimated the rate of subsidence of the land at about two feet per century, or a quarter of an inch per year.*

3. Evidence of the encroachment of the seas is found also in the geography of the coast. One of the most strongly-marked natural boundaries on the globe divides the middle Atlantic slope into an ocean-fringing lowland, known to geographers as the coastal plain, and an upland springing some hundred feet above tide at its margin, and rising in the interior. The same line marks the inland reach of tide water, the series of cascades and falls known as the "fall line," and the zone of deflection of drainage at which the Delaware, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, Potomac, and other rivers, after maintaining direct courses through Appalachian ranges and Piedmont highlands alike, are turned at right angles literally by a sand bank little higher than their depth. This geographic feature has materially affected the culture of the country. The pioneer settlers ascended the tidal canals to the falls of the rivers, where they found, sometimes within a mile, clear fresh water, the game of the hills and woodlands, the fish and fowl of the estuaries, and abundant water power and excellent mill sites, easy ferriage and practicable bridge sites. Here the pioneer settlements and towns were located; and across the necks of the inter-estuarine peninsulas the

* *Ib.*, page 362.

pioneer routes of travel were extended from settlement to settlement, until the entire Atlantic slope was traversed by a grand social and commercial artery stretching from New England to the Gulf States. As the population grew and spread, the settlements, villages, and towns along this line of nature's selection waxed, and many of them yet retain their early prestige; for Trenton, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, Washington, Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Petersburg are among the survivors of the pioneer settlements, and the early stage route has become a great railway and telegraph line connecting North and South, as they were connected of old in more primitive fashion.

Now the subaërial and subaqueous surface of the coastal plain set off by this trenchant boundary is cleft by a labyrinth of estuaries—Long Island Sound, Kill von Kull, Arthur Kill, Raritan Bay, Delaware Bay, Chesapeake Bay with its confluent estuaries, the tidal Potomac, etc.—which are recognized by all geographers as “drowned” rivers; and the Hudson and Delaware have narrow, clear-cut channels prolonging their present land-bound courses scores of miles beyond, and hundreds of feet below, the present coast line. Indeed, the lowland fringe stretching from Cape Cod to Cape Hatteras is but the higher part of a great terrace or bench, mostly submarine, skirting the continent in a zone 75 to 150 miles broad. It is known to have been now land and again sea bottom, in many alternations, ever since the middle of the Mesozoic time of geologists; its surface is veneered with tide-scattered sands and gravels; and its drowned rivers indicate that the ocean is rising upon it to-day so rapidly that their channels remain unfilled by the sediments of the sea.

Related evidence appears on other shores; and nowhere is it more curious or decisive than along the Gulf coast east of the mouth of the Mississippi. The coast of Florida is skirted by elongated peninsulas and islands called “keys,” separated from the mainland by sounds a fraction of a mile to three or perhaps five miles in width. Thus, in western Florida and Alabama, the bays of Choctawhatchee, Pensacola, Perdido, and Bon Secours are separated from the Gulf by characteristic keys, and nearly or quite connected by narrow sounds; but west of Mobile Bay the keys quickly retreat to five, ten, even fifteen miles from the

mainland, and form the sea islands, Dolphin, Petit-Bois, Massacre, Horn, Dog, Ship, and Cat; while the intervening Mississippi Sound is a great slice of the Gulf, the rapidly-encroaching sea having outstripped the slow-moving keys and left them far behind. And most of the water courses of the eastern Gulf water shed, except the detritus-laden Mississippi, are, like their fellows of New Jersey, drowned rivers, with their mouths transformed into estuaries or lagoons; and the mainland is trenched with tidal canals where recent rivers ran.

4. Evidence of similar import is found in structural geology. Rivers gather detritus from the mountain top, the hill side, even the lowland field, and transport it seaward, rapidly during freshets, slowly at low stages; but much of the material is always dropped by the way, a part to be again taken up during later freshets, and another part to lie long and form new lands in a belt or "bottom" of sand, silt, and clay, commonly called alluvium. In the lower course of the river, where the declivity is slight, the alluvium accumulates rapidly, and is pushed out into the sea, bay, or lake, as a delta, like that of the Mississippi, the Nile, or the Ganges. But along the Atlantic slope between Capes Cod and Hatteras, and to some extent further southward, the rivers are not flanked by alluvium in their lower courses, and are destitute of deltas. On the Hudson, Delaware, Susquehanna, Potomac, and James, there is indeed a surprising dearth of the ordinary fluvial deposits. Year after year the rivers drop into their estuaries silt, sand, pebbles, ice-borne boulders, unquestionably by the hundred tons, yet the receptacles are never filled, the tidal trenches barely shoaled. These rivers are anomalous; but the anomaly presents its own explanation: the rivers fail to fill their estuaries because the valley bottoms sink at least as rapidly as the detritus is poured in. Sedimentation in some of the rivers falling into the southern Atlantic and the Gulf indeed keeps pace with the sinking of the channels, and the bays are short and shallow, or pygmy deltas appear. The vast volume of detritus poured from the Mississippi far exceeds the capacity of the slowly-deepening trough, and so the Mississippi builds a delta after the normal habit of rivers. By the aid of its

bayous and distributaries it has wandered from side to side, adding material here, removing a little there, planing and fashioning the new-made land, but ever building up, and ever pushing out; yet when, through its own caprice or the intervention of man, the great river long abandons any of its radial lines of delta-building, the Gulf waters gradually invade the neglected lowland in lines of swamps and lakes like the modern Borgne and Pontchartrain. Only for a little space can the land hold its own against the hungry waters.

There is another way in which structural geology gives similar evidence. The coast line about Barnegat Bay, about Pascagoula Bay, or on any other typical coast stretch, is an alternation of low-cliffed headlands and reedy lagoons, separated from the tidal waters by low sand banks. Now, when the land stands stationary, the feeble waves and sluggish currents of a shoal offing are unable to clear the bases of the cliffs, the talus is in time bound together and protected by sward and shrubbery; and sloping banks and shelving shores are formed; while if the waters are rising relatively to the land, the wash of the waves at the cliff base keeps pace with the weathering at the cliff summit, and the stimulated currents sweep into estuaries and deep waters the steady gains of waves and weather. So, too, the surf builds a barrier of sand against the entering streamlet. If the land is stationary, the streamlet alternately drops its burden of sand and silt during each high tide, and collects it again at the ebb, and the barrier remains low and the embouchure of the stream narrow; while if the waters are encroaching, the flux of the stream going with the ebb of the tide fails to remove all the detritus, and it gradually accumulates to form a tidal meadow, and the wave-built levee is pushed further and further inland until the wooded hill sides are choked by the swamp muck of the widening lagoon, or until both forest roots and swamp sod reappear on the seaward side at a depth below tide, affording a rude measure of the rate of the land's sinking.

5. Circumstantial evidence that certain parts of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts are sinking, is found in dynamic geology. During the first period in the development of geologic science,

the sculpturing of the land and the accumulation of sediment were ascribed to great *débâcles*, or waves of translation, sweeping the earth from equator to poles; and the *débâcles* were ascribed to, or at least connected with, unexplained uplifting of continents and mountains and downthrowing of sea bottoms. This was the period of catastrophism. Gradually students of earth science, with Lyell at their head, perceived that the valleys are carved by the streams which now occupy them, that the sculpture of the land surface tells of rainfall and storm work perhaps not more rapid than that of to-day, and that the vast bodies of sediment forming the continents are like, both in kind and degree, those now accumulating in lakes and bays and on Ocean's shores; and with this perception came the realization that the surface and sediments of the earth were formed by agencies little if at all more potent than those now at work. This was the Lyellian period, or period of uniformitarianism. When American geologists, with Powell at their head, began to decipher the records of mountain-building inscribed in the tilted, fractured, and contorted sediments of past ages, they gradually perceived that when a continent or mountain range is lightened by the denudation of rivers, it rises, and that when a sea bottom is weighted by the deposition of sediment, it sinks; and indeed that the entire earth crust is in a condition of hydrostatic equilibrium, and relatively as sensitive to changing pressure as the beam of the assayer's balance. As this perception came it was realized that mountain-making, like land sculpture and sediment-forming, depends upon agencies in daily operation upon land and sea. This is the Powellian period, or period of rationalism in dynamic geology. It leaves unexplained but a single category of earth-building processes—the initial uplifting of continents by which the transfer of detritus is inaugurated.

Now the coastal plain from Long Island to Cape Hatteras is the focal tract upon which the great rivers of a vast hemi-ellipse concentrate their mud-charged currents; and a yet smaller tract in the Gulf coast is the *centrum* upon which the rivers of a third of the country converge, and about which their untold millions of tons of detritus are dropped. If the rational principle developed by Powell and now accepted by every competent geologist

in every land be true—if it be true that weighted areas sink beneath a never-ceasing accumulation of load—then these tracts must be undergoing depression.

6. Direct evidence of the sinking of the Atlantic coast is given by the configuration of the land. Three periods in the development of geologic science have been characterized; a fourth is dawning. In two intellectual centers at home and one abroad—Washington, Cambridge, Paris—it has come to be recognized that world history may be read from the configuration of the hills as well as from the sediments and fossils of ancient oceans. The volcanic cone displays characteristic features; the uplifted mountain range has a characteristic physiognomy; the ice-swept hills and valleys exhibit unmistakable lineaments; and the tireless stream and frequent rainstorm give unmistakable form and expression to the face of nature. To-day these features, lineaments, forms, physiognomy, and expressions are discriminated and interpreted by half a dozen geologists, and thereby the field of the science is broadened by the addition of a coördinate province—by the birth of a new geology, which is destined to rank with the old, but for which no better name has yet been found than “geomorphology.”

Now the student of earth forms perceives at a glance that the topographic configuration of the coastal plain was developed, the waterways outlined, the valleys carved, and the uplands fashioned when the land stood higher than now; and that the stream-carved configuration—which is never imitated by any agency operating below tide-level—passes into the sea or under the alluvium lining the estuaries. He perceives at a glance, too, that the topographic configuration of the Piedmont zone on the further side of the “fall line,” was developed when that part of the continent stood lower than now, only the shorter gorges below the cascades of the Schuylkill, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, and their neighbors post-dating the uplift of the land. So the New Geology not only corroborates other evidence in the strongest manner, but at the same time locates the line along which the sinking of the coast is last felt; and this line is the wonderfully trenchant natural and cultural boundary already described.

On reviewing the evidence, it appears that historical records, submerged forests and meadows, geographic configuration, the phenomena of structural geology, the principles of dynamic geology, and topographic forms, all attest that in portions of the Atlantic and Gulf slopes the sea is encroaching upon the land. This evidence is not indeed all equally clear and apposite. The historical evidence is weak in quality because of the inaccuracy of early surveys, early maps, early tide marks, and early records of all kinds; but its volume is vast. Even by itself the historical record shows that, albeit imperceptible in a single year, the advance of the sea is considerable when decades are compared, and enormous when comparison is made between centuries. The evidence of submerged forests and meadows has not always been interpreted alike; but the cases are legion, their significance often unmistakable, and in the best-observed regions the testimony is conclusive. The evidence of geographic configuration—of drowned rivers, half-flooded islands, and outlying keys—proves that the land is either recently submerged or now sinking. The evidence of structural geology, and particularly that of the dearth of alluvium in the absence of deltas at the mouths of mud-charged streams, is of like tenor and value. The value of the evidence of dynamic geology depends upon the validity of the Powellian principle, which all competent authorities accept, though some might question its quantitative sufficiency in the given case. The evidence of geomorphology—of the forms of hills and the features of plains—is eminently apposite, clear, and conclusive; it applies not only to the coast, but to the entire coastal plain; and it might be made to give rude measure of the rate and amount of the earth movement. But however the several lines be weighted, the evidence is consistent and cumulative, and permits no escape from the conclusion that certain portions of our coast are yielding before advancing seas.

On reviewing the sum of evidence by areas, it is found to prove oceanic encroachment along the Atlantic coast from Sandy Hook to Cape Henry, and along the Gulf coast between the mouth of the Mississippi and Mobile Bay; to suggest a like condition all the way from Cape Cod to Cape Fear; and to give little indication as to change in the relations of sea and land about

the shores of the Florida peninsula. Concerning the northern New England coast, the western Gulf coast, and the rugged promontories and flat sand beaches of the Pacific coast, where the records are scanty or equivocal, "this deponent saith not."

Men who haunt the shores for pleasure or for profit, naturally inquire the rate at which the sea is encroaching upon their domain. The cautious estimate of the rate at which the New Jersey coast is sinking made by the official geologist of that State, is two feet per century. Now the mean seaward slope of the coastal plain, including its subaërial and submerged portions, is perhaps six feet per mile; so that each century's sinking would give a third of a mile, and each year a rod, of lowland to the ocean; and this would appear to be below the rate of encroachment indicated by comparison of maps. This is probably the maximum rate for this country. Pending further observation and the scanning of other records, little more can be said.

Men of maritime lands naturally inquire whether the continent settles easily and uniformly, or whether it descends by successive starts at intervals; for rapid mass movement in the earth is justly believed to beget the earthquake, and perchance the tidal wave; but upon this point the evidence and science (aside from a hypothetical presumption in favor of *per saltum* movement) are silent. Last Island was indeed overwhelmed when, after a ten days' northeaster which forced the Gulf waters offshore and allowed the water-heavy silts and sands to settle in the lighter air, the wind veered to the south, and the surf swept back over sunken shores and delta islands; yet there were no deep-seated earth tremors. The land went down in the lower Mississippi region, it is true, during the greatest of American earthquakes—that of New Madrid, in 1811–13; but it has not been learned whether the earthquake caused the sinking or the sinking the earthquake. Slight quivers of earth, too, appear to run along the "fall line," and are commonly recorded many times annually in its vicinity; but it is more probable that they represent gradual and easy relief of earth stresses than that they are premonitory of a catastrophe.

Prophecy of evil is an ungrateful and ungraceful task, before

which Science justly quails, for Science is no longer content only to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before. She is ambitious also so wisely to use the productions of the earth that one blade of grass will fill the place filled by two before, and moreover to wring from barren rocks and desert sands artificial substitutes for natural blades of grass, and thus to multiply indefinitely the gifts vouchsafed by unaided nature. So her devotees are the most lightsome of optimists, the most sanguine of philanthropists. But optimism must not be confounded with short-sight, or philanthropy with foolhardiness.

There is a broad lowland stretching from Sandy Hook to Cape Henry, and running inland to the line of metropolises, and another washed by Mississippi Sound, upon which the sea is encroaching. They are wave-fashioned plains, but recently wrested from the ocean, and Ocean reclaims its own. Already its octopus arms have seized the lowlands in horrid embrace, and day by day, month by month, year by year, generation by generation, the grasp is tightening, the monster creeping further and further inland. Each average year the water mark advances a rod. The seaside cottage with a broad lawn before it has an "expectation of life" of a decade or a generation; but the cottage at the verge of the cliff may go in a year and must go in a lustrum, unless human devices outwit and overpower the waves for an exceptional period. On most other eastern and southern coasts the waves are also encroaching, but their progress is slower. And the ocean's power is too great for puny man to oppose successfully; he can only provide against, and slowly retreat before, the invasion.

W J MCGEE.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF THE TELEGRAPH.

CHINA is the only country in the world in which the postal service is conducted by private enterprise. The only country in the world, of any importance, in which the telegraphic service is so conducted, is the United States. In very nearly all the civilized lands these two functions are held to belong properly to government. Even China concedes this, at least in part, as to the telegraphs. Why the United States should be so far behind the rest of the world in this important matter, is not easily accounted for. Perhaps the best explanation is, that when the American colonists achieved their independence they had suffered so much from governmental control that they wished to reduce it to the minimum. Agriculture was at that time almost the sole occupation; fertile land was to be had in such abundance for nothing, that every man who desired could own and conduct his own business; and the spirit of industrial independence was stimulated to such a degree that the general sentiment was, every man for some business, and every business by some man. The utilization of steam, electricity, and machinery, and the specialization of industries requiring the coöperation of great armies of workers with vast capital in the performance of functions necessary for all, have since that time developed the economic condition under which some lines of business become in their nature monopolies, and are therefore best conducted by government. The natural or the artificial scarcity of land in European countries has enabled their people to perceive earlier than we a truth which the accessibility of an abundance of land has rendered obscure to us, and in the practical application of this truth the telegraph has been among the first things to receive their consideration. The relation of the various countries to the ownership of the means of electrical communication is shown in the following table, which gives the latest statistical data obtainable upon the subject, mainly those for the years 1887 and 1888:

Countries.	Total Miles of Line.	Total Miles Owned by the State.	Total Miles under Private Enterprise.	Percent- age Owned by the State.	Number of Messages.
Argentine Republic,.....	14,700	7,300	7,400	50	736,329
Austria-Hungary,	23,489	23,489	.....	100	11,052,963
Belgium,	3,900	3,900	.....	100	6,811,534
Bolivia,	925	.....	925	...	.....
Brazil,	7,539	7,539	.....	100	528,161
Chili,	9,000	6,735	2,265	75	572,333
China,	4,100	2,000	2,100	49	.....
Colombia,	2,360	2,360	.....	100	300,813
Costa Rica,	525	400	125	76	112,639
Denmark,	9,348	2,632	6,716	28	1,293,125
Ecuador,	875	775	100	88	.....
Egypt,	3,522	3,172	350	90	601,861
France,	53,845	53,845	.....	100	32,853,872
Germany,	55,748	55,748	.....	100	21,750,348
Great Britain,	30,430	30,430	.....	100	53,403,425
Canada,	28,489	.....	28,489	...	4,052,384
British India,	30,034	30,034	.....	100	2,516,826
Australasian Colonies,	49,233	49,233	.....	100	9,347,945
Greece,	4,300	1,100	3,200	26	789,566
Guatemala,	1,848	1,848	.....	100	406,533
Honduras,	1,717	1,717	.....	100	44,366
Italy,	20,316	18,869	1,447	92	7,586,978
Japan,	6,855	6,855	.....	100	4,977,119
Mexico,	27,861	19,272	8,589	69	.....
Netherlands,	7,240	4,700	2,540	65	3,703,024
Nicaragua,	1,300	1,300	.....	100	.....
Paraguay,	92	92	.....	100	31,857
Persia,	3,824	2,674	1,150	70	75,509
Peru,	1,382	1,382	.....	100	.....
Portugal,	3,210	3,210	.....	100	1,730,107
Roumania,	3,372	3,372	.....	100	1,256,693
Russia,	76,650	73,000	3,650	96	10,290,790
Salvador,	1,443	1,443	.....	100	151,526
Siam,	1,000	1,000	.....	100	.....
Spain,	11,512	11,512	.....	100	3,549,860
Sweden and Norway,	10,324	7,708	2,616	75	2,103,955
Switzerland,	4,992	4,992	.....	100	3,331,155
Turkey,	14,617	14,617	.....	100	1,259,133
United States,	248,920	3,000	245,920	...	80,000,000
Venezuela,	1,800	1,800	.....	100	.....
Other countries,	33,358	30,715	2,643	92	.....
Totals,	815,995	495,770	320,225	61	.....

The table shows that 61 per cent. of the telegraph lines of the world are owned and operated by governments. Of the sum total of lines, those in the United States constitute more than 30 per cent. Leaving this country out of consideration, about 88 per cent. of the remainder is under the control of governments, or, leaving the United States and Canada out, fully 95 per cent.

is owned by governments; for in those countries which are credited in the table with lines under the control of private enterprise, many of the lines are owned by railways, and are employed mainly for railway purposes, although they serve commercial uses under an arrangement with the governments. There are at least 2,500,000 miles of wire in use in the world. In China the lines are owned by the government in connection with merchants' syndicates, but they are virtually under the control of the government. In Greece and in Denmark the land lines are owned by the state, while the cables connecting the islands with the mainland are under private enterprise. The 3,000 miles of line in this country owned by the government are used for military purposes in the West, and for meteorological service on the Atlantic coast. In a few countries commercial lines are owned both by the state and by private enterprise, and in a very few, of which Chili is an example, the two compete, but in most cases they work under an agreement as to rates.

Tariffs vary greatly. In North America the body of the message only is charged for; in other countries the address, or the signature, or both, are tollable. In the United States the toll ranges from 25 cents to \$1 for 10 words, according to the distance; in the Argentine Republic it is 40 cents for 10 words, and 20 cents for each additional 10 words; in Denmark and in Sweden and Norway, 13.4 cents for 10 words, and 1.34 cents for each additional word; in Ecuador, 20 cents for 10 words; in Egypt, 49.6 cents for 10 words; in Germany, 1.4 cents per word, the minimum being 14 cents per message; in the United Kingdom, sixpence for 12 words; in the Cape colonies, one shilling for 10 words, and sixpence for each additional five words or part thereof; in Guatemala, 25 cents for 10 words, exclusive of the address; in Honduras, 25 cents for 10 Spanish words, and double that amount for English words; in Italy, 20 cents for 15 words, and one cent for each additional word; in Japan, four cents per word, including the address and signature; in Portugal, five cents for the first word, and one cent for each additional word; in Roumania, 1.56 cents per word; in Siam, from 35 cents to \$3.65 per word; in Switzerland, one half-cent per word; in Turkey, two to four cents per word; and in Venezuela, 20 cents

for 12 words. In New Zealand messages are classified as urgent, ordinary, and delayed, the rates being respectively two shillings, one shilling, and sixpence, for 10 words, with a halfpenny for each additional word.

In about half of the countries the receipts of the telegraph department exceed the expenditures, and in the remainder they do not. The inference, however, is not necessarily that in the case of the latter the departments are not properly managed. Of some of them that may be true, but in all countries a large share of the messages is on public business. In Egypt, for example, in 1887, fully 56 per cent. were on state affairs, and only 44 per cent. chargeable to private traffic; and if the department were self-sustaining, the users of the telegraph would pay the cost of transmitting not only their own messages, but also those of the government.

Averages are of little value in determining distribution within a given country, but they may be useful in making comparisons between different countries. With such a purpose is given the subjoined table, showing, in selected states, the number of miles of line in the various countries relatively to each thousand of square miles of territory, the number of offices for each ten thousand of population, the average number of messages sent for each head of population, the average amount collected, and the average cost of sending a message. The last two items cannot always be shown with exactness, for the reason that frequently the accounts of the postal and telegraphic bureaus are united, as they must in the nature of things be in some degree, the same officials having charge of both, the operators in the smaller towns being also postmasters, and the salary and expense account of the two departments being often indistinguishable. Reasonable accuracy, however, can be attained.

The lesson of the table is that in mileage, relative number of offices, popular use of the telegraph, and cost of sending a message, we are not in advance of leading countries, and that we are even behind some of the inferior ones. So far as investigation has been made, the results show that throughout the world the government telegraphs are conducted efficiently, economically, and honestly. The users everywhere are satisfied with the serv-

ice, and there is no country which would any more consider a proposal to sell its lines to a company, than the people of the United States would entertain one to transfer their postal department to private enterprise.

Countries.	Miles of Line per 1,000 Square Miles of Area.	Number of Offices per 10,000 of Population.	Messages per Head of Population.	Average Toll per Message, Including all Messages Sent.	Average Cost in Cents of Sending One Message.
Argentine Republic,.	16	1.7	0.185	\$0.337	....
Belgium,	343	0.9	1.14	0.083	10.6
Brazil,	2.5	0.1	0.039	1.532	....
Costa Rica,	22.7	1.6	0.574	0.266	46.2
Denmark,	662	1.8	0.655	0.129	....
Egypt,	266	....	0.088	0.287	31.8
Germany,	264	8	1.16	0.32	....
Great Britain,	251	2	1.43	0.178	17.6
British India,	1.9	0.9	0.009	0.567	39.2
Queensland,	13.2	8	3.15	0.35	46
South Australia, ..	6.1	8.4	2.39	0.495	....
Tasmania,	69	11	1.64	0.198	28.1
Victoria,	47	4.1	2.07	0.226	....
West Australia, ..	3	9	7.5	0.332	28.3
New Zealand,	40.5	7.2	3.04	0.357	26.1
Cape Colony,	27.7	....	0.83	0.364	25.9
Greece,	172	....	0.4	0.224	27.3
Guatemala,	39.5	0.73	0.333	0.461	44.3
Honduras,	37	2.07	0.135	1.14	76.5
Italy,	178	1.2	0.256	0.326	28
Japan,	46.6	0.08	0.482	0.203	25.4
Netherlands,	57	1.5	0.83	0.127	16.5
Russia,	39.3	0.34	0.096	0.676	62.5
Sweden,	27.5	....	0.263	0.265	26.7
Norway,	45	1.8	0.477	0.272	35.7
Switzerland,	305	4.3	1.09	0.138	12.2
United States,	69	3.8	1.25	0.312	22.4

It is to England that we may look for the largest experience to guide us in this matter. The first telegraph line was opened in that country, by a private company, in 1846, and others quickly followed. By 1854 so numerous were the complaints of errors, extortionate charges, and inadequate facilities, that people began to think of governmental control. Suggestions of such control were repeated at intervals of a short time, each meeting with more favor than the preceding one—just as the sentiment has been growing in the United States—until the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, in 1865, brought the subject before Parliament in such a way as to command the approval of

public sentiment on the part of both the press and the people; and a bill was passed July 31, 1868, "to enable the Postmaster-General to acquire, work, and maintain electric telegraphs." Rates at that time were based, as here, on the distance—24 cents for 20 words or less, for 100 miles or under; 36 cents for 100 to 200 miles; and 48 cents for more than 200 miles. While the bill was pending in Parliament it met the most violent opposition from its opponents, and the arguments which they used were such as are employed in this country now. They said that it was not the business of the government to carry on the work; that it would be operated by the government at a loss; that it could be better conducted by private enterprise than by the public; that rates would be higher under state than under private control, and that, as a result, the use of the new means of communication would be relatively decreased rather than increased; that it was an arbitrary and unjust interference with private interests; that the companies had at great risk of capital established a new industry, and just as they were about to reap their reward the government proposed despotically to snatch it from them; that private enterprise was continually experimenting systematically and extensively to improve its appliances and its service, whereas the government, having no stimulus of competition, would be remiss in that respect; that the new department would be used as a political machine; that the secrecy of messages would be more likely to be violated; and that the companies could be sued for failure to perform their duty, whereas under governmental control no such redress would be open to the citizen. The advocates of the measure denied all this, and asserted that the exact reverse would in every instance be true. They declared that the telegraph was properly an adjunct of the postal department; that the lines could be extended, more offices opened, more business transacted at a profit, and more efficiently transacted, under state control; that as there would be no dividends to pay, the profits would be used in bettering the service; that vexatious delays would be less liable to occur; and that the confidence of the public in the maintenance of the inviolable secrecy of messages would be increased.

The bill as enacted into law provided for a uniform rate

throughout the Kingdom of 24 cents for the first 20 words, not including the address and signature, and 12 cents for each additional 10 words. This included the cost of delivery within a reasonable distance. Payment was to be made in stamps, and provision was made for receiving messages in street letter boxes, to be wired immediately after collection. Liberal provision was made for newspaper specials, and communications to news rooms, clubs, and exchanges; also for leasing private lines at an annual rental. The secrecy of messages was insured by making it a crime, punishable with one year's imprisonment, for an employee wrongfully to reveal the contents of any telegram.

The government at no time contemplated the construction of new lines, or any other plan than that which was carried out—the purchase of the existing lines. It was considered an injustice for the government, with its large resources, to compete with the corporations. It is not clear why any greater hardship is involved when the government with all its powers competes with a great corporation, than when a great corporation with its powers competes with an individual; but the English people held that such a course would be unfair. Neither did the original bill formally give the authorities a monopoly, although in effect it did, as the hopelessness of competition by the companies was apparent; and a year later a bill was passed giving the government the exclusive privilege of transmitting telegrams.

The terms were exceedingly liberal. The six telegraph companies received a sum equal to twenty times the net profits of the business for the year ending June 30, 1868; further, a sum equal to the estimated aggregate value of the quoted ordinary share capital of the company, reckoned on the highest quotations shown in the official lists of the London Stock Exchange on any day between June 1 and 25, 1868—dates which at that time were yet in the future; also, compensation for the loss of the prospective profits of the company on the ordinary shares, and any sum that might be determined upon in consideration of the efforts made by the company to establish a uniform shilling rate. Besides, special awards were made to companies for some valuable patents which they had, and all the salaried employees of the companies not needed by the government were awarded

pensions. The effect of these terms was to advance the shares on the Stock Exchange, so that the government enhanced the price of the article which it was about to purchase, besides giving to the companies a bonus equal to twenty years' actual profits, and a further bonus of twenty years' prospective profits. The railways were dealt with in an equally liberal manner, as an inducement for them to use their telegraph lines in future only for their own business.

Upon these terms the government acquired 77,000 miles of wire equipped with the best apparatus then known, and paid for the same \$32,108,214. This was an average price of more than \$416 per mile—a most exorbitant one, as is shown by the fact that the French government, which constructed lines for itself, had to pay for 68,000 miles of wire, with equipment, less than \$66 per mile. What the English government paid more than \$32,000,000 for, had cost the telegraph companies only about \$11,000,000, and was then worth only about \$8,000,000. The reason why England paid six times as much as France for her lines, was that the English government bought out companies which were paying 8 and 10 per cent. dividends; and it purchased not only the plant, but the franchises, the value of which the English people themselves had created.

Notwithstanding the enormously high price which the English paid for their lines, they are satisfied with their bargain. It is a noteworthy fact that every prediction made by the opponents of the change has failed of fulfillment, and that every prophecy made by its advocates has been more than verified. During the first year the number of offices was doubled, and since that time offices have been promptly opened wherever the public convenience required them, and in places where under private enterprise there would have been none. In 1885 the rates were reduced to sixpence for twelve words, and they are now the lowest in the world. The service is prompt, efficient, and accurate. There has never been even the slightest intimation that the telegraph is used for political purposes, or the slightest fear on the part of the people that their secrets are not safe with the government. The public look back with surprise on the time when the claim was made that the business could be

better conducted by private enterprise than by the government. Competition has not been found necessary to stimulate invention and improvement, for the engineers of the department are in the front line of electrical science, and improved devices not only follow one another rapidly, but they are immediately adopted. In fact, it has been found that the desire to increase the public convenience is a better stimulant with them than the demand of stockholders for greater dividends; and they serve the government more efficiently than they did a private company. The newspaper press is on a better footing than ever before, the provincial journals having a telegraphic service that would have been impossible under the former system. There is no opposition to the new order, except from a very few who lost valuable privileges by the change. Just as with us there are no post-office millionaires, and no speculation in post-office stock, so under the new order in England there are no telegraph millionaires, and no speculation in telegraph stock. The financial history of the department, and the expansion of the business since that time, are shown in the accompanying table.

Not only has the business been conducted at a profit, but it has expanded enormously. Within the years stated, the increase in population has been 18 per cent., the increase in the number of letters carried 70 per cent., and the increase in the number of telegrams 455 per cent. In the United States in the same time, the increase in population has been 50 per cent., and the increase in the number of messages 380 per cent. In the ratio of increase of messages to increase of population the English have beaten us three to one. The only thing they can regret is the too high price paid for the lines; for while the receipts in nineteen years have exceeded the operating expenses by £2,230,945, the interest on the purchase and the improvement money, mainly the former, has been £5,800,000, thus causing a deficiency. The present indebtedness of the department is about \$50,000,000, which has recently been placed at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest. With this low rate, and with the rapidly-increasing volume of business, a sinking fund may be established. But the fact is that at the end of nineteen years the government has nearly doubled its telegraph debt, owing mainly to its bad bargain.

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.			Deficiency.	Number of Messages.
		Operating Expenses.	Interest on Debt.	Total Expenditures.		
1870	£612,302	£350,376	£214,500	£564,876	*	9,850,177
1871	735,390	496,695	233,081	729,776	†	12,473,796
1872	973,332	833,908	258,391	1,092,299	£118,966	15,535,780
1873	1,049,162	956,170	270,981	1,227,151	177,989	17,821,530
1874	1,167,745	1,081,937	293,706	1,375,643	207,898	19,253,120
1875-6†	1,533,982	1,430,710	294,905	1,725,615	191,634	20,973,535
1877	1,328,315	1,208,402	307,173	1,515,575	187,259	21,726,143
1878	1,352,669	1,227,560	314,175	1,541,735	189,066	22,171,867
1879	1,369,468	1,161,552	322,036	1,483,588	114,120	24,459,775
1880	1,469,796	1,173,287	326,417	1,499,704	29,909	26,547,137
1881	1,633,886	1,308,454	326,417	1,634,871	984	29,411,982
1882	1,654,391	1,440,498	326,417	1,766,915	112,525	31,345,861
1883	1,768,070	1,583,877	326,417	1,910,294	142,223	32,092,026
1884	1,789,224	1,808,921	326,418	2,135,339	346,114	32,843,120
1885	1,784,414	1,820,764	326,417	2,147,181	362,768	33,278,459
1886	1,787,264	1,832,402	326,417	2,158,819	371,554	39,146,283
1887	1,887,160	2,032,633	326,417	2,359,050	471,890	50,243,639
1888	1,992,949	1,999,034	326,417	2,325,451	332,501	53,403,425
1889	2,129,966	2,041,360	353,789	2,395,149	265,183	57,765,347
Totals,	£28,019,485	£25,788,540	£5,800,491	£31,589,031	£3,622,583	.....

We may profit by their experience. They had several companies to deal with; we have practically but one; and the cases are, therefore, different. The Western Union Telegraph Company is stocked and bonded for \$100,000,000; the plant can be duplicated for about \$35,000,000. With this difference between real and paper values, the purchase of the plant without scandalous jobbery is impossible. If the purchase were seriously contemplated, the shares would advance in price. The practical step is for the government to construct lines between the leading cities of the country, and to compete, as a determined opposition company would do, and as is contemplated by two fairly good bills now pending in Congress. § When the shares of the Western Union shall reach a reasonable price in the open market, let the government buy them; then there can be no corruption. There is no danger of the shares going below their real value, and thus of any one being "robbed." Sixty-five American citi-

* Surplus, £47,426.

† Surplus, £5,613.

† Fifteen months. The fiscal year was changed in 1876 to terminate on March 31.

§ House Bill 7,167, by Mr. Wade; and House Bill 7,846, by Mr. Taylor.

zens have a moral right to organize competition with the Western Union Company; have not sixty-five millions an equal right? The few holders of shares would lose money? Speculators take that chance knowingly. The people of the United States cannot guarantee profits on investments. "The widows and orphans with their little all in telegraph stock," are a myth; the deserving poor have no savings in speculative paper. A proposal to lease existing lines, or to "compensate" somebody for nothing, should not be entertained. When a new device is introduced by which one man does the work of ten, no one talks of compensating the nine men who are displaced, although they may have spent their lives in learning their trade, and may be too old to acquire a new one. If a means can be found of conducting the telegraph business more efficiently and more economically than now, there should be no thought of "compensating" the discarded method, beyond refunding the capital actually invested in the plant. Why should the people pay more for a thing than they can get another just like it for? Recent consular reports show that the civilized world is mortgaged up to nearly its full interest-paying capacity. The indications are that this country is but little if at all better off. We ought not, in initiating the government ownership of telegraphs and railways, to commit the unutterable folly of burdening with mortgages our children to the tenth or twentieth generation, because of a mere sentiment that a man who has pitched his expectations sufficiently high is entitled to get something for nothing, and that he ought not to be disappointed. And the telegraph offers a good opportunity for beginning aright.

BRONSON C. KEELER.

THE EXHAUSTION OF THE ARABLE LANDS.

NEARLY twenty years since, Gen. W. B. Hazen pointed out the approaching exhaustion of the arable lands of the United States, and was sharply criticised for certain statements as to the aridity and unfitness for agriculture of the lands west of the 100th meridian. Time and repeated attempts to subject such lands to cultivation, have shown the correctness of Gen. Hazen's statements and conclusions. A little more than a score of years since, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas constituted a vast district but sparsely settled, the area then in cultivation in those States being but little more than seven million acres; now, however, by the opening of new farms and the development of older ones, the area in staple crops is much more than one fourth of all the lands in the United States so employed. With such an area of the most fertile soils in the process of development, it is not strange that Gen. Hazen's views were looked upon as pessimistic; yet their correctness can no longer be questioned.

The writer has recently shown that the existing depression in agriculture is due, primarily, to an excessive development of these fertile districts; that agriculture and all related industries can be prosperous only when consumption balances production; and that an early equilibration is assured by the growing scarcity of tillable lands. Investigations undertaken solely with the view of ascertaining why the farmer is not prosperous, led irresistibly to the conclusion that the rapid increase of the cultivated area in the United States was the principal cause of the lack of prosperity among the farmers of Canada and Europe, as well as of the United States, and that the great reduction in the yearly accretions to such cultivated acreage was a sure presage of the early coming of the time when the farmer will be prosperous. Further investigations have developed the fact that the arable lands are being occupied at a rate which insures their complete

exhaustion at a much earlier date than has heretofore been deemed possible, with rapid reduction in the volume of exportable breadstuffs, and an entire and not remote cessation of such exports, to be followed by our entering the markets of the world for a portion of the wheat required for domestic consumption.

To understand the situation clearly, it is best to resort to tabular statements showing the increase in cultivated acres in different districts during designated periods, the rate of increase in each district in such periods, the aggregate of the additions to the cultivated acreage in each period, the yearly average of such additions for each period, the percentages of such increase for each period as well as the yearly average of such percentages, and a comparison of the periodical rate of increase of acreage with that of population. This is shown in the following table.

The adjoining exhibit, covering twenty-two years of greatest expansion in American agriculture, is divided into four periods, the first being seven years and each of the others five. In the seven-year period, population is found to have increased 18.2 per cent. and the cultivated area 20.2 per cent.; the drafts upon the arable lands, in the shape of additions to the acreage in staple crops, amounting to 2,724,177 acres per annum, and aggregating 19,069,238 acres. During the second period—five years—population increased 14.2 per cent. and the area in cultivation 42 per cent.; the average annual additions to the cultivated area being no less than 9,525,710 acres, and aggregating 47,628,548 acres. The third period shows population increasing a trifle less than 14 per cent., cultivated acres 21.2 per cent., and an average annual addition to the area in staple crops of 6,841,661 acres; the aggregate reaching 34,208,307, which was still out of proportion to the increase in population. During the five years ending in 1889, the rate at which population increased was practically the same as in the preceding periods, but the rate of increase in cultivated acres was reduced to 8.1 per cent., being but 1.6 per cent. per annum; the average annual increment of the cultivated area shrinking to 3,150,276 acres—little more than half the normal requirements—and clearly showing the rapid diminution of the arable lands.

Although the population was 14,500,000 greater in 1889 than ten years earlier, and the desire for farms just as keen as ever, yet

+ Groups of States.	Surface Area of each Group.	Cultivated Area in Staple Crops, 1867.	Cultivated Area.		Cultivated Area.		Cultivated Area.	
			In Staple Crops, 1874.	* of Decrease, 1867 to 1874, Percentages	In Staple Crops, 1879.	Percentages of Increase, 1874 to 1879.	In Staple Crops, 1884.	Percentages of Increase, 1879 to 1884.
North Atlantic,.....	117,063,680	24,200,679	20,095,201	*17.0—	25,300,000	25.8+	25,381,221	0.3+
Lake,	206,784,669	31,331,211	37,277,419	19.0+	47,054,210	26.2+	52,912,402	12.4+
Missouri valley,	274,069,251	7,429,928	18,668,861	151.3+	34,369,967	84.1+	49,953,764	45.3+
Southern,	522,194,948	29,125,249	33,340,163	14.5+	48,561,259	45.6+	58,119,953	19.7+
Mountain States } and Territories, }	553,047,040	286,459	292,876	2.2+	1,250,000	32.7+	1,519,973	21.6+
Pacific coast,....	206,764,160	1,970,000	3,738,244	89.8+	4,505,876	20.6+	7,362,306	63.3+
Indian Territory,	44,481,600	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals in cultivation, ..	.....	94,343,526	113,412,764	.....	161,041,312	.....	195,249,619	.....
Increase of cultivated acres each period and rate per cent. of such increase,	} .....	.....	19,069,238	20.2+	47,628,548	42.0+	34,208,307	21.2+
Population and per- centage of increase during each period,	}	36,211,000	42,796,000	18.2+	48,886,000	14.2+	55,556,000	13.7+
Average annual in- crease of cultivated acres each period, and yearly rate per cent. of such increase,	} .....	.....	2,724,177	2.9+	9,525,710	8.4+	6,841,661	4.2+

+ "North Atlantic" = seaboard States from Maine to Maryland, and Vermont.
 "Lake" = Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.
 "Missouri Valley" = Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas.
 "Southern" = all south of the Potomac and Ohio, and Arkansas and Texas.
 "Pacific Coast" = California, Oregon, and Washington.
 "Mountain States and Territories" = all else except the Indian Territory, Alaska, and public land strip.

in the last five years, with fully a fourth more people desirous of becoming owners of farms, the number of acres added to the cultivated area was but one third as great as during the five years ending in 1879; being in the later period 15,750,000 acres, as against 47,628,000 acres in the earlier one; whereas, had the increase in acreage been in the same ratio to population as in the earlier period, such additions would have reached a total of 61,600,000 acres. The land hunger being quite as sharp now as in the eighth decade, it is evident that there is a lack of the means of gratifying it.

The foregoing table and the partial analysis following, enable us to see the progress of agricultural development and the occupation and gradual diminution of the arable areas in the several districts. They help to a clearer appreciation of the effects of such rapid development upon the agricultural and other interests, and indicate plainly that the existing depression is due, in large measure if not wholly, to an increase in cultivated acres out of all proportion to the synchronous increase in population, at the same time suggesting the inquiry, Where can be found the arable lands to satisfy the land-hungry home-seekers now ready to settle, in countless swarms, upon any fraction of an Indian reservation that is at all likely to be thrown open to settlement?

The unoccupied area in the North Atlantic group covers some 7,500,000 acres. It lies mostly in the Aroostook and Adirondack regions, and is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, being either rough and mountainous, swampy, or heavily timbered, with soils of very low fertility, of which but a small fraction can be brought under cultivation. In Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota are tracts aggregating some 10,000,000 acres which are valuable only for the forest growths above and the minerals below the surface. These lands will add but little to the cultivated acreage.

Such portions of Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas as lie west of the 100th meridian have generally been included among the arable areas, and it has been esteemed an act of treason for a citizen of any one of those States to maintain that only such parts of this vast tract as are susceptible of irrigation can rightfully be so designated. This immense plains area, covering as well large parts of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and

Montana, is at best but a pastoral region, in which repeated attempts have been made to reduce the lands to cultivation. Successive armies of settlers have invaded these desiccated plains, but after expending their means and suffering deplorable hardships, have found it necessary to abandon land and improvements. This is the area from which arises that perennial cry for aid, as it is also the land from which a reflux wave of population moves eastward with as much regularity as the return of Autumn.

Much of the soil being fairly fertile, these plains offer no obstacles to settlement and cultivation, except such as are found in the climate; that presents the same peculiarities of aridity, extreme variations in temperature, and excessive evaporation found in the elevated regions of Central Asia. It is true that near the eastern borders of this tract fine crops are occasionally grown, but only in years when the rainfall is exceptionally great and the dreaded simoom fails to wither all vegetation. Such exceptional seasons, however, are but "a snare and a delusion," inducing men to waste their energies and means in abortive attempts to cultivate these arid soils. Occasionally the arid features of the climate of the plains are projected several degrees eastward, sometimes reaching Missouri and Arkansas, with disastrous results to the husbandman.

Could water for irrigation be obtained, much of the plains region could be made productive; but most of the streams penetrating it are even now yearly drained dry by irrigating canals, which supply water to irrigate but the smallest fraction of these immense areas. During the seasons of 1887, 1888, and 1889 (and nearly every year of late), many miles of such canals remained dry during the entire Summer, owing to the complete appropriation of the water by canals opening from such streams nearer their source. In seasons of excessive drouth and deficient snowfall, the water available is lessened one half or more; hence irrigation from the water flowing in such streams has about reached its limit. This is notably true of the Platte, Arkansas, Cimarron, and Rio Grande.

Many schemes have been proposed for utilizing the water said to flow below the sand in the valleys, but such projects involve immense outlays, are as yet unfruitful, and, it is generally

believed, will long remain so. Should such plans, however, ultimately prove successful, the resulting supply would suffice to irrigate but an inconsiderable fraction of the arid lands, being inapplicable outside the immediate vicinity of the streams.

Extending from the Gulf to far north of the Canadian boundary, and from the vicinity of the 100th meridian to the Rocky Mountains, the plains embrace an area of hundreds of millions of acres, of which probably one third, with sufficient water for irrigation, could be made productive; but under existing conditions it is very doubtful if three per cent. should be included under the term arable, and such arable part is nearly or quite occupied, even though a part of it is unimproved.

Lying west of the plains is the still more arid region of the mountain ranges and plateaus, where are found numerous fertile valleys, mostly of limited extent, which, when not at too great an elevation, and when supplied with water for irrigation, are very productive; yet in such favored localities occur seasons of excessive drouth, when the supply of water (resulting mostly from melting snow) proves wholly inadequate for the limited acreage under cultivation, as was the case in Nevada, Utah, and other arid districts in 1887, 1888, and 1889.

The regions where irrigation is a condition precedent to successful agriculture, include an area of some 784,000,000 acres, of which, owing to scarcity of water and lack of soil, not more than five per cent. is susceptible of cultivation; and there is no satisfactory evidence that water can be obtained to irrigate the half of five per cent. The construction of extensive irrigation works necessitates the expenditure of much money and takes long periods of time, and few of those now living will see the completion of such works as will be required to irrigate the 30,000,000 acres of arid lands which the Public Land Commission estimates as irrigable from existing supplies of water.

In adopting the estimate of the Public Land Commission, that but 30,000,000 acres of the arid lands are irrigable from the available supply of water, I am not unmindful of the fact that such estimate conflicts with that recently made public by Major Powell,* namely, that "there are nearly 1,000,000,000 acres of

* "Century Magazine," March, 1890.

these arid lands in the United States, of which nearly 120,000,000 acres can be irrigated when all such waters are used."

I am unable to accept that estimate for many reasons, one of which is found in the fact that the mountain States and Territories include an area of but 553,047,040 * acres, to which may be added, as arid, one fourth of Texas and Kansas, one third of Nebraska and the Dakotas, one half of California, two thirds of Oregon and Washington, and the whole of the public land strip (No Man's Land). We thus have an aggregate of but 784,000,000 acres, or less than 80 per cent. of 1,000,000,000. I apprehend that but few people will contend that any greater proportion of the States named should be classed as arid, and many are sure to object seriously to the inclusion of even the proportion stated.

Nearly or quite all those familiar with the arid regions consider the estimate of the Commission, that one acre in twenty is susceptible of irrigation, quite as high as the facts warrant; and it should be borne in mind that most of the arid lands which could be easily and cheaply irrigated have already been brought under the plow, yet up to this time less than half of one per cent. of the area is in cultivation.

Before any considerable additions can be made to the irrigated lands, extensive surveys † must be made; existing claims, water rights, and titles—inchoate and complete—extinguished; national and State laws formulated and enacted that will harmonize or extinguish conflicting national, State, municipal, corporate, and individual interests; and then extensive and costly works constructed—all of which will consume much time. In the interim, population and consumption will have outrun production, the small remainder of the unoccupied non-irrigable arable lands will have disappeared, and such portions of the arid districts as can be brought under the plow will be needed to meet the urgent wants of an ever-increasing consuming element.

The processes and progress of agricultural development in prairie regions where rains are ordinarily sufficient, and in moun-

* See table, page 463.

† Major Powell proposes four different surveys—topographic, hydrographic, engineering, and geologic—which will certainly require several decades to complete, and which will cost vast sums.

tain districts where arable lands, susceptible of irrigation, exist only in tracts of small extent, differ most radically, as is evident when the progress made in Nebraska and Kansas is contrasted with that made in Colorado and Utah. Utah has been settled more than forty years; Colorado, Nebraska, and Kansas from thirty to thirty-five years. In 1887, Colorado had 368,000 acres employed in growing staple crops; Utah, 353,000; Nebraska, 7,761,000; and Kansas, 9,120,000 acres; the cultivated area in Kansas being more than twelve times that of Colorado and Utah. Had any considerable part of the lands of the mountain districts been arable and susceptible of irrigation, they would long since have been seized upon for farms by the great army of the landless.

The uncultivable character of the lands of plain and mountain districts, and the rapid diminution of the unoccupied arable soils of the United States, have been clearly shown by the events following the opening to settlement of the limited and not over-fertile Oklahoma country, when men who had failed to find satisfactory locations in California, Oregon, and Washington retraced their steps, hoping to secure land upon which to found a home, only to find in advance of them an army of would-be settlers large enough to occupy a territory ten times the size of Oklahoma. Similar scenes have more recently been enacted upon the opening of a part of the Sioux Reservation, where a land-hungry myriad, in the depth of a Dakota Winter, contended for the possession of lands wholly within the belt where the farmer must strive with drouth and a soil below the average in fertility.

While I write, an army of settlers, estimated at from 20,000 to 50,000, is camped along the southern Kansas border, impatiently waiting a proclamation from the President—which may not come for many months—opening to settlement the good, bad, and indifferent lands of the Cherokee Outlet; which body of land will probably furnish some 20,000 fair to good farms of 160 acres each, and a like number that will not pay for cultivation; the remaining 16,000 quarter sections being fit only for pasturage, and much of it of little worth for that purpose. These statements will not be challenged by persons familiar with that country, unless they are engaged in “booming” the district in question.

In California, as well as in the States of the Missouri valley, there is much land yet unoccupied, mostly in the possession of corporations and individuals, who are holding it for Henry George's "unearned increment." These lands are likely to be brought into cultivation very tardily, and in such a manner as to add but little to the area in grain crops, as they will no more than replace lands diverted from cereal culture to pasture and meadow—a diversion necessitated by the constantly-increasing number of animals kept.

In Oregon and Washington are great unoccupied areas. Such portions of these unoccupied lands as lie east of the Cascade Mountains—say two thirds of each State—possess many of the characteristics of other mountain districts, with a soil of low fertility. Such small fertile portions of western Oregon and Washington as were without timber have long been occupied, while the remainder of these fertile districts is so heavily timbered as to render such lands unavailable as a source of food supply during this century.

Far at the southeast, in Florida, is found an immense unoccupied area—some 12,000,000 acres or more—but this region is a land of sand-barrens, impassable swamps, dense forests, and everglades, little of which is fit for human habitation. Long as Florida has been settled, and though by reason of possessing the advantages of a semi-tropical climate it has become the Winter abode of so many well-to-do people, it shows but little agricultural development, doubtless because of the sterility and uncultivable character of a great part of the lands. The result is that, aside from the area employed in growing fruits and vegetables, less than three per cent. of the surface of the State is in cultivation. With such a showing, it is clear that Florida will make no material additions to the area employed in growing staple crops.

Scattered through the southern States are many unoccupied tracts; but of these only a small part can be designated as arable, for much of such land is swamp, mountain, or subject to overflow; this being especially true of such remnants of the public domain as are still to be found in the southern districts. Still, we are likely to see some extension of the cultivated area in southern States, more especially in Arkansas and Texas; there

being in those States much unimproved land included in farms which will hereafter be reduced to cultivation and used, principally to augment the supply of cotton.

In the Indian Territory is found the only large body of fairly fertile lands yet to be brought into cultivation. The area of that Territory is 44,481,600 acres, the eastern two thirds of which possess a soil of average fertility, while the remainder is much below the average. The peculiar climatic conditions of the arid plains are frequently projected over the western portion, rendering mixed farming but a precarious means of subsistence. Various tracts in the Territory will be opened to settlement from time to time as the Indian titles are extinguished; but it will be mostly in the western and by far the poorer part, for the eastern and better soils will for a long time remain in the possession of the Indians and the "squaw men." The Indian and his white son-in-law and tenant now cultivate much land (possibly 500,000 to 1,000,000 acres), of which, as early as 1880, a large proportion was in cotton. Within the last year, 16,000 bales of cotton were shipped from one station. Although the products of the Indian Territory are not included in the reports of the Department of Agriculture, yet they enter into consumption and make some additions to the marketable surplus; and this acreage will in time appear in the reports, probably as current additions to the area in staple crops.

The foregoing table and text afford a reasonable basis for an estimate of the lands that can be added to the cultivated area within a given period, say during this decade. But before proceeding to make such estimate, it may be well to inquire what the Public Land Commission had to say on this subject in its report for 1880, wherein it was estimated, June 30, 1879, that (exclusive of certain lands in the southern States) of lands over which the survey and disposition laws had been extended, lying in the West, the United States did not own, of arable agricultural lands which could be cultivated without irrigation or other artificial appliances, more than the area of the present State of Ohio, viz., 25,576,960 acres.

Of the public domain then remaining, the Commission made the following estimate:

Timber lands,	85,000,000 acres.
Coal lands (to be largely increased by better classification),	5,529,000 "
Mineral lands (subject to a large increase by new discoveries),	64,800,000 "
Arable lands in northern States and Territories, . . .	17,800,000 "
Lands in southern States, surveyed and unsurveyed, .	25,585,000 "
Irrigable lands, being the lands which can be irrigated from the present supply of water,	30,000,000 "
The remainder, pasturage, grazing, desert, and all other lands useless for agricultural purposes by reason of altitude or lack of water or of soil, including remainder of lands likely to be segregated for private land grants still unsatisfied, and Indian and military reservations, including also unsurveyed area of the Indian Territory, viz., 17,150,250 acres,	565,701,222 "

An analysis of this estimate will show that of the public domain unoccupied in 1880, there were then some 100,000,000 acres which might be included under the designation arable, and made up as follows:

17,800,000 acres of arable lands in northern States and Territories.
8,000,000 " in southern States.
30,000,000 " of irrigable lands.
17,000,000 " in Indian Territory.
28,000,000 " of surrendered railway grants, and Indian and military reservations.

100,800,000 acres total.

Since 1880, more than 60,000,000 acres of these arable lands have been occupied and largely brought into use, and the only unoccupied remainder of any moment is found in the lands of the Indian Territory, and in that portion of the widely-scattered irrigable lands yet unsettled, the available total of which cannot exceed 40,000,000 acres, and is probably much less; and the major part of these lands is so conditioned that development must be slow. To these 40,000,000 acres may be added an indefinite quantity of railway, school, college, and State lands, much of which is wholly unfit for cultivation. Estimating with extreme liberality, the arable portion of these lands may be put at 30,000,000 acres; then, adding 30,000,000 acres more as the undeveloped arable lands now constituting parts of farms, or yet

unoccupied lands owned by individuals, we have a possible total of 100,000,000 acres yet to be brought into use, equivalent to 625,000 farms of 160 acres each.

Of the farm areas included in the census of 1880, thirty-five per cent. was in woodland, thirty-one per cent. was employed in growing staple crops, and the remainder was in minor crops, or was reckoned as farm yards, pasturage, and unused waste land. It is probable that the proportion employed in growing staples has risen to one third; and we may assume that thirty-five per cent. will be the maximum proportion of the new farm areas added from the possible 100,000,000 acres that will be devoted to the production of staple crops, thus increasing the productive power some 16.6 per cent. Such increase is likely to be less rather than more than one sixth, for no inconsiderable part of these lands is even now included in farms, and will come under the plow very slowly, if at all, being now largely in use for grazing farm animals; and the requirements for that purpose are constantly increasing. It is also well to remember that 100,000,000 acres, the available arable area still remaining, is the sum of estimates liberal in the extreme, and that in New Mexico and Arizona alleged Spanish and Mexican grants are likely for a long time to retard development. According to the ascertained per-capita requirements of land in staple crops, the existing cultivated area is sufficient for nearly 67,000,000 people, and with an addition of one sixth we have a potential supply of cultivated acres sufficient for a population of 78,100,000, which number will probably be reached in 1898 with an annual increase of but 2.5 per cent.; but not till many years after 1898 will all these lands be brought into production. Could 35 per cent. of 100,000,000 acres be at once reduced to cultivation, the added acreage in staple crops would barely furnish supplies for such additions as will be made to the population within seven years.

It has long been a favorite boast that American agriculture could feed the world; but a critical examination of its further possible development brings us face to face with a state of affairs suspected only by the few, and shows plainly that long before the close of this century the increase in population and the inevitable exhaustion of the arable soils will necessitate one of two

things, namely, the adoption, on the part of the great mass of the people, of a less liberal standard of living, or the practice of more thorough modes of culture. Probably the ability to support a greater population from the products of American fields will come from a resort, in some measure, to each of these alternatives.

The average American, ambitious and somewhat extravagant in his mode of living, will be reluctant to reduce the standard, and only the enhanced cost of indispensables will impel him to do it; while, on the other hand, the farmer is a conservative, and will need the stimulation of high prices to induce him to change modes of culture learned and ingrained in youth. But all-sufficient motives will be found in the high prices which will surely follow the exhaustion of the arable areas, and the consequent reduction of the per-capita quota of cultivated land.

By the adoption of a more economical way of living, and by the increased production flowing from improved culture, the per-capita requirements can probably be reduced from 3.15 acres to 3 acres, when the land now in cultivation and that which can be brought into cultivation will sustain a population of 82,000,000,—a number that will probably be reached by the close of the century—while two, three, or four decades will doubtless be required to bring the remnants of the arable areas into production.

This seems the more probable in view of the fact that the average rate of increase in cultivated acres during the last five years has been but 1.6 per cent. per annum, as against 8.4 per cent. ten years earlier, and that it must grow less and less continuously, by reason of the constant shrinkage in the quantity of arable lands subject to draft; hence it would be a most liberal estimate to place such increase, during the remainder of the century, at an average of one per cent. per annum, which would, at the end of 1899, make the cultivated area devoted to staple crops some 232,100,000 acres, or sufficient, at 3.15 acres per capita, for a population of 73,682,000 (and at 3 acres per capita, for a population of 77,366,000), with the possibility of adding from 13,000,000 to 15,000,000 acres more in the earlier decades of the twentieth century. This, however, is an extremely liberal estimate, while a reasonably cautious one would put the rate of increase in cultivated area, during the remainder of the century, at

one half the rate obtaining since 1884, or an average of eight tenths of one per cent. per annum. That would in ten years augment the cultivated area by 16,880,000 acres, making an aggregate of some 227,880,000 acres, or sufficient, at 3.15 acres per capita, to meet the requirements of 72,343,000 people (and at 3 acres per capita, of 75,960,000), which is probably as large a population as our fields can provide for during this century.

In view of the rapid reduction in the rate of increase, and the constantly-diminishing quantity of unoccupied arable land to draw from, an addition of 16,880,000 acres of cultivated land seems to be quite as much as can be expected in this decade. During the remainder of this century, the annual increase in consumption will necessitate average yearly additions of 17,000,000 acres to farm areas, of which more than one third must be land actually producing staple crops. With but 100,000,000 arable acres to draw from, of which a considerable part is already included in farms, there would appear to be little difficulty in determining the maximum time that will elapse before the exhaustion of the material from which new farms can be carved in numbers sufficient to meet the requirements of the increasing population, and after which consumption must, as in Europe, be met from the products of a given and unexpanding area supplemented by an importation of food.

C. WOOD DAVIS.

DEFENSES AGAINST EPIDEMIC DISEASES.

CONTAGION and infection are held by some authorities to be synonymous terms. It is better, I believe, to regard them as different. The term contagion is applied to those disease poisons that require direct contact with the person suffering from them to effect their reproduction, while infection is transmissible through the medium of the air or of some other agent, as water, or food. The poison of glanders, malignant pustule, and venereal disease is contagious, while that of cholera, yellow fever, typhus and typhoid fevers, tuberculosis, small pox, and scarlet and other eruptive fevers of childhood is infectious. This classification does not perfectly cover the ground, as some of the latter diseases are both contagious and infectious. The poison of the infectious diseases interests us most, for these diseases are most common and most fatal. The power they have of infecting the air we breathe, and the food and water we take into our systems, makes them rank among the deadliest enemies of mankind.

The characteristics of the infective principle of the different diseases are in some respects identical. For instance, all the infective diseases require a certain period of time to elapse between the entrance of the poison into the system and the appearance of the disease. This shows that in the case of each disease the poison is reproduced in and by the human system, until a sufficient quantity is present to effect the derangements known as the symptoms of the disease. Until recently we knew the infective diseases only by these symptoms; now we know some of them by the appearance of the germs that cause them. We know the conditions under which they thrive and multiply.

Collections of organic matter in a state of decomposition, undisturbed accumulations of filth, are the hot-beds of these germs. It follows, therefore, that cleanliness and fresh air are their natural foes. Ventilation, by diluting an infected atmosphere, prevents the concentration of the poison. This is the reason why

the eruptive diseases do not prevail in Summer, when windows and doors are kept open. We know the conditions by which disease poisons are transmitted and the media by which they infect. It is possible to exclude them from our food and drink, and to do this with certainty.

If we do not exercise the care necessary to prevent the pollution of our water supplies and food supplies, by compelling efficient governmental supervision of them, we must expect to suffer from infectious disease. Heat will destroy all forms of life; therefore, during the prevalence of infectious disease we can reduce the danger to a minimum by thoroughly cooking our food, and by avoiding uncooked articles of diet; by boiling our milk and water before drinking them; by washing our persons and our table and kitchen utensils with water that has been boiled. Different persons are susceptible in different degrees to the disease poisons, and even the susceptibility of the same person differs at different times. A depressed state of the system seems to favor the development of the disease germs. Heredity, too, appears to influence susceptibility. We often meet with families that seem to be specially protected against infection and contagion, while others "catch" everything that comes their way. The power of resistance in the former would appear to be due to an invulnerability to disease poisons.

The contagious and infectious diseases have received the name of "zymotic"; indeed, the term zymotic covers all diseases that have what is called a period of incubation, that is, a space of time between the reception of the poison into the system and the development of the disease. Zymotic means fermentative, and the peculiarities of most of the infectious and contagious diseases would indicate that this epithet is not a misnomer. Take, for example, small pox, and see how closely its poison-infective principle resembles the yeast fungus. The latter attacks and destroys sugary matter in dough or in wine, and having "worked" a batch of dough or a cask of wine, can never again effect fermentation in it. Small pox does not, as a rule, attack an individual a second time, even though his exposure to it be extreme. The material in his system upon which the infectious principle works, seems to be exhausted by it, just as saccharine

matter is exhausted by yeast. Vaccination probably destroys in a milder way the material upon which the more deadly disease feeds. As the human body is alive and is constantly wasting and reproducing itself, it comes about that in time the food for the disease is reproduced, and then the system needs to have its susceptibility again destroyed by revaccination. So close is this resemblance between yeast and the small-pox principle of infection, that observers have attempted to prove that the yeast fungus, acclimatized in the human body, is the cause of small pox.

Three theories have been advanced by leading students of the zymotic diseases to account for their peculiarities. These theories are all ingenious, but they are based only upon circumstantial proof. They are known as the "vital germ theory," the "nervous theory," and the "microphyte theory." The latter at present is the most widely accepted. I will take up each separately, and in a few words describe it.

The vital germ theory, propounded by Dr. Lionel Beale, is based upon the doctrine that the human system consists of vital germs, separate particles of matter, each less than $\frac{1}{10000}$ th of an inch in diameter, and described as soft, without color or structure, surrounded by an envelope or capsule through which liquid food passes to maintain growth. These germs, or bioplasts as they are called, multiply when they have arrived at a certain age, by splitting into halves, each half forming a new bioplast. Disease germs are believed by the advocates of this theory to be unhealthy or corrupted bioplasts; and they have the same power of development and growth as healthy bioplasts, both in a diseased body and in the body of any healthy person that they happen to enter. The contagious bioplast is said to be less than $\frac{1}{1000000}$ th of an inch in diameter, and though each disease has its specific germs, their differences cannot be determined by the microscope or by analysis.

The nervous theory, defended by Dr. B. W. Richardson, is based upon the analogy between the action of serpent poison and the poison of zymotic disease. Its advocates claim that disease poisons are developed in the secretions of the sick by changes in their character. They believe that secretions previously healthy may sometimes become changed into the poison of some of the

various infectious and contagious diseases, without previous infection. The development of the abnormal secretions they believe to be due to nervous impression upon various glands. Thus, say they, hydrophobia is due to abnormal saliva from the salivary glands, scarlet fever to diseased secretions of the lymphatic glands, and diphtheria to those of the throat glands.

The third, and most generally-accepted theory, is the germ theory proper. Its many advocates hold that the poisons of disease are microbes belonging to the vegetable kingdom. Competent observers have found in almost all of the infectious and contagious diseases, microbes that are always present and that are different for each disease. In some cases they have isolated these microbes, cultivated them, and produced symptoms of the several diseases in animals artificially infected by them.

The first and second theories account only partially for the peculiarities of contagious and infectious diseases; the last seems almost perfectly to cover the ground.

Infectious and contagious matter is not difficult to destroy, though if it be left undisturbed it retains its activity for a long period. The following case, which came under my notice, is illustrative of this. A servant was employed in a house where two children sickened with scarlet fever. After their recovery she lost her situation, and not till seven months later did she obtain a new place. She was several times engaged before she found a family with whom she seemed likely to have permanent employment. She then sent for her trunk, which meanwhile had remained undisturbed in the care of a friend. This trunk contained some wearing apparel that had been in direct contact with the scarlet-fever patients. Within a week after she had donned this apparel, three children in her employer's family were attacked by the fever, and two of them died.

Let us now consider the means by which we may prevent and destroy the causes that produce zymotic diseases. The first effort of the sanitarian is to compel people who are gathered together in cities and towns to live in a way conducive to health; to construct their dwellings so that they shall be well ventilated; to prevent filth from accumulating; to regulate noisome industries; above all, to protect the food and water supplies. To ef-

fect all this an elaborate system of police has been devised, which enforces the laws relating to health matters. But notwithstanding all precautions that can be taken, zymotic or filth diseases will creep in and destroy life. These diseases can be kept under control only by isolation of the patients, and by thorough disinfection of all rooms, clothing, etc., infected by them. In the case of small pox we have an additional safeguard, vaccination.

In the Health Department of the city of New York, a special bureau has charge of all matters relating to contagious and infectious diseases. This bureau comprises the corps of medical sanitary inspectors, the vaccinating corps, the disinfecting corps, and the Summer medical corps. A small force of clerks keeps its valuable records.

An ordinance of the Sanitary Code compels physicians to report to the Health Department all cases of contagious and infectious disease. The moment a case is reported, it is referred to the medical sanitary inspector in whose district it occurs. Eleven medical sanitary inspectors have in their charge as many districts, into which the city is divided. The inspector visits each case referred to him, supervising its isolation, and preventing persons who have been exposed to infection or contagion from intermingling with others. Business conducted in apartments in which transmissible disease exists, is stopped until the sick have recovered. All unsanitary surroundings that increase the severity of the disease or tend to favor the retention of its poison, are removed by an order served upon the owner of the dwelling. In case isolation on the premises cannot be effected, by reason of the construction of the house, or in the event of the sick person being too poor to employ a physician, the patient is moved to a hospital for proper treatment.

Should the disease be small pox, it is also referred to the vaccinator in whose district it occurs; and for this purpose the city is divided into as many districts as are necessary efficiently to cope with the number of cases of small pox daily occurring. Thus, in Summer, when but few cases occur, three or four men cover the entire city; while in Winter, when the disease is more prevalent, as many as fifteen or twenty physicians are required to do the work. It is the duty of the vaccinator to protect, by

means of vaccination, all persons who have been directly or indirectly exposed to the disease.

Cases of small pox occurring in apartment, tenement, or boarding houses, or in hotels, are always removed to a hospital. The building in which the case has occurred is placed in charge of a vaccinator, who takes an exact census of its inmates, and vaccinates all who are not already protected by vaccination. Every person who has been exposed is kept under observation for fourteen days, at the end of which time, if no other cases have occurred, the house and its occupants are relieved from the daily inspection of the vaccinator. It is deemed wise to revaccinate persons who have been exposed to small pox, if such persons have not been successfully vaccinated within three years.

At the termination of every case of contagious disease, whether by recovery, removal to a hospital, or death, the infected premises receive a visit from a member of the disinfecting corps, who thoroughly disinfects them, by means of gas generated from burning sulphur, and also by the use of disinfecting solutions. Old and filthy material is destroyed in a crematory which is kept constantly in running order at the disinfecting depot. Here also is an elaborate apparatus into which large articles can be put and disinfected by means of hot air or steam. A citizen desiring to have his house or rooms disinfected, has only to write a note to the Health Department requesting it. If the request is found to be based upon good grounds, it is immediately complied with at the expense of the city.

In Spring and Fall, vaccinators are employed for temporary service, in addition to the regular vaccinating corps. The city is then divided into a number of districts. A vaccinator is placed in each, who visits every house, and vaccinates all infants over three months of age whose parents desire it. In this way about 30,000 children are vaccinated annually. Adults who request it are also vaccinated. The operation is performed upon from 80,000 to 90,000 persons every year. The vaccinating corps of the Health Department was organized in 1874. The result of its work was not apparent until 1876. The deaths from small pox previous to 1876 averaged 59.57 per 100,000 per year; since 1876 they have averaged 8.38 per 100,000 per year, and this aver-

age is yearly being reduced. During the past sixteen months we have had only two cases of the disease in New York City. One of these cases occurred in the most thickly-populated part of the city, where the number of inhabitants per acre is greater than on any other spot in the world; yet so well was the neighborhood protected that not a single case occurred among the many persons that were exposed.

The work of the Summer corps is well known. Fifty physicians are appointed every year, during the heated term, to visit the poor and advise them concerning the care of their children. Further, these physicians coöperate with the many charitable organizations which give excursions about the city, thus affording to thousands of the poor an opportunity to breathe pure air. The result of this work has been that the death rate in 1888, in tenement houses, was less than the general mortality rate for the whole city. The zymotic or filth diseases are waning rapidly.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, epidemics swept over the civilized world, almost depopulating it. Small pox alone never entirely ceased, and every few years it became a great epidemic, even as late as the eighteenth century. Almost every person sickened of it once in his life. An immense number were blinded. Of infants, one third died before their first year, and one half before their fifth year. Asiatic cholera, the black death, typhus fever, and other epidemics also wrought fearful havoc. Sanitary art, now become sanitary science, stands an able protector against these. Armed with the effective weapons she places in our hands, we no longer dread such fearful visitations. Yet this science is but in its infancy. When it has reached its full growth, the filth diseases, now already called the "preventable diseases," will be things of the past.

CYRUS EDSON.

The Forum.

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FORMATIVE INFLUENCES.

IN 1842, and thereabouts, it was my privilege to be a member of the Preston Mechanics' Institute—to attend its lectures and to make use of its library. A learned and accomplished clergyman, named, if I remember aright, John Clay, chaplain of the House of Correction, lectured from time to time on mechanics. A fine, earnest old man, named, I think, Moses Holden, lectured on astronomy, while other lecturers took up the subjects of general physics, chemistry, botany, and physiology. My recollection of it is dim, but the instruction then received entered, I doubt not, into the texture of my mind, and influenced me in after life. One experiment made in these lectures I have never forgotten. Surgeon Corless lectured on respiration, explaining, among other things, the changes produced by the passage of air through the lungs. What went in as free oxygen, came out bound up in carbonic acid. To prove this he took a flask of lime water, and, by means of a glass tube dipped into it, forced his breath through the water. The carbonic acid from the lungs seized upon the dissolved lime, converting it into carbonate of lime, which, being practically insoluble, was precipitated. All this was predicted beforehand by the lecturer; but the delight with which I saw his prediction fulfilled, by the conversion of the limpid lime

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water into a turbid mixture of chalk and water, remains with me, as a memory, to the present hour.

At the invitation of an officer of the Royal Engineers, who afterward became one of my most esteemed and intimate friends, I quitted school in 1839, to join a division of the Ordnance Survey. The profession of a civil engineer having then great attractions for me, I joined the Survey, intending, if possible, to make myself master of all its operations, as a first step toward becoming a civil engineer. Draughtsmen were the best paid, and I became a draughtsman. But I habitually made incursions into the domains of the calculator and computer, and thus learned all their art. In due time the desire to make myself master of field operations caused me to apply for permission to go to the field. The permission was granted by my excellent friend, General George Wynne, who then, as Lieutenant Wynne, did all he could to promote my desire for improvement. Before returning to the office I had mastered all the mysteries of ordinary field work. But there remained a special kind of field work which had not been mastered—the making of trigonometrical observations. By good fortune some work of this kind was required at a time when all the duly-recognized observers were absent. Under the tutelage of a clever master, named Conwill, I had acquired, before quitting school, a sound knowledge of elementary geometry and trigonometry. Relying on this to carry me through, I volunteered to make the required observations. After some hesitation and a little chaff, a theodolite was confided to me.

The instrument embraces an accurately-graduated horizontal circle, for the measurement of horizontal angles, and a similarly-graduated vertical circle, for the taking of vertical angles. It is moreover furnished with a formidable array of clamp screws, tangent screws, and verniers, sufficient, at least, to tax a novice to unravel them. My first care, before applying the instrument, was to understand its construction. This accomplished, I took the field with two assistants, who had to measure up-hill and down-hill, along the sides of large triangles into which the whole country had been previously divided. At the same time angles of elevation had to be taken up-hill, and angles of depression

down-hill, and from these the true horizontal distance had to be calculated. The heights above the sea level of the corners of the large triangles had been previously fixed with the utmost accuracy by a very powerful theodolite, and the measurements with my smaller instrument had to come pretty close to the accurate determination to save my work from rejection. Happily I succeeded, though there had been bets against me. The pay upon the Ordnance Survey was very small—a little under twenty shillings a week. I have often wondered since at the amount of genuine happiness which a young fellow of regular habits, not caring for either pipe or mug, may extract from pay like this.

Then came a pause, and after it the mad time of the railway mania, when I was able to turn to some account the knowledge gained upon the Ordnance Survey. In Staffordshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Durham, and Yorkshire, more especially the last, I was in the thick of the fray. It was a time of terrible toil. The day's work in the field usually began and ended with the day's light, while frequently in the office there was little difference between day and night, every hour of the twenty-four being absorbed in the work of preparation. The 30th of November was the latest date at which plans and sections of projected lines could be deposited at the Board of Trade. One of my last pieces of field work in those days was the taking of a line of levels from the town of Keighley to the village of Haworth, in Yorkshire. On a certain day, under grave penalties, these levels had to be finished, and this particular day was one of agony to me. The atmosphere seemed filled with mocking demons, laughing at the vanity of my efforts to get the work done. My leveling staves were snapped, and my theodolite was overthrown by the storm. When things are at their worst, a kind of anger often takes the place of fear. It was so in the present instance; I pushed doggedly on, and just at nightfall, when barely able to read the figures on my leveling staff, I planted my last "bench mark" on a tombstone in Haworth churchyard. Close at hand was the vicarage of Mr. Brontë, where the genius was nursed that soon afterward burst forth and astonished the world.

Among the legal giants of those days, Austin and Talbot stood supreme. There was something grand, as well as merci-

less, in the power wielded by those men in entangling and ruining a hostile witness; and yet it often seemed to me that a clear-headed fellow, who had the coolness, honesty, and courage not to go beyond his knowledge, might have foiled both of them. Then we had the giants of the civil engineers—Stephenson, Brunel, Locke, Hawkshaw, and others. Strong men were broken down by the strain and labor of that arduous time. Many pushed through, and are still among us in robust vigor. But some collapsed, while others retired, with large fortunes it is true, but with intellects so shattered that, instead of taking their places in the front rank of English statesmen, as their abilities entitled them to do, they sought rest for their brains in the quiet lives of country gentlemen. In my own modest sphere, I well remember the refreshment occasionally derived from five minutes' sleep on a deal table, with Babbage and Callet's "Logarithms" under my head for a pillow.

It was a time of mad unrest—of downright monomania. In private residences and public halls, in London reception rooms, in hotels and the stables of hotels, among gypsies and costermongers, nothing was spoken of but the state of the share market, the prospects of projected lines, the good fortune of the hostler or pot boy who, by a lucky stroke of business, had cleared ten thousand pounds. High and low, rich and poor, joined in the reckless game. During my professional connection with railways I endured three weeks' misery. It was not defeated ambition; it was not a rejected suit; it was not the hardship endured in either office or field; but it was the possession of certain shares which I had purchased in one of the lines then afloat. The share list of the day proved the winding sheet of my peace of mind. I was haunted by the Stock Exchange. Then, as now, I loved the blue span of heaven; but when I found myself regarding it morning after morning, not with the fresh joy which, in my days of innocence, it had brought me, but solely with reference to its possible effect, through the harvest, upon the share market, I became so savage with myself, that nothing remained but to go down to my brokers and to put away the shares as an accursed thing. Thus began and thus ended, without either gain or loss, my railway gambling.

During this arduous period of my life, my old tendencies, chief among which was the desire to grow intellectually, did not forsake me; and, in 1847, when railway work slackened, I accepted a post as master in Queenwood College, Hampshire. There I had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Frankland, who had charge of the chemical laboratory. Queenwood College had been the Harmony Hall of the Socialists, which, under the auspices of the philanthropist Robert Owen, was built to inaugurate the Millennium. The letters "C. of M." (Commencement of Millennium) were actually inserted, in flint, in the brickwork of the house. At Queenwood I learned, by practical experience, that two factors go to the formation of a teacher. In regard to knowledge, he must, of course, be master of his work. But knowledge is not all. There may be knowledge without power—the ability to inform without the ability to stimulate. Both go together in the true teacher. A power of character must underlie and enforce the work of the intellect. There are men who can so rouse and energize their pupils, so call forth their strength and the pleasure of its exercise, as to make the hardest work agreeable. Without this power, it is questionable whether the teacher can ever really enjoy his vocation; with it, I do not know a higher, nobler, more blessed calling than that of the man who, scorning the "cramming" so prevalent in our day, converts the knowledge he imparts into a lever, to lift, exercise, and strengthen the growing minds committed to his care.

At the time here referred to I had emerged from some years of hard labor the fortunate possessor of two or three hundred pounds. By selling my services in the dearest market, during the railway madness, the sum might, without dishonor, have been made a large one; but I respected ties which existed prior to the time when offers became lavish and temptation strong. I did not put my money in a napkin, but cherished the design of spending it in study at a German university. I had heard of German science, while Carlyle's reference to German philosophy and literature caused me to regard them as a kind of revelation from the gods. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1848, Frankland and I started for the land of universities.

Our place of study was the town of Marburg, in Hesse Cassel;

and a very picturesque town Marburg is. It clambers pleasantly up the hillsides, and falls as pleasantly toward the Lahn. On a May day, when the orchards are in blossom, and the chestnuts clothed with their heavy foliage, Marburg is truly lovely. It has, moreover, a history. It was here that Saint Elizabeth shed her holy influence and dispensed her mercies. The noble double-spired church which bears her name and contains her dust, stands here to commemorate her. On a high hill top which dominates the town, rises the fine old castle where, in the Ritter-saal, Luther and Zwingli held their famous conference on Con-substantiation and Transubstantiation. Here, for a time, lived William Tyndale, first translator of the New Testament into English, who was afterward strangled and burnt in Vilvorden. Here Wolff expounded his philosophy; and here Denis Papin invented his digester, and is said to have invented a working steam engine. The principal figure in the university at the time of our visit was Bunsen, who had made his name illustrious by chemical researches of unparalleled difficulty and importance, and by the successful application of chemical and physical principles to explain the volcanic phenomena of Iceland. It was he, for example, who first laid bare the secret of the geysers, and gave the true theory of their action. A very worthy old professor named Gerling kept the observatory and lectured on physics. Professor Stegmann, an excellent teacher, lectured on mathematics; Ludwig and Fick were at the Anatomical Institute; Waitz lectured on philosophy and anthropology; Hessel expounded crystallography; while my accomplished friend Knoblauch arrived subsequently from Berlin. The university at the time numbered about three hundred students, and it suited my mood and means far better than one of the larger universities.

My study was warmed by a large stove. At first I missed the gleam and sparkle from flame and ember, but soon became accustomed to the obscure heat. At six in the morning a small *milchbrod* and a cup of tea were brought to me. The dinner hour was one, and for the first year or so I dined at a hotel. Our dinner consisted of several courses, roast and boiled, and finished up with sweets and dessert. The cost was a pound a month, or about eightpence per dinner. I usually limited myself

to one of the courses, using even it in moderation, being already convinced that eating too much was quite as sinful, and almost as ruinous, as drinking too much. Watch and ward were therefore kept over the eating. By attending to such things I was able to work without weariness for sixteen hours a day.

Early risers are sometimes described as insufferable people. They are, it is said, self-righteous—filled with the pharisaical “Lord, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are!” It may be so; but we have now to deal, not with generalizations, but with facts. My going to Germany had been opposed by some of my friends as quixotic, and my life there might, perhaps, be not unfairly thus described. I did not work for money; I was not even spurred by “the last infirmity of noble minds.” I had been reading Fichte, and Emerson, and Carlyle, and had been infected by the spirit of these great men. Let no one persuade you that they were not great men. The Alpha and Omega of their teaching was loyalty to duty. Higher knowledge and greater strength were within reach of the man who unflinchingly enacted his best insight. It was a noble doctrine, though it may sometimes have inspired exhausting disciplines and unrealizable hopes. At all events it held me to my work, and in the long cold mornings of the German Winter, defended by a *Schlafrock* lined with catskin, I usually felt a freshness and strength—a joy in mere living and working, derived from perfect health—which was something different from the malady of self-righteousness.

I attended the lectures of many of the eminent men above mentioned, concentrating my chief attention, however, on mathematics, physics, and chemistry. One would like to have an opportunity of subjecting these lectures, especially those of Bunsen, to a riper judgment than mine was at that time. I learnt German by listening to Bunsen, and as my knowledge of the language increased, the lectures grew more and more fascinating. But my interest was alive from the first, for Bunsen was a master of the language of experiment, thus reaching the mind through the eye as well as through the ear. The lectures were full of matter. Notes of them are still in my possession which inform me how full they were, and how completely they were kept abreast of the most advanced knowledge of the day. Bunsen was a man of

fine presence, tall, handsome, courteous, and without a trace of affectation or pedantry. He merged himself in his subject; his exposition was lucid, and his language pure; he spoke with the clear Hanoverian accent which is so pleasant to English ears; he was every inch a gentleman. After some experience of my own, I still look back on Bunsen as the nearest approach to my ideal of a university teacher. He sometimes seemed absent-minded, and as he gazed through the window at the massive Elisabethen Kirche, appeared to be thinking of it, rather than of his lecture. But there was no interruption, no halting or stammering to indicate that he had been for a single moment forgetful. He lectured every day in Winter, and twice a day in Summer, beginning his course on organic chemistry at seven in the morning. After the lectures, laboratory work continued till noon. Dr. Debus, the distinguished professor of chemistry at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was Bunsen's laboratory assistant at this time, and to him I was indebted for some lessons in blow-pipe chemistry. Bunsen afterward took me under his own charge, giving me Icelandic trachytes to analyze, and other work. Besides being a chemist, he was a profound physicist. His celebrated *Publicum* on electro-chemistry, to which we all looked forward as a treat of the highest kind, was physical from beginning to end. He was the intimate friend of W. Weber of Göttingen, and was well acquainted with the labors of that great electrician. Breaking ground in frictional electricity, he passed on to the phenomena and theory of the voltaic pile. He was a great upholder of the contact theory, which had many supporters in Germany at the time, one of the foremost of these being the genial-minded Kohlrausch. There are no doubt eminent philosophers among us who would pronounce the theory, in its first form, unthinkable, inasmuch as it implied the creation of force out of nothing; but the fact that some of the most celebrated scientific men in the world, with the illustrious Volta himself as their leader, accepted and saw nothing incongruous in it, shows how "unthinkability" depends upon the state of our knowledge. The laws of Ohm were expounded with great completeness by Bunsen. Various modes of electric measurement were illustrated; the electric light from the carbon battery, invented by himself, was

introduced; the electric telegraph was explained; Steinheil's researches in regard to the "earth circuit" were developed; and it was in these lectures that I first heard an honoring and appreciative reference to the "*Englische Bierbrauer*," Joule.

Stegmann, the professor of mathematics, was also a man of strong individuality. He lectured in a small room on the flat which he occupied. This was the usual arrangement: each professor had a lecture room on his own floor, and the students, in passing from lecture to lecture, had sometimes to go from one end of Marburg to the other. The desks were of the most primitive description, and into them the inkhorns were securely fixed by means of spikes at the bottom. Besides attending his lectures, I had private lessons from Professor Stegmann. He was what I have already described him to be, an excellent teacher. He lectured on analysis, on analytical geometry of two and three dimensions, on the differential and integral calculus, on the calculus of variations, and on theoretical mechanics. In mathematics he appeared to be entirely at home. I have sometimes seen him, after he had almost wholly covered his blackboard with equations, suddenly discover that he had somewhere made a mistake. When this occurred he would look perplexed, shuffle his chalk vaguely over the board, move his tongue to and fro between his lips, until he had hit upon the error. His face would then flush, and he would dash forward with redoubled speed and energy, clearing every difficulty up before the end of the lecture. It was he who gave me the subject of my dissertation when I took my degree. Its title in English was, "On a Screw Surface with Inclined Generatrix, and on the Conditions of Equilibrium on such Surfaces." One evening, after he had given me this subject, I met him at a party, and asked him a question which I did not dream of as touching the solution of the problem. But he smiled and said, "Yes, Herr Tyndall; but if I tell you that, I must tell you a great deal more." I thought he meant to insinuate that I wished for illegitimate aid in the working out of my theme. I shrank together, and resolved that if I could not, without the slightest aid, accomplish the work from beginning to end, it should not be accomplished at all. Wandering among the pine woods, and pondering the subject, I be-

came more and more master of it; and when my dissertation was handed in to the Philosophical Faculty, it did not contain a thought that was not my own.

One of my experiences at Marburg may be worth noting. For a good while I devoted myself wholly to the acquisition of knowledge; heard lectures and worked in the laboratory abroad, and studied hard at home. When a boy at school I had read an article, probably by Addison, on the importance of order in the distribution of our time, and for the first year or so my time was ordered very stringently, specified hours being devoted to special subjects of study. But in process of time I began the attempt of adding to knowledge as well as acquiring it. My first little physical investigation was on a subject of extreme simplicity, but by no means devoid of scientific interest—phenomena of a water jet. Among other things I noticed that the musical sound of cascades and rippling streams, as well as the sonorous voice of the ocean, was mainly if not wholly due to the breaking of air bladders entangled in the water. There is no rippling sound of water unaccompanied by bubbles of air. This inquiry was followed by others of a more complicated and difficult kind. Well, over and over again, after work of this description had begun, I found myself infringing my program of study. Discontent and self-reproach were the first result. But it was soon evident that a rigid ordering of time would now be out of place. You could not call up, at will, the spirit of research. It was like that other spirit which cometh when it listeth, and greater wisdom was shown in following out, at the time, a profitable line of thought, than in adhering to a fixed lesson plan. By degrees all discontent vanished, and I became acclimatized to my new intellectual conditions. Continuing to work strenuously, but happily, till the autumn of 1850, I then came to England, and there saw Faraday for the first time. But I soon returned to Germany, accompanied by my lifelong friend, Mr. Thomas Archer Hirst, late director of studies in the Royal Naval College.

Rumors of the great men of Berlin reached Marburg from time to time. Their names and labors were frequently mentioned in the lectures. Having previously learned that I should have the privilege of working there in the laboratory of Profes-

sor Magnus, to Berlin I went in the beginning of 1851. Magnus had made his name famous by physical researches of the highest importance. The finish and completeness of his experiments were characteristic. He was a wealthy man, and spared neither pains nor expense to render his apparatus not only effective but beautiful. His experiments on the deviation of projectiles may be noted as special illustrations here. But on everything he touched he sought to confer completeness. The last years of his life were, for the most part, occupied in a discussion with myself on one of the most difficult subjects of experimental physics—the interaction of radiant heat and matter in the gaseous state of aggregation. It was also my privilege to meet Dove, who was renowned in various ways as a physicist. He had won fame in optics, acoustics, and electricity, but his greatest labors were in the field of scientific meteorology. The two Roses were there, Heinrich and Gustav, genial and admirable men, the one a great chemist, the other a great geologist. I met Mitscherlich, whose researches in crystallographic chemistry and physics had rendered his name illustrious. With Ehrenberg I had various conversations on microscopic organisms. I wanted at the time some amorphous carbonate of lime, and thought that Ehrenberg's microscopic chalk shells might serve my purposes; but I was thrown back by learning that the shells, small as they were, were built of crystals smaller still. I made the acquaintance of Riess, the foremost exponent of frictional electricity, who more than once opposed to Faraday's radicalism his own conservatism as regards electric theory. Du Bois-Reymond was there at the time, full of power, both physical and mental. His fame had been everywhere noised abroad in connection with his researches on animal electricity. Du Bois-Reymond is now perpetual secretary to the Academy of Sciences, in Berlin, and his discourses before that learned body show that his literary power takes rank with his power as an investigator. At the same time I met Clausius, known all over the world through his researches on the mechanical theory of heat, whose first great paper on the subject I translated before quitting Marburg. Wiedemann was there, whose proper researches have given him an enduring place in science, and who has applied his vast powers of reading and

of organization to throwing into a convenient form the labors of all men and nations on voltaic electricity. Poggendorff, a very able experimenter, was also there. He is chiefly known in connection with the famous journal which so long bore his name.

From all these eminent men I received every mark of kindness, and formed with some of them enduring friendships. Helmholtz was at this time in Königsberg. He had written his renowned essay on the "Conservation of Energy," which I translated; and he had just finished his experiments on the velocity of nervous transmission, proving this velocity—which had previously been regarded as instantaneous, or, at all events, as equal to that of electricity—to be, in the nerves of the frog, only 93 feet a second, or about one twelfth of the velocity of sound in air of the ordinary temperature. In his own house, I had the honor of an interview with Humboldt. He rallied me on having contracted, in Germany, the habit of smoking, his knowledge on this head being derived from my little paper on a water jet, where the noise produced by the rupture of a film between the wet lips of a smoker is referred to. He gave me various messages to Faraday, declaring his belief that he (Faraday) had referred the annual and diurnal variation of the declination of the magnetic needle to their true cause—the variation of the magnetic condition of the oxygen of the atmosphere. I was interested to learn from Humboldt himself that, though so large a portion of his life had been spent in France, he never published a French essay without having it first revised by a Frenchman. In those days I not infrequently found it necessary to subject myself to a process which I called depolarization. My brain, intent on its subjects, used to acquire a set, resembling the rigid polarity of a steel magnet. It lost the pliancy needful for free conversation, and, to recover this, I used to walk occasionally to Charlottenburg or elsewhere. From my experiences at that time, I derived the notion that hard thinking and fleet talking do not run together.

The philosophers of Germany were men of the loftiest moral tone. In fact, they were preachers of religion as much as expounders of philosophy. Shall we say that from them the land took its moral color? It would be to a great extent true to say so; but it should be added that the German philosophers were

themselves products of the German soil, probably deriving the basis of their moral qualities from a period anterior to their philosophy. Let me cite an illustrative anecdote. In the summer of 1871 I met at Pontresina two Prussian officers—a captain and a lieutenant—who had come there to recruit themselves after the hurts and sufferings of the war. We had many walks and many talks together. It was particularly pleasant to listen to the way in which they spoke of the kindness and the sympathy shown by the French peasantry toward the suffering German soldiers, whether wounded or broken down upon the march. I once asked them how the German troops behaved when going into battle. Did they cheer and encourage each other? The reply I received was this: “Never in our experience has the cry, ‘*Wir müssen siegen*’ (we must conquer) been heard from German soldiers; but in a hundred instances we have heard them resolutely exclaim, ‘*Wir müssen unsere Pflicht thun*’ (we must do our duty).” It was a sense of duty rather than love of glory that strengthened those men and filled them with an invincible heroism. We in England have always liked the iron ring of the word “duty.” It was Nelson’s talisman at Trafalgar. It was the guiding star of Wellington. When, in his days of freshness and of freedom, he wrote his immortal ode on the death of the Duke of Wellington, our Laureate poured into the praise of Duty the full strength of his English heart:

“Not once or twice in our rough island-story
 The path of duty was the way to glory :
 He that walks it, only thirsting
 For the right, and learns to deaden
 Love of self, before his journey closes,
 He shall find the stubborn thistle bursting
 Into glossy purples, which outredden
 All voluptuous garden roses.
 Not once or twice in our fair island-story,
 The path of duty was the way to glory.”

JOHN TYNDALL.

A SHORT STUDY OF "HAMLET."

WHETHER Shakespeare, in writing to supply the demands of a contemporary stage, intended a philosophy no deeper than could be given forth and received at one presentation, matters little; the finding of the lesson in his works is all, and should content us. In the play of "Hamlet," the problem so clearly given and so hard to solve, is action as related to and affected by thought. For its solution we have not only Hamlet, lone wandering though not lost, sorely perplexed yet with choice enough to serve the differences of sense and ecstasy, but placed beside him in strong contrast to each other and him, we find two other characters, whose struggles with different phases of the theme throw light upon his own. In fact, for the purpose of moral teaching, "Hamlet" without Hamlet, would be but little worse than "Hamlet" without Laertes or Horatio.

Laertes practically illustrates impulse without judgment, action without thought. In the midst of the allurements and pleasures of the French court, Laertes hears of the death of his father, and in the flash of thought he sweeps to his revenge. With sedition roused and barking at his heels, he rushes into the presence of the king, braves his power, and demands his father:

"I'll not be juggled with :
To hell, allegiance ! vows, to the blackest devil !
Conscience, and grace, to the profoundest pit !
I dare damnation : to this point I stand,—
That both the worlds I give to negligence,
Let come what comes ; only I'll be revenged
Most thoroughly for my father."

His text is Macbeth's:

"The flighty purpose never is o'ertook
Unless the deed go with it."

He would slay the king before his guilt is fixed; Hamlet could

not after. Reflection is not characteristic of Laertes; it comes only when his life blood is mingling with that of the unhappy prince who is dying by his side.

Midway between Laertes and Hamlet stands Horatio, the perfect man, whose mind is even and whose action just; whose passion is balanced by his reason and his deed by thought. Mark him:

"Horatio, thou art e'en as just a man
As e'er my conversation cop'd withal.

Give me that man
That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart,
As I do thee."

A man so passion-tempered and reflection-led, he stands beyond "the shot of accident or the dart of chance"; his "life is gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world, 'This is a man.'"

With these two in themselves well-marked figures, but serving as foils to set off his defect, stands Hamlet, wrapt in the pall of gloom and destiny, enacting an awful argument against that fatal weakness of the human mind—soul-harrowing hesitancy. Capable of conceiving great deeds, he parleys too long with time and consequence, and purpose palls. Prolific of intent, he is barren of fulfillment. He is thought without action. In the flush of excitement he swears to perform a terrible deed, from which in his calmer moments his whole nature recoils. Prompted within and without to an act of revenge, he falters in the face of action, and is all unmanned by weighing too long the issue. Superhuman power wrung from him the vow, and his whole after life wrought out philosophies against its execution. He vainly searched for means by which to do and yet not to do it; he sought to reconcile God's will with man's passion. The voice from the grave—petty in that it was human, but strong in being that of a beloved father—cries "Revenge! Revenge! Remember me!" while echoed from the thunders of Sinai comes the sterner voice, "Thou shalt not kill. Vengeance is mine, mine only. I will repay."

Divided thus against himself, hesitating between the instincts of nature and the revelations of divine law, striving to make accord between what he would and what he should not, essaying purposes that a higher power ever thwarts, he falters again and again, till at length aroused by very desperation, he takes life and yields his own, a victim of thought turned by excess to melancholy. This tendency of Hamlet Shakespeare shows in less ideal form in the utterances of many other characters. Brutus, Macbeth, Richard II., Iago, as they contemplate action, all speak of the halting, doubting overthought in which stagnate the powers of accomplishment.

Of himself, feeling too well the "different plague of each calamity," Hamlet says:

"Now, whether it be
Bestial oblivion, or some craven scruple
Of thinking too precisely on the event,—
A thought, which, quarter'd, hath but one part wisdom
And ever three parts coward,—I do not know
Why yet I live to say, 'This thing's to do.'"

How keenly, too, he must have felt the comment of the player king:

"I do believe, you think what now you speak;
But, what we do determine oft we break.
What to ourselves in passion we propose,
The passion ending, doth the purpose lose."

From the play we might quote many such passages, but these are sufficient to sound the key note of the terrible discord that cracked in the ring the music of Hamlet's life.

Nor was he a mere phlegmatic dreamer; his vehemence of passion is shown in

"Haste me to know 't; that I, with wings as swift
As meditation, or the thoughts of love,
May sweep to my revenge."

And again he startles us with

"Now could I drink hot blood,
And do such bitter business as the day
Would quake to look on."

His was a nature charged with the strong instincts of a northern race, but borne down by burdens too great for mortals

to bear. Behold him at the opening of the play, harassed with doubts concerning his father's death, shocked by the hasty marriage of his mother, his studies abruptly broken off, love's gentle course obstructed, and the general state menaced from without by war. Can we wonder then that "pale and yellow melancholy" had congealed the genial current of his blood, and "marked him for her own"?

Add to this the effect made by the dread appearance of his father's spirit, startling him into thoughts beyond the reach of his soul, and could we greatly wonder if he had been drawn indeed into very madness? But it was not so. True, in times of heavy gloom and dark despondency the balance of his mind dips deep, yet he maintains through all his reason's poise.

The question of Hamlet's insanity, though discussed to tediousness, has not, I think, been considered in the light of its full importance. It is in fact the main motive of the whole, animating every scene and situation. We ask then, Was our hero's insanity assumed or real? If assumed, it is as a silken cord threading the incidents of the play as dewy pearls in a priceless necklace. If real, it is as the waste hemp binding a life's loose deeds and thoughts as driftwood for the burning. The play then loses all interest of plot-development, the Prince becomes a mindless involuntary agent, and the events are but flotsam on the tide of time.

Yet many commentators whose writings show them to be in all else of healthy wit, insist upon his madness, and call in the keepers of the insane to declare, "How pregnant his replies sometimes are. A happiness that often madness hits upon, which reason and sanity could not so prosperously be delivered of." And in the very utterance, like new Poloniuses, they become the gulls of Hamlet's jesting. Such critics, in all good truth and merit, "deserve the whip as madmen do, and the reason they are not so punished and cured is" that the keepers they call in are themselves insane. For has it ever occurred to them to inquire how Hamlet could hope to deceive the court if he did not assume some of the forms of veritable madness? Madness is hardly the stuff of which, among many other things, his most profound soliloquies are made. It is not in madness that

he speaks so sagely to the players, nor so directly to his mother, when he lays aside his folly's mask and says:

"It is not madness
That I have utter'd: bring me to the test,
And I the matter will re-word, which madness
Would gambol from."

And later when he protests to her:

"That I essentially am not in madness,
But mad in craft."

Nor will the theory of an intermittent madness explain away these difficulties. It is but a poor shift to say that these are the utterances of lucid intervals in his delirium. Such interims of light may be of scientific truth, but in the plot of "Hamlet" they would be of no dramatic worth. Is it not strange, too, that Horatio, his stay in his life's great trial, he whom Hamlet wore in his "heart's core, ay, in his heart of heart," has expressed no suspicion of his schoolfellow's madness?

Moreover, to make Hamlet mad would be to violate a dramatic law that Shakespeare himself created and most carefully observes through all his plays, viz., contrast in character. Poor Tom's deceit is the foil to Lear's madness; so, conversely, Ophelia's madness is the foil to Hamlet's feigning. Ophelia is mad in fact, Hamlet but in craft; and to make the madness of both a reality would be to duplicate types—a fault the genius of the great dramatist could not allow him to commit.

In the work of Saxo Grammaticus, the Danish historian from whom Shakespeare derived the materials for his drama, Amleth is represented as taking on madness of violent form in order to avenge his father. This suggestion of the original, supported by the illustrious examples of Brutus and David, Shakespeare took, and the grossness of its form he refined to suit the more sensitive nature of his creation. And lest Hamlet's taking on of madness might excite suspicion by its suddenness, the great master of construction prepares the court for the change, by presenting him weakened by melancholy and loss of exercise, ere yet he has had occasion to resolve on madness. Melancholy indeed he is, but not mad, nor is he thought so by any about him. He is on one of the approaches to the insane state, but no

farther on the way than is necessary to give color to the change when made, and not far enough for the king to connect it with his father's death.

The way being thus on all sides skillfully prepared, the ghost of his father is introduced to Hamlet; and it comes as no shadowy abstraction, motionless in attitude and monotonous in utterance. It is a father speaking to a son of suffering and wrong; but with that tenderness that marked him on the earth, he then melts in pity over the guilty frail one, whom he would leave to the merciful visitation of remorse without additional suffering. It is in pathos that the father speaks; it is in pathos that he is heard by the son. The harrowing tale is told, and Hamlet swears to remember it "while memory holds a seat in this distracted globe."

"Remember thee!

Yea, from the table of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
That youth and observation copied there;
And thy commandment all alone shall live
Within the book and volume of my brain,
Unmix'd with baser matter: yes, by heaven!"

Hamlet is now wholly and solely vowed to revenge. When Horatio and Marcellus again appear, they seek to know the dread mystery of the ghost, and Hamlet is on the point of gratifying their curiosity, when suddenly he bethinks himself and changes his whole manner.

"How say you then; would heart of man once think it?
But you'll be secret,—

HOR. and MAR.: Ay, by heaven, my lord!

HAM.: There's ne'er a villain, dwelling in all Denmark,—"

Horatio and Marcellus bend forward to catch the coming secret. Hamlet pauses; then intercepting his original thought, he ends irrelevantly with:

"But he's an arrant knave";

for the idea has suddenly occurred to him that although Horatio may be trusted with the truth, it is not necessary to include Marcellus. What the latter already knows of his meeting with the

ghost, might, if communicated, excite suspicion of the course he has even now decided to pursue, and lest it should, Hamlet swears him to secrecy and includes Horatio in the oath.

"Here, as before, never, so help you mercy !
How strange or odd soe'er I bear myself,—
As I, perchance, hereafter shall think meet
To put an antic disposition on—
That you, at such times seeing me, never shall
With arms encumber'd thus, or this head-shake,
Or by pronouncing of some doubtful phrase,
As, ' Well, we know ' ;—or, ' We could, an if we would ' ;—
Or, ' If we list to speak ' ;—or, ' There be, an if they might ' ;—
Or such ambiguous giving out, to note
That you know aught of me : this not to do,
So grace and mercy at your most peed help you,
Swear."

Thus in silence and in night, the double secret of his masking and its cause is locked from the king and all the world. Henceforth he is thought mad; until now he has not been considered so. His uncle-father speaks of "Hamlet's transformation"; the Queen, of her "too much changed son." A change has come, and what has wrought it? It was not the terrors of that ghostly night, but the Prince himself that did it by design; and the form of mental ill he chose was that fantastic one that gave him unrestricted liberty of observation and remark. And wherefore did he put the antic disposition on? I answer, out of his weakness and his melancholy. He could not seek the King and kill him at a blow. His relaxed energies failed him at the thought; his sensitive spirit shrank from assassination. Nor could he deal with him through the laws; the usurper was above the courts. "Offence's gilded hand could shove by justice" and "buy out the law."

The incitements to war, intended by the appearance of his father in arms, the insurrection of Laertes, and the expedition of Fortinbras, his nature could not catch; and in his "quick conceiving discontents" he hit on madness as a means whereby he might do and yet not do the deed. Such a stroke chimed, too, with his life's tune. We pity his indecision, but would we not have condemned the blow had he in sudden vengeance dealt it? Had he struck upon the instant and slain the King in open court,

we had not had our lesson—we had not been warned of the evils of indecision, that loses action, love, and life itself.

An evidence that Hamlet was insane before he announced his intention of insanity, is found by some in his treatment of the ghost. He calls him "Truepenny" and "Old Mole," terms applied in the sport of old-time plays, to the devil by the Vice—an extravagant character in a long coat, a cap with a pair of ass's ears, bearing a wooden sword. Shakespeare alludes to this buffoon appearance in "Twelfth Night." *

"In a trice, like the good old Vice
Who with his dagger of lath, in his rage and his wrath
Cries 'Ah! ha!' to the devil."

In the closet scene Hamlet calls his uncle a "Vice of kings," "a king of shreds and patches"; in fact, a harlequin monarch, one who only misrepresents majesty. So when he enjoins the oath of secrecy, and the ghost in his sepulchral tones cries out from below, "Swear," Hamlet takes advantage of these humorous expressions, made familiar by stage custom, and calls him "Truepenny" and "Old Mole," in order to conceal from Marcellus the real nature of the apparition.

At this time, Hamlet has no suspicion that the ghost is other than the "honest ghost" of his father. It was not until later, when resolution palled, that he made shift of doubts to excuse delay in execution. Now he is clear in his office and ready in the conception of his plan. But by whom shall he make the cause of his strangeness appear other than it is; by whom shall he establish belief in his fiction? Ophelia shall do both—Ophelia, that maiden of whom we see so little but for whom we feel so deeply; modest and beautiful, entertaining for the first time love's gentle tyranny. And this very tender passion, in the sternness of his vow, he turns to his account. His love for her must seem the disturbing cause, and her father, the garrulous chamberlain, will be the apt instrument for its dissemination in the court. The harshness of Hamlet's treatment of Ophelia is advanced as a strong proof of his insanity, and his actions indeed seem cruel; but Hamlet has sworn to wipe away from the table of his memory all but the commandment of a dear father mur-

* Act IV.

dered; and the first sacrifice upon the altar of his oath is his heart's best treasure, she for whom his love was greater than that of "forty thousand brothers."

His manly spirit shrinks from the apparent sternness of his course, but he knows that nothing can so effectually veil his design, or throw so real a coloring over the imposture he is to practice. At the first meeting between them at which we are permitted to be present, Hamlet perceives Ophelia at her devotions and speaks kindly to her; but the moving of the arras suddenly reveals to him the "lawful espial," and suspecting the presence of Polonius, he changes his manner and takes on that of a madman. But he fears no loss of Ophelia's affections by the step. Knowing love for her to be the cause, her heart, in pity for his state, will but go out the more to him. And he solaces himself with the hope that the dreadful task once done, they will again unite, their love more pure from the fiery ordeal through which it has passed. The arrival of the players and his testing of their quality, suggest a way of tenting the conscience of the King, and quieting his rising doubts about the true nature and errand of the ghost that spoke to him. The play will tell him all.

The scene in which Hamlet gives his directions to the players is of peculiar interest, not only from its beautiful propriety of judgment and taste in relation to the effects of the histrionic art, but as revealing most distinctly the theory of the great bard himself regarding the true purpose and character of dramatic representation. We read here the whole account of Shakespeare's slight repute as an actor. The style of authorship that preceded Shakespeare's time, and was still lingering on the stage, seems to have abounded in vehement and exaggerated declamation, rant, and bombast. The measured declamation of the player who quotes the description of Priam's death, is representative of the lower tendencies of the popular taste at the time in which Shakespeare wrote. The genuine relish with which he depicts this fustian of the old school and the rant of its favorite stage, cannot escape attention. It is worthy of note, too, that the Hamlet he employs as the whip of the age's folly, is in flesh and blood an Englishman, and no Dane.

The piteous disclosure of Ophelia's insanity reveals the tragic issues to which the whole conduct of the play is tending. The deeply touching character of this real display of mental ill, is undoubtedly a device of the poet to contrast the truth with the fiction of madness. Hamlet's conduct at the grave of Ophelia has been erroneously considered as a manifestation of want of feeling, and as a plain indication of insanity. Indeed, his conduct may be adduced as an argument of his deep-seated passion for Ophelia, and as directly against his insanity.

The maimed rites of the church have consigned to the earth her whose tender mold was all unfitted to bear the ills of life. Laertes, in his impulsive and reckless manner, leaps into the grave of his sister and invokes the gods to pile mountains on the quick and dead. What can be plainer than the language with which Hamlet rebukes the exaggerated expressions of the brother's grief, and asserts his own love?

"I lov'd Ophelia ; forty thousand brothers
Could not, with all their quantity of love,
Make up my sum."

This, with what follows in the scene, is the outpouring of the long pent-up torrent. Nature at last gives way, and the agonized heart of the Prince finds vent in that burst of violent passion in which love, rage, and wildness are blended, until, overcome with his emotions, and the conviction that he has betrayed his secret, he rushes from the scene, giving utterance to one of those strange exclamations of mingled sense and incoherency by which he seeks to restore belief in his insanity. This is the last outburst of violence; when he next appears, how tranquil, how subdued has he become. The pall of the coming catastrophe has thrown its shadow over him, and he seems like one just awakened from a terrible dream.

Osric enters, and delivers the challenge to the trial of skill with the foils. It is accepted, and, in reply to Horatio, who says, "You will lose this wager, my lord," Hamlet replies:

"I do not think so ; since he went into France, I have been in continual practice ; I shall win at the odds. But thou wouldst not think, how ill all's here about my heart ; but it is no matter.

HORATIO: If your mind dislike anything, obey it. I will forestall their repair hither, and say, you are not fit.

HAMLET: Not a whit, we defy augury; there's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come: the readiness is all: since no man knows aught of what he leaves, what is 't to leave betimes? Let be."

What more has he to live for? Self-condemned, he shrinks from the wearisome burden of life and all its fearful responsibilities; he longs to "leave betimes."

The last scene opens with the King, Queen, and assembled court. The trial of skill begins. Hamlet is hit by Laertes with the poisoned foil. They close and struggle. Hamlet seizes the fatal weapon, and wrenching it from the hands of Laertes, runs him through the body. He falls, crying out:

"Hamlet, thou art slain;
No medicine in the world can do thee good,
In thee there is not half an hour of life;
The treacherous instrument is in thy hand,
Unbated, and envenomed:

I can no more;—the King,—the King's to blame.

HAMLET: "The point envenom'd too!
Then, venom, to thy work!"

He dashes the king's sword from his hand, and stabs him to the heart. Thus is the ghost avenged by an accident, and thus are Hamlet's own words verified:

"Let us know, our indiscretion sometimes serves us well,
When our deep plots do pall."

What can be more conclusive evidence of sanity (though vexed by mental complexities and physical perturbation) than Hamlet's words to Horatio, to set him right in the eyes of the world—to tell his story; how he was enjoined, by the dread visitation of his father's ghost, to avenge his murder; how he had put on the antic disposition to cover his real designs; how he had slain Polonius by mistake and driven his daughter to frenzy and death; the queen poisoned, Laertes dead, and his own death closing the eventful history.

"O, good Horatio, what a wounded name,
Things standing thus unknown, shall leave behind me?"

If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,
Absent thee from felicity awhile,
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,
To tell my story."

This is the legacy he bequeathed to his bosom friend. His generous spirit shrank at the possibility that doubt and uncertainty would rest on his motives and actions. He could not die until he was assured that justice would be done his name; that the people would know his wrongs, and his struggles to redress them; that they would sympathize with the sufferings of a loving son, contending with the dread command of a murdered father, and the promptings of a soul deeply imbued with philosophy, humanity, and the sacred principles of eternal truth.

As the curtain falls on the sad spectacle of human frailty, what feeling heart, as it throbs with sympathetic pity, will forbear to re-echo the beautiful tribute paid by Horatio to his sorely-tried friend and fellow student:

"Now cracks a noble heart. Good-night, sweet prince;
And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest!"

JAMES E. MURDOCH.

OBSTACLES TO CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

THE principal object of this article is to set in as clear a light as possible some of the obstacles which stand in the way of civil-service reform; incidentally it will show how those obstacles are to be overcome. The morality, the expediency, and the necessity of that reform we shall, for the most part, assume. Our purpose is not to persuade its opponents, but to assist its friends. Neither do we attempt to lay down any plan of campaign. Let us first see clearly what we have to do; the methods of doing it are matters for subsequent consideration. By civil-service reform we do not understand merely the honest enforcement of the present civil-service act. The operation of that act is, by its own provisions, of very limited extent. It applies to the "classified civil service" only, and that includes less than one eighth of the offices at the disposal of the national government. There is another very small portion of the public offices, varying in number according to the condition of political affairs, which any administration, in order to carry out its policy successfully, will find it necessary to fill with its political friends. But, instead of one eighth, at least five sixths of the offices in the national government should be filled and held in entire independence of party considerations. So long as politicians habitually regard sixty thousand post offices and a not much smaller number of other offices as legitimate party plunder, they will look upon evasions of the civil-service act as worthy of censure only when performed so bunglingly as to be detected by the opposite party. In civil-service reform we must get the whole before we can have much assurance of keeping a part. Hitherto the support given to the civil-service act has been, to a great extent, cowardly and fraudulent—cowardly, because members of Congress who posed as its friends have neglected or refused to supply the means which they knew were necessary to carry it out; fraudulent, be-

cause those who pretended to be enforcing it were all the while contriving how to evade its provisions.

Genuine civil-service reform is based upon a single fact, and aims at carrying into effect a single principle. The fact is this: seven eighths, perhaps more, of the persons who are engaged in transacting the business and executing the laws of the United States, are discharging duties which, when properly performed, are performed in precisely the same manner, whether they themselves or those with whom they have to deal are Republicans or Democrats or of any other political party. If a clerk in the custom house does his duty as he ought to do it, no one will ever ascertain whether he believes in protection or free trade by watching how he turns marks into dollars or poods into pounds. If a postmaster performs his duties with the promptness, courtesy, and impartiality which he is legally and morally bound to exercise, no one, by observing how he receives and delivers letters and papers, will ever find out his opinions, or the opinions of those who call at his office, on the propriety of paying subsidies to the owners of steamships or the expediency of establishing postal telegraphs.

The principle of the reformers is this: where the political opinions and affiliations of the holder of an office can rightfully in no way affect his discharge of its duties, his appointment to the office, or his tenure of it, should likewise in no way be affected by them. Mr. Cleveland formulated the principle in the sentence, "Public office is a public trust." The most inveterate spoilsman might assent to this formula if he were allowed to put his own interpretation upon it. But friends and foes alike interpreted it, and believed that Mr. Cleveland intended it to be interpreted, as meaning that the trust should be committed to the best attainable trustee, irrespective of party considerations, and executed by him until the public interests, also irrespective of party considerations, should require its withdrawal and its commission to another.

The principle of the spoils system was formulated during the administration of Andrew Jackson, by the adoption and interpretation of an ancient maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils"; "victors" being interpreted to mean the successful party, and

"spoils" the public offices. But the doctrine can be formulated and interpreted in a manner more consonant with its actual application, and better fitted, by its identity in form, to emphasize its contrast in meaning with Mr. Cleveland's declaration. That form is "Public office is a party prize"; and the interpretation of the maxim so expressed is that the prize should be awarded to him who will contribute most to the continued success of the party and faction, and especially to the political fortunes of the person by whom the prize is conferred. To the reformers this doctrine seems morally wicked and logically absurd. By their discussions of the doctrine they have undoubtedly done much to expose its immorality and absurdity; but we think they have greatly underestimated the strength, and often misconceived the nature, of the hold it has upon the thoughts, the habits, and the political life of the masses of the people.

The adoption of the principle that public office is a party prize, was apparently sanctioned by the second election of Jackson. It was one of those cases which are constantly occurring under a democratic form of government, where, for all practical purposes, acquiescence is equivalent to approval. For a time the protests of the opposition were frequent and earnest. They grew fainter under Van Buren. Their last echoes were drowned in the roar of the hard-cider spree of 1840. The elder Harrison was inaugurated in the midst of a vast mob of office-seekers, hoarse with vociferous demands that the spoils should be divided, and that too with a celerity that was physically impossible.

The application of the spoils principle was taken as a matter of course until, under the administration of Gen. Grant, its abuses had become so rank that, by the act of 1871, the President was authorized to make a limited experiment in reform. But the subsequent action, or rather lack of action, on the part of Congress, showed that the authorization was as dishonest as it was limited. The requisite machinery to carry out the provisions of the act was hardly organized and put in motion before the President was obliged to call a halt. The means for making the experiment were exhausted, and Congress neglected to make further provision. In 1879, President Hayes, in view of the coming election, made a faint pretense of renewing the experi-

ment. It had no practical results. The disasters which overwhelmed the Republican Party in 1882, rather than any real desire for civil-service reform, led to the passage, in January, 1883, of the statute known as the Civil-service Act. It is not necessary now to enter into any detailed examination of the way in which that statute has been executed.

The passage of the act has always been regarded by the reformers as a great triumph. We cannot help thinking they have somewhat exaggerated its importance and, to some extent, mistaken its effect upon the minds of the common people. It inserted the thin edge of the wedge of reform into the rotten mass of the spoils system, but the reformers have since somewhat relaxed their efforts to drive the wedge home. Wherever the law has been faithfully executed, it has more than fulfilled the expectations of its supporters. It was faithfully executed by Mr. Burt in the Naval Office in New York; and the duties of that office were never discharged in a manner so creditable to the government or so satisfactory to the people. It was faithfully executed by Mr. Pearson in the New York Post Office; and, in spite of difficulties which seemed to be thrown in his way for the mere purpose of embarrassing him, that vast machine became one of the model offices of the world. The reformers have been able to point to these and other notable examples as proofs of the practicability and expediency of the law, and for this we should be thankful. On the other hand, no law of so much public importance, and yet so limited in its range, has been so often evaded and so impudently violated. The stock argument of the opponents of the reformed system has always been that it is impracticable, and they have pointed to these violations and evasions as the proof. The effect of these arguments upon the public mind has, for reasons which we will presently state, been much greater than is generally supposed.

And now what indications of the progress of civil-service reform are afforded by the first year of the present administration, the seventh year of the operation of the Civil-service Act? On the 4th of March, 1889, Gen. Harrison was inaugurated, amid a throng of office-seekers compared to which every preceding crowd, assembled on a similar occasion, was, in numbers, but as

the congregation of an up-town church compared to a Tammany mass meeting in Union Square. Washington was filled with a vast multitude, who dined in restaurants and slept on cots in halls. Whatever may have been the intentions and wishes of the President, he was swept on by the resistless flood of his own party. So far as the provisions of the Civil-service Act extended, he carried them out in a manner that met the approval of reformers. But that act applied to only one eighth of the civil service. To the other seven eighths the application of the spoils system was demanded by all the influential men with whom he came in contact. The work of removal and appointment was immediately commenced, and has been prosecuted with relentless energy. The reformers stood amazed at the extent, and dazed by the rapidity, of the work. The ears of the President were deafened by the reproaches of an anxious and eager crowd, complaining of the slowness with which their wishes were gratified. They seemed to think that time and numbers imposed no limits on official action. The work is still going on. Probably before the end of another year the axe will cease to fall, not because its edge is dulled or the arms that wield it are weary, but because there are no more heads to lay upon the block. The triumph of the spoils system seems to be complete. But let the reformers take courage; possibly this is the last flurry of the whale.

One of the worst features of the experience through which we are now passing is that it indicates, on the part of politicians, the wide diffusion and rapid increase of a belief that the keeping of promises is no longer an article in the code of political ethics. Declarations of principles, pledges as to future action, are, at each succeeding election, more and more regarded, both by the candidates who make them and by the voters to whom they are made, as mere matters of form, parts of the ordinary campaign machinery, things to be cast aside without scruple because nobody took them in earnest. Words have been misused until they have lost their meaning. No forms of phraseology are left which will impress the popular mind with a conviction of their sincerity. The pledges of fidelity to the principles of civil-service reform contained in the platforms of political conventions and in the speeches of political orators, have exhausted the resources of

the English language. The sheets on which the pledges were printed have long ago been used to kindle fires, and the pledges have gone up in the smoke. At the protests of the reformers the politicians laugh. They say the reformers know nothing of practical politics, are mere theorists and *doctrinaires*. For reasons that we will now endeavor to make clear, we fear the great majority of the people still agree with the politicians.

From the second election of Jackson, in 1832, down to the present time, the doctrine that "public office is a party prize" has been the controlling factor in the administration of the national government. The limited and imperfectly-executed Civil-service Act, so far as its effect on the great body of the common people is concerned, constitutes no exception. Every boy of fifteen who hurrahed, because his father voted, for Jackson in 1832, had, if alive at the election in 1888, passed the age of three score and ten. Every voter who cast a ballot in 1832 and lived to cast one in 1888, was then seventy-seven or more years old. Even among this little band of aged men the administration of government upon any other plan was but a dim reminiscence of boyhood. Practically they were in the same condition as their younger fellow citizens. The people of the United States, then, have no practical knowledge of any other method of administering government. The spoils system is like one of those customs which the common law declares equivalent to a statute, "a custom so old that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." It is a part of the unwritten law, an unexpressed but understood provision of the Constitution. It is interwoven with all their modes of political thought; it intermingles with all their motives of political action.

The number of those who profit by the system is very great, but compared with the number of those who hope to profit, it is but as the number of shells compared with that of the grains of sand upon the sea shore. Those who neither profit nor hope to profit by it, accept it as something in the natural order of things. Whenever the result of a presidential election has settled the fact that after four months the party in opposition will become the party in power, the next topic of speculation and conversation is who will get this place and who will get that. In every

hamlet, at every cross-roads, each man asks his neighbor: How long will it be after the new president comes in before the old postmaster goes out? That the latter event should follow the former has always been the customary sequence. The people remember no other system; they doubt whether any other would work. To overthrow a system so fortified by age, by custom and by interest, is a great undertaking. It can be accomplished only by unflagging efforts to awaken the people to a full consciousness of the evils to which they have been accustomed for more than two generations.

The next point to which we wish to call the attention of reformers, is that hitherto they have paid too much attention to appointments, too little to removals. The method of appointment by competitive examination provided by the Civil-service Act for the "classified civil service," is inapplicable to the great bulk of the "unclassified civil service," which constitutes about seven eighths of the whole. If the exercise of the power of removal could be restricted within proper limits, the manner of appointing officers would, to a great extent, become a matter of indifference. Under a properly-organized system, vacancies in offices of a purely administrative character would be caused only by death, by physical, mental, or moral incapacity, by voluntary resignation, or by limitation of law. The operation of these causes would be very gradual. When a change should take place from one party to another in the administration of the government, there would be few if any more "places" to be distributed among "heelers" and "henchmen" and "workers" at that time than at any other. A promise of a postmastership by a "boss" who could make no pretense of being able to remove the incumbent, would hardly induce any one to increase his contribution to the "campaign fund." The opportunity of fulfilling the promise might never come; at any rate the time of fulfillment would be so indefinite that the promise would have little influence on anybody's political action.

What limitations should be placed upon the power of removal, we cannot now attempt to discuss. The problem is very difficult, but until some method is devised which shall render impossible the "clean sweep" that follows every change in the

relative position of parties, we shall have no genuine civil-service reform. The very evils which the spoils system creates tend to perpetuate its existence. They act like gravity on a pendulum, pulling it down on one side, but in the very act generating a velocity which carries it up on the other. We will endeavor to analyze some of the causes which tend to perpetuate the system. When a party which has been in the minority, especially if it has been for a long time in the minority, comes into power, flushed with victory and supported by the verdict of the people just rendered in its favor, what is the condition of affairs that it encounters? Every office is occupied by a person, not of opposite political opinions merely, but a "worker," who considers the discharge of his official duties a matter of subordinate importance. The purpose to the accomplishment of which his time and his thoughts and a considerable portion of his means are principally directed, is the skillful supervision of his allotted part of a great machine that has nothing to do with his office. The office-holders are the men who manage caucuses, appoint committees, run conventions. They are smarting under their recent defeat, and are enraged because the large percentage of their salaries which they have contributed to the campaign fund has been spent in vain.

Under such circumstances, the newly-elected president will find himself assailed by a large portion of the influential men of his own party, with arguments and importunities which he will find it difficult to withstand. They will urge, and truthfully urge, that the only reason why the present officers were appointed, was that they were expected to labor for the perpetuation of the policy which the people have just condemned; that the only reason why their predecessors were removed, was that they supported the policy which the people have just approved. They will argue that reform does not mean that when we are in power we should keep in all our enemies, and when our opponents are in power that they should turn out all our friends. For years, nearly one half of the people of the United States, it will be urged, have been proscribed. The proscribed have now become the majority. Let them try their hand. With these and other arguments Mr. Cleveland was assailed immediately after his ac-

cession to the presidency and throughout his administration. If he did not satisfy all the expectations of reformers, the wonder is, not that he accomplished so little, but that he accomplished anything at all. It will thus be seen that the clean sweep of one party becomes the excuse, and to a certain extent creates the necessity, for the clean sweep of the other party. That is one of the miseries of the miserable system. After a party coming into power has made its clean sweep, after it has filled all the offices with strong partisans or the *protégés* of strong partisans from its own ranks, it naturally begins to see the evils of the spoils system and to talk of reform. It has all it can get; its chief object now is to keep what it has. It begins to see the desirability of restricting a power which it has already used to its utmost extent. There are no more spoils to be distributed, except in those rare cases which arise in a service where "few die and none resign." The leaders have gained all they can hope for by change, and they begin to talk of the advantages of permanence. The present political situation affords one striking example of this "change of heart." During the past year the removal of old postmasters and the appointment of new ones have gone on with a rapidity so amazing that few who had not seen it would have believed it possible. A few months more of equally relentless energy, and there will not be a democratic postmaster in the United States, except here and there one whose retention is due to some personal reason on the part of the politician in whose hands the appointment lies. Hence a bill has already been introduced in Congress to place the post-office spoils beyond the reach of the opposite party, should it come into power.

The permanence of any such legislation is very doubtful. No matter how expedient and just the new system might be if it went into operation under proper conditions, it would be impossible to convince a victorious party that one of the proper conditions is the possession of all the offices by the defeated party. A victorious party will not wait, and the sentiment of "fair play" among the masses of the common people will excuse it for not waiting, to see that approximate equality in the distribution of offices between the political parties, which would naturally

and inevitably result from the operation of a just system of removals and appointments.

Under a properly-organized system, the vacancies created by the action of legitimate causes would be filled sometimes by the adherents of one party, sometimes by those of the other. The majority of the new appointments would go to the respectable middle classes. The idle, the ignorant, the depraved would not seek them, because they would be conscious of their inability to endure the tests of fitness. The wealthy would not seek them, because the remuneration would not compensate them for the expenditure of time. The highly-educated would not seek them, because they would hope for success, or would have already achieved success, in other careers. The number of ardent politicians would be no greater, in proportion to the whole number, among office-holders, than it is among carpenters, or bookkeepers, or school teachers. But the reformed system will never be successfully started with all the offices in the hands of one party; and the work of removal once commenced, it will always be difficult to prevent its becoming a clean sweep.

The problem which the reformers have to solve is a very difficult one. They must first bring about something like an approximation to equality in the distribution of the offices between the political parties, which would be the ultimate result of the reformed system itself. They must do a part of their work before they have their tools. Above all, they must devise some means to restrain, either through the force of public opinion or through law, that wholesale system of indiscriminate removal which, for two generations, has gone on corrupting the political morality of the masses, turning their attention from the examination of principles to the contrivance of methods for getting a share of the public plunder—a system ever diminishing the influence of the patriot and the statesman, ever increasing that of the “worker” and the “boss.”

WALTER M. FERRISS.

THE WAGES SYSTEM.

THAT we are approaching an industrial revolution may not be true; that one is promised or threatened cannot be doubted. The discontent with the existing social order is deep, widespread, and extraordinary. It characterizes in different degrees nearly all classes, all faiths, and all commercial and industrial communities. Anarchic movements, strikes, labor unions, socialistic conventions are by no means the only indications of the industrial discontent and unrest. These are serious in their proportions, and in some instances almost revolutionary in their results. The great railroad strike in the North-west a year ago disorganized the traffic of a large section of the country and threatened the domestic commerce of the entire nation. The coal-miners' strike in the East advanced the price of coal and for a time closed many factories. The dock laborers' strike in London paralyzed the commerce of Great Britain while it lasted, and the analogous strike in Liverpool resulted in the withdrawal from the ocean of several of the regular passenger steamers. A large proportion of these strikes—larger than the public generally imagine—are in whole or in part successful. One of the recent reports of the Labor Commission of the State of New York shows that a considerable majority of the strikes in that State resulted in a victory partial or complete for the strikers.

The discontent is by no means confined to the lower classes of laborers. Every skilled trade has its union; and a number of these unions are united in a Federation of Labor, which itself is not the less a sign of the times that it has hitherto been dominated by conservative and pacific counsels. The farmers, always a conservative and generally a contented portion of the community, are beginning to show unmistakable indications of a spirit of revolt against the existing order. The Roman Catholic bishop of Kansas declares that they are the least protected members of the community, and recommends their organization

for the purposes of self-defense. Interest accounts eat up their profits and gradually devour their farms, which are apparently beginning to pass from the hands of the cultivators of the soil into those of absentee landlords. To the farmer it makes small difference whether he is the nominal owner and pays eight per cent. interest to a mortgagee, or is a tenant and pays the equivalent in rental. Indeed, some years ago a prosperous English farmer assured me that he found it practically better to pay rent to a landlord than interest to a money-lender.

The press, in spite of the fact that it is owned and controlled by large capitalists, is beginning to reflect the general demand for social and industrial reform. The great daily newspapers are better as reporters of the current life, than as interpreters of its significance or prophets of its tendencies; but the great dailies are beginning to demand, with a voice which the deaf can hardly fail to hear, attention to the evils and the necessary evils of the present industrial system. Bellamy's vision of an industrial millennium, which twenty-five years ago could not have found a publisher, now reaches a sale of a third of a million, and is apparently going on to half a million. A magazine devoted wholly to the advocacy of Nationalism leaps at once into apparent success; two other periodicals published in the interest of industrial reforms scarcely less revolutionary have a constituency respectable both in quality and quantity. In addition to these, there are various labor journals, organs of special movements, whose aggregate circulation is far from insignificant as an indication of public sentiment. The preacher who announces as his subject some phase of industrialism is sure of a full house; and if he has anything better than platitudes to utter, will be listened to attentively evening after evening. In Germany the Emperor summons an international labor conference; he recognizes the evidences of socialistic sympathy in the army, on which he can therefore no longer depend to repress industrial discontent, and accepts the resignation of the statesman who has been for many years the real monarch of Germany, apparently because he reads in the last elections the demonstration that Bismarck's repressive policy can no longer be safely relied on to preserve the peace of Germany. These signs of the times are writ so large

that the dull of sight can hardly fail to see them; these voices of prophecy are so loud that only the deliberately deaf can fail to hear. There is scarcely a trade of any description to-day, which involves the employment of any considerable number of men, the directors of which do not have to take account of this feverish condition of our social and industrial life, in their industrial plans and purposes.

It can hardly be doubted by any careful and candid student of human affairs that this discontent has a common cause, and seeks, though blindly and unintelligently, a common result. It is not a series of fragmentary and spasmodic discontents; it is a deep, widespread, and common discontent, one in its origin, one in its essential demands. The striking operatives do not wish merely to get higher wages or shorter hours; the complaining farmers do not wish merely to get lower freights and lower interest rates; these demands are the immediate occasion, not the primary cause of this present ferment and prospective uprising. It is not merely by a series of unlucky chances that the railroad men of Iowa, the coal-miners of Pennsylvania, the dock laborers of London, and the artisans of Germany almost simultaneously present claims that are almost identical. The secret cause of discontent, the half-understood desire for change, is in its essence the same in Berlin, in London, in New York, in Chicago; in the artisan, the coal-miner, the brakeman, and the farmer. Whether they know it or not, it is a demand which nothing less than revolution will satisfy. Socialism is "in the air." And Socialism is revolution—a more radical revolution than some of those who are leading it imagine. Mr. Kirkup, the certainly not anti-socialistic contributor of the article on Socialism in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," correctly indicates the profound significance of this movement when he says:

"Socialism implies and carries with it a change in the political, ethical, technical, and artistic arrangements and institutions of society, which would constitute a revolution greater probably than has ever taken place in human history—greater than the transition from the ancient to the mediæval world, or from the latter to the existing order of society."

If we are on the eve of any such revolution as this, it behooves us to look about us and beneath us; to study this rising current;

and to see, if we can, whither it will bear us, and how, if at all, it can be guided to a prosperous issue.

And in some respects the student is better fitted to fulfill this function than the man of affairs. He does not indeed understand the labor problem in detail as well as the merchant, the manufacturer, or the railroad-manager; but for this very reason he is better able to perceive the origin and trace the probable course of the great public currents. The man who is in the midst of the waves battling for his life, cannot as well comprehend whither the waves are bearing him, as he who is safe upon the deck, and sees both the ocean and the swimmer from his vantage ground. The man of the counting room, if he is not blinded by his own self-interest, can tell what is practicable to-day or to-morrow better than the student, who is always liable to fail in his attempt to apply general principles, because he is ignorant of those "circumstances that alter cases"; but the student can better elucidate the general principles whose application can alone eventually bring order out of chaos, both because he is not blinded by self-interest, and because he is not confused by the turmoil in the midst of which the man of the counting room lives. If the knowledge of the one is more accurate and detailed, the perspective of the other is truer and his horizon larger. The ancient Hebrew prophetic office has not been abolished. It may seem somewhat egotistical for any man to assume the function; yet if Providence has made him, perhaps in his own despite, a public teacher, he must not hesitate to study current life, or fear to give his interpretation of it. The true teacher, the teacher who is to serve his day and generation, cannot be true to himself, his country, or his God, if he content himself with merely repeating the general lessons of justice and truth which the world has already learned and which he finds recorded in text books. He must at least attempt, as God gives him opportunity, to do what the ancient prophets did—study the movements of his time, and understand as best he may their divine significance; he must use the leisure which freedom from the details of purely industrial work affords him, to investigate the origin, the significance, and the possible issue of the great intellectual and social movements of his own time, and give to his fellow men the results of his investigation

and reflection, without fear of opprobrium on the one hand, and without dogmatic self-assertion on the other.

In the first stage of the world's development, capital owned labor. This was slavery. The laborer was a part of the world's capital; the rich owned the poor. That was succeeded by feudalism. In this system the rich owned the land; the working men were attached to and formed a part of it. They were a kind of living real estate. The capitalist owed them protection; they owed him fealty, obedience, allegiance, and a large share of the product of their industry.

This stage has given way, in turn (after a brief term of industrial individualism), to a third, the wages system. Under the wages system the capitalist no longer owns the laborer; slavery is abolished. The capitalist no longer has a lien upon the laborer; feudalism is abolished. But the capitalist owns substantially all the tools and implements of industry, and the laborer employs them in productive work. The two classes under this system are mutually dependent. The owner of the tools cannot get any product out of them unless he can find laborers who are willing to work with them; but the laborer, however willing he may be to work, can have no opportunity unless he can find some tool-owner willing to allow him the use of the necessary tools. In my boyhood the New England farmer fattened, killed, and dressed his own hogs; now the butchers of Chicago stand in line waiting for the pork-packers of Chicago to determine who of them may have an opportunity to earn his daily bread by killing hogs at the rate of five or six a minute. Our meat is certainly cheaper, perhaps better; the advantages are great—so great that we shall never go back to the old system of individual industry. But the new system has this characteristic, that one set of men, few in number, own all the tools, and another set of men, large in number, are dependent upon these tool-owners for an opportunity to use the tools, and therefore to engage in productive industry.

The progress of the last hundred years or more has been steadily in this direction. The number of tool-owners has diminished; the number of wage-earners has increased. The shoe factory crowds out of existence the cobbler in his stall. The

sewing machine turns the tailor into a unit in the great shop. The wife no longer spins the carded wool at her own fire-side; the spinning jenny does her work for her. The printing press, owned by a single capitalist and employing a hundred or five hundred hands, does a myriad times the work which the copyist could do before the days of Gutenberg; but the copyist owned his pen and vellum, and the type-setter does not own his font. The stage-driver was often part owner of the stage he drove; the locomotive engineer drives another man's vehicle. In the great West, bonanza farms owned by non-resident capitalists and operated by impecunious laborers paid by the day or the week, are threatening to take the place of farms worked by the owner of the soil, or remain in the hands of the farmer only because he pays rent for them in the form of a heavy mortgage interest. Steam applied to locomotion has increased beyond all past imagination or present calculation the facilities for travel; but it has made the highways of the nation private property, and given the control of them to a few great capitalists. Even the lightning becomes private property. The nerves of the nation which flash its thought across a continent, and the arteries of the nation through which its life blood circulates, are personal property of individual owners, who determine for us on what terms ourselves, our goods, or even our thoughts shall be transported from one part of our empire to another.

It is not necessary for me to trace here the process by which organized labor has taken the place of individualized labor, and the wages system has supplanted individualism as individualism supplanted feudalism. The application of steam as a motor force has changed the nature of the world's tools and has necessitated organization in industry. Education has rendered it possible. Facility of movement, both for men and for goods, has united in promoting it. The economic advantages to the community have been beyond all measurement. The steady growth of the doctrine of human rights, which first destroyed slavery, man's ownership of men, has also destroyed feudalism, man's lordship over men. Carlyle and Ruskin sigh in vain for the good old times. The rattle and clang of the cotton mill will never give place to the musical whirr of the home spinning

wheel, nor the rumble and shriek of the train to the roll of the stage coach and the horn of the guard. The good days lie in the future, not in the past.

For that the wages system is a great advance over the system of feudalism, as feudalism was a great advance over slavery, admits of no questioning; that the rich have grown richer and the poor poorer under this system has been often asserted but never demonstrated. The sun never looked upon so many abodes of comfort as he looks upon to-day. America, where the wages system has reached, let us hope, its culmination, where certainly the least trace of feudalism is to be seen, is the country where the workingman has not only the most independence but the largest wealth. But were it otherwise, it would still be true that the wages system, with all its drawbacks and demerits, is an advance on feudalism, as feudalism is an advance on slavery. No working man worthy of the name would be willing to go back to a position of subserviency to a feudal lord, as none would be willing to go back to the unmanly ease of slavery. The wages system has delivered the working man from patronage, and given him freedom; and no man who is a man would be willing to exchange freedom for patronage. The cares and anxieties of liberty are a better inheritance than the careless and reckless joyousness of servitude.

Nevertheless, the wages system is not the industrial ideal. It is not the end. It is itself a step toward something better, as slavery was a step toward feudalism, and feudalism a step toward capitalism. Slave-owners were often Christian men, but their personal goodness could not redeem a system which was itself radically and incurably bad. As the curse of slavery was not an occasional Legree, so it could not be cured by an occasional Dabney. Feudal lords were often chivalric and noble men who dared and suffered and died for their subject tenants, but their personal chivalry could not redeem a system which was at best only a transition from something worse to something somewhat better. Many of our capitalists are men of noblest purposes. They are not tyrannical, despotic, greedy. They have given their lives, their hands, their heads to their country. They have been themselves America's hardest-working men. They have

tossed uneasily on hair mattresses many a night while their workingmen slept unbroken sleep on beds of straw. They have pushed away the untasted delicacy at the breakfast table while their workingmen ate with hearty appetite a less luxurious meal. They have fought bankruptcy for the sake of the men dependent on them, and with nervous susceptibility which muscle can never comprehend, have suffered vicariously in apprehension all the pangs of poverty of those whom they were, in vain perhaps, endeavoring to supply with work and so with bread. When they have succeeded, the community has always had the greater share in the success. They have founded our hospitals, built our churches, established our libraries, erected our schools and colleges. Even when they have not been benevolent, they have been beneficent. Whether they would or no, their activity and energy have been a benefaction to the community. The railroad magnate lives in a finer house, drives a finer horse, wears a finer broadcloth, and eats a tenderer steak than the wage-earner who works for him; but when he has lavished all he can upon himself, he has expended but the smallest part of the wealth his brain has conjured up. The rest goes into railroads which open wild country, convert the wilderness into farms, and the hunting grounds of yesterday into the gardens of to-day. The steel rail he lays is an enchanter's wand, and where it enters a community of homes and a long line of villages spring up as if by magic, and a ceaseless chime of church and schoolhouse bells ring in the advent of a blessed civilization.

The working men, says Chauncey M. Depew, have a grievance; it exists. What is it? Their indictment is not against capitalists, it is against capitalism. It is not against men who have often, if not always, done what they could to lessen the injurious effects of a rigorous system, and to ameliorate the condition of those who suffer from it; it is against the system itself. They indict it as a system which impoverishes the poor, bankrupts the many, and aggrandizes without benefiting the few. If we would understand the universal discontent of the present quarter-century, we must understand what, in its essential features, the wages system is. We must put ourselves in the place of the wage-earners, and comprehend the conditions of life against

which they protest. We must endeavor to interpret that protest, not by asking them what they desire, but by studying life and ascertaining from it their real want and interpreting that want to them.

By the wages system, then, is meant, not merely a system that pays wages, but that system which leaves all the tools and implements of industry in the hands of a few men, and depends for their use in productive industry upon the toil of the many; which makes a few men own the railroad while the many work it, a few men own the factory while the many operate it, a few men own the soil while the many till it; which treats the laborer as a commodity to be hired in the cheapest market, and dependent for his use of his power to provide for himself and his household on the wisdom and the will of the capitalist—his wisdom to find employment for the many, and his will to give it to them; which divides society into two great classes, with a deep if not broad gulf between them—on the one side tool-owners, who are employers, on the other side workers, who are employed. A great deal of the current discussion assumes that this is a necessary system; that its defects can be corrected and the evils which grow out of it ameliorated, but that the system itself can never be changed; that employers can treat their workmen with justice and even consideration, and workingmen can treat their employers with fidelity and honesty, but that while the world stands there must always be these two great classes of tool-owners and workers; that it always has been and always must be to the end of time. In truth, however, this system is modern, chiefly the product of the present century; and if the world moves as rapidly for the next twenty years as it has for the last twenty, it may possibly not reach beyond the first quarter of the twentieth century.

In the few pages which remain to me in this article, I desire to act simply as a reporter; to present, in their name and in their behalf, the wage-earners' indictment of this system, to the readers of the *FORUM*, who seldom hear the voice of the wage-earner himself; to do this without weighing and measuring each count in this indictment, or adjudging between the accuser and the accused. These counts seem to me one-sided, as counts in an

indictment always are, and sometimes perhaps overstrained, as counts in an indictment are apt to be; but they are not the passionate appeals of Ishmaelites whose hands are against every man, nor the loud-mouthed utterances of demagogues whose tongue is their only capital. They are sober, serious, well-considered charges, not against capitalists but against capitalism, as they may be gathered from the pages of the more thoughtful students of the existing system, who have studied it from the point of view, if not as the advocate, of the wage-earner. Here, then, is the wage-earners' indictment of the wages system.

Every man has a right, because he has a duty, to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow. The wages system denies this right to myriads of willing workers. In America, the working man's Eldorado, nearly 1,000,000 willing workers were thrown out of employment in 1885. "Enforced idleness," says Carlyle, "is the Englishman's hell." That system cannot be right which turns 1,000,000 willing workers in rich America into this hell and locks the door against them. Every man has a right to the product of his own industry; under the wages system the greater part of the products of industry go into the hands of the few tool-owners. The wealth of this country has increased during the past quarter-century from fourteen billion to forty-four billion. A careful statistician estimates that the wages of 5,200,000 unskilled laborers were in 1884 less than \$200 a year, while the average wages of workmen engaged in manufactures, including skilled laborers, was but \$346 a year. That system cannot be right which gives the profits of industry to the few and compels the many to live always praying, Give us this day our daily bread.

Four gifts God has given to all his children to possess in freedom—air, water, sunlight, land. The wages system, concentrating the land in the hands of a few tool-owners, crowds the many in tenements where sunlight is darkened, water is poisoned, and air is pestilential. "The mean mortality," says Elisé Reclus, "among the well-to-do, is at the utmost one in sixty. Now the population of Europe being a third of a thousand million, the rate of mortality among the fortunate should not exceed five

million. It is three times five million." That system cannot be right which denies to God's children God's free gifts, and so summons death to their doors thrice as often as else he would come. Modern machinery, Mr. Atkinson tells us, enables seven men to feed a thousand. This ought to leave some leisure for self-development to the hand workers. What time had the car-drivers who stood on their feet fourteen to sixteen hours a day? Or the bakers who, until recently, worked twelve to eighteen? What time have the iron-workers of Pennsylvania who toil twelve hours in the day, 365 days in the year? That system cannot be right which, though God's beneficent forces stand ready to do the world's drudgery, leaves so many men mere drudges. Uncounted mothers who have a right to be home-stayers, are denied that right by the wages system, and are driven to the factory with the husbands whose incomes cannot support homes; unnumbered children under this system stand with weary eyes and pale faces beside their fathers, or in their places, in the great army of factory operatives.

The system is indicted in the name of capitalist as well as of working man—indicted because it produces, strengthens, develops that plutocracy which the prophet De Tocqueville declares to be the most dangerous enemy of republican institutions in America. It is indicted in the name of political economy, which demands of any permanent industrial system that it shall produce, not only wealth, but an equable and just distribution of wealth. It is indicted in the name of a free republic, which it threatens by its money rings and its corruption frauds; by its purchase of public servants without dissembling and in the open market. It is indicted in the name of society, because it converts legitimate and healthy competition into private war, in which labor is arrayed against capital and capital against labor, in which organizations of working men are arrayed against organizations of capitalists—a war the evils of which culminate only in the greater evils of combination and monopoly. Says John Stuart Mill:

"Morally considered, its evils are obvious. It is the parent of envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness. It makes every one the enemy of all others who cross his path; and every one's path is constantly liable to be crossed."

Finally, this system is indicted in the name of that Christian religion whose two cardinal principles it disregards and brings into disrepute—the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. Dividing society into classes, it practically disrupts the first, and whatsoever does that, leads on to the denial of the second.

Such, briefly stated, is the wage-earners' indictment of the wages system. It is not, and does not pretend to be, a judicial picture of modern industrialism, with its lights and shadows, its counterbalancing good and evil. It is, and aims to be, one-sided—the wage-earner's side; the side which he sees as he begins to awaken from the long torpor of the past, and, under the influence of an inspiring Christianity, public education, and political liberty, to discover that he is not merely a "hand," but also a head and a heart. In its main features I believe it to be a true indictment—true though both partial and inadequate. The wage-earner combines and strikes not merely for shorter hours or larger pay; his real, though sometimes unconscious, aim is to substitute for the wages system, with all tools and all control in the hands of a few, an industrial partnership, in which the profits, the losses, and the control of the world's industry shall be shared by all, and an industrial oligarchy shall give place to an industrial democracy.

Industrial democracy and Socialism are not identical. But this opens a new topic, which I must leave for a future article. My object in this article is accomplished if I have induced the reader for half an hour to put himself in the wage-earner's place, and to look at modern industrialism from the wage-earner's point of view.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

A DEFENSE OF THE VETO POWER.

IN the January number of the FORUM an article appeared, entitled "Abuses of the Veto Power," in which the author, Mr. F. A. Conkling, takes rather a somber view of what he calls the "kingly prerogative." He first refers to a few undoubted abuses in the use of this power during colonial times, and then discusses what he considers misuses under the Constitutions both of the United States and the State of New York.

In so far as the charge of abuse refers to the history of the veto in the national government, the indictment seems defective, and against this part of the attack the present article is directed. The evidence upon which the veto power is arraigned is as follows: First, before President Jackson's administration, few bills failed to obtain executive approval, while President Jackson and his successors have vetoed many bills. Secondly, the Whig Party, which was bitterly opposed to the veto power, won the election of 1840. Lastly, President Jackson vetoed the bill for the re-charter of the United States Bank. In short, the article under consideration rests the assertion that the presidents of the United States have abused the veto power upon the number of vetoes compared by administrations, on the Whig victory of 1840, and on the bare fact that President Jackson vetoed a bank bill.

The basis is hardly secure. A mere enumeration of vetoes proves nothing. The inference intended appears to be that a veto is in itself a subversion of the rights of the people, and that, therefore, the more vetoes the more subversion. The premises of this conclusion are not sound. The veto power was granted to the executive by the people through their representatives, as a protection to the Constitution and as a means of preventing the enactment of corrupt, inefficient, or useless laws. Now the fact that vetoes have increased in number may mean that the Constitution has needed more protection of late; or that Congress has heedlessly, or otherwise, passed laws of an objectionable kind;

or possibly that the executive is becoming tryannical. This last supposition seems hardly likely when we consider that the president derives his power from the people and holds office for only four years, and that a two-third vote of the members of both houses, at any sitting when a quorum is present, may override a veto. Moreover, the figures quoted in the January FORUM are not correct. The vetoes of Presidents Polk, Lincoln, and Arthur are omitted altogether, and the records of most of the other administrations are inaccurate. The true figures, as drawn from a careful search through the House and Senate journals for the hundred years, 1789-1889, are as follows, Mr. Conkling's figures being given in brackets: Washington, 2 [2]; Madison, 6 [6]; Monroe, 1 [1]; Jackson, 12 [11]; Tyler, 9 [10]; Polk, 3 [0]; Pierce, 9 [5]; Buchanan, 7 [7]; Lincoln, 3 [0]; Johnson, 21 [13]; Grant, 43 [6]; Hayes, 12 [9]; Arthur, 4 [0]; Cleveland, 301 [274]; total, 433 [344].

Again, it is assuming too much to consider the triumph of a political party opposed to the veto as a proof of an abuse of presidential authority. A statement of the causes of the Whig victory which would be most unfavorable to the veto power, could show only that a large number of the people in the country were opposed to it, and not by any means that the power had been abused. The proof of that assertion must depend upon the actual use of the power, rather than upon what people during a given campaign thought of that use.

In the third argument, President Jackson's refusal to sign the bill for the re-charter of the United States Bank is put forward as an abuse of the veto power; it is worth noting that this is the only presidential veto out of the four hundred and thirty-three on the records, to which the article under consideration specifically refers. The reasons stated by President Jackson for this veto, in so far as they are based on the Constitution, are unsound, and if acted upon would materially increase the power of the executive at the expense of the legislative branch of the government. The President, however, had other reasons which were not so fanciful, and in any case his right to veto the bill cannot be questioned. The provision of the Constitution is clear, and it leaves the reasons for a veto wholly in the president's discretion.

Not only is President Jackson's right to veto the bill beyond question, but the object he had in view is also to be commended; for the continued existence of such an institution as the second United States Bank, connected as it was with the government, constantly growing in size and power, and having the strongest motive for controlling congressional action, could hardly have failed to become dangerous to honest government.

It is only just to Mr. Conkling to assume that he would have referred to other specific cases had they supported his position. He has not done so. It is possible, however, to cite numerous vetoes which support the proposition that the veto power has not been abused. Down to President Jackson's administration, no one has suggested that the power was abused. From 1832 to the present time, there have been now and again complaints against the use of the veto. During the last administration, the opponents of the veto, or at least of certain phases of its exercise, were particularly outspoken against the pension vetoes—vetoes which form the most striking example in recent times of executive interference in legislation, and the most numerous group of related vetoes to be found in our history.

The country has been generous, as it ought to be, in its provision for soldiers disabled in its service. But this very generosity has incited many whose claims were of the flimsiest character to seek aid from the government. President Cleveland determined, if possible, to stop the greedy and unjustifiable scramble, and to this end used the veto more than twice as often as all his predecessors together. His purpose is well explained in the following quotation from a veto message: "In reviewing the pension legislation presented to me, many bills have been approved upon the theory that every doubt should be resolved in favor of the proposed beneficiary . . . but heedlessness . . . is unfair to the wounded, crippled soldier, who is honored in the just recognition of his government," and teaches the people that "as against the public treasury the most questionable expedients are allowable." A careful examination of President Cleveland's veto messages compels one to the belief that he lived up to the principles set forth in the passage just quoted. There may have been a few instances in which he used the veto unwisely, but the

errors were due to the great mass of bills to be examined rather than to any fault on the part of the President. It is impossible in the compass of a brief article to examine President Cleveland's vetoes individually. In general it may be said that more than half the vetoed bills granted pensions for diseases which it was difficult or impossible to connect in any way with service in the United States Army, while many other bills were incorrectly drawn or were unfair to the claimant.

The President's course was made the subject of a special report by a Senate committee, in which the legality of the President's action was admitted. But the report goes on to say that it is unconstitutional for a president to refuse to sign a bill merely because he disagrees with Congress in regard to the expediency of the measure. This argument, as we have already seen in considering President Jackson's bank veto, is unsound.

In view of what has just been said, it can hardly be denied that, so far as expediency is concerned, President Cleveland, in vetoing pension bills, was defending alike the public treasury, the disabled soldier, and the public morals; and that so far as constitutionality is concerned, he was acting fully within his right. His vetoes also called the attention of the country to the subject of pension legislation—a service which should by no means be overlooked in estimating the worth of the vetoes; a service which Hon. John D. Long, in an able article on the veto power in the *FORUM* for November, 1887, considers one of the most important functions of that power.

On many other occasions throughout the history of the United States, vetoes have been based on the same simple ground of expediency. Many bills have failed to secure executive approval because they were incorrectly drawn and would have been useless or worse than useless. This reason was frequently alleged by President Cleveland, while President Grant vetoed, on the ground of inaccuracy, several relief bills, and an act providing for the recording of deeds and conveyances affecting real estate. The veto has also been used to protect the Indians. Bills unjustly depriving them of their lands, and encroaching upon their rights under various treaties, have been defeated by the refusal of the executive to approve them. A very famous use of the

power of the executive to prevent unwise legislation, was President Grant's veto of the so-called "Inflation Bill," in 1874. The President's act in this case saved the credit of the government, and was an important step in the return from a depreciated paper money to specie payment. Again, whatever may be thought of the constitutionality of internal improvements carried on by the general government, there can be little approval of the extremely local and evidently useless expenditure of money which is authorized in many of the internal improvement bills, particularly in recent times. In two instances such bills have been vetoed,* and in a third case the President,† although he signed the bill, declared his intention of not carrying out its objectionable features.

The veto messages so far considered were based wholly on expediency—on the injustice of the proposed laws, or on the lack of skill in drafting them; and although it is true that vetoes of this class have made up a large proportion of all the vetoes, yet there is no lack of cases in which the executive has interposed to prevent the enactment of unconstitutional laws. Many of these vetoes have been for the protection of the executive department from legislative encroachment. One of the most striking instances occurred in the unjustly-criticised administration of President Hayes. It had been the custom for many years to attach amendments to appropriation bills and other measures which the necessities of the government required should become law. These so-called "riders" contained provisions which by themselves either could not have passed both houses of Congress, or would not have received the President's signature. The rider was, in short, a means of coercing the President or the opposing house of Congress, and was therefore a violation of the spirit of the Constitution, which plainly expects that each distinct law shall, on its own merits, receive the approval of both houses of Congress and of the President. Between 1862 and 1875, this method of coercion was employed successfully three hundred and seventy-five times.

During President Hayes's administration an attempt was made by Congress to repeal certain portions of the national election

* One by President Grant ; one by President Arthur.

† President Grant.

laws applying to the southern States—an attempt which it was known the President would resist. To overcome this opposition, the bills making the repeal were tacked to five appropriation bills, all of which were vetoed, and vetoed because of the attempt to coerce the President into approving the repeal of the election law. The struggle between the President and Congress was severe, but it ended in the complete triumph of the executive. This victory put an end to “riders,” and a provision was later inserted in the rules of the House of Representatives thereafter prohibiting amendments of that character.

The triumph of the President in this instance was a heavy blow to questionable legislation of all kinds. It is much easier to rush an objectionable measure through the various stages of legislation as a part of an important appropriation bill, than to get it through Congress on its own merits, both because its faults are less likely to be closely examined, and because its connection with the money bill will often carry it through, when it could not hope to succeed alone. The use of the veto to check this abuse must commend itself to all. It is, moreover, a use which the founders of the Constitution themselves heartily indorse in their writings.

The president has also used the veto to prevent the enactment of laws infringing his power of appointment. In 1812 Congress passed an act increasing the number of District Court judges. The act decreed that the existing Supreme Court justices should fill the new offices. This was a palpable, though probably an unintentional, violation of the Constitution, since under no circumstances can Congress appoint to office. The bill was an attempt to invade executive authority, and President Madison very properly frustrated it.

The most famous attempt of the executive to defend the power of appointment is President Johnson’s veto of the Tenure-of-office Bill. The First Congress of the United States had solemnly declared that the power of removal from office was lodged solely with the executive. The principle was approved by Mr. Madison, “the father of the Constitution,” as a correct construction of the Constitution, and Mr. Story upheld this construction as binding; yet the Tenure-of-office Bill took the power from the

president and vested it in the president and Senate. President Johnson, in vetoing so unjustifiable an attack on the executive power, made a most commendable use of his legislative authority; and the merit of the action is not diminished by the fact that a hostile Congress passed the bill over the veto, for subsequent Congresses have been so convinced of its inexpediency that they have repealed it.

Once again the president has been obliged to defend his power of appointment. July 2, 1884, President Arthur vetoed a bill for the relief of Fitz John Porter. The bill authorized the President to appoint Porter to his old position in the army. This attempt to give the President power to appoint an individual to office was unnecessary and unconstitutional. Congress can have nothing to do with individual appointments. The most that it can do is to vest the appointment of certain inferior officers in the president, the heads of the departments, or the courts of law. That is to say, Congress may decide how certain offices shall be filled, but may not say who shall fill them. In the case under discussion the attempt of Congress to fill the office was rightly considered by the President a violation of the Constitution, and he vetoed the bill.

The president has also been obliged to defend his constitutional power in foreign affairs. In President Jackson's administration Congress passed a bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to compromise claims allowed under a treaty with the King of the Two Sicilies. It was in effect authorizing the Secretary to make a new treaty. The President very properly vetoed the bill, on the ground that it was unconstitutional for Congress to authorize the executive to negotiate a treaty; that the executive possessed that power independent of Congress. This position is undoubtedly sound. In 1876 President Grant vetoed a resolution of Congress which directed the Secretary of State to carry on a diplomatic correspondence with the Argentine Republic and the Republic of Pretoria. The President objected to the resolution with good reason, since the reception and control of all diplomatic correspondence is by the Constitution vested in the executive.

The vetoes for the protection of the executive have been

most useful and by no means insignificant. They have protected the president from unjust attack, and helped to maintain that balance of power between Congress and the president which is a fundamental principle in our plan of government. They set up no extreme or doubtful doctrines, are not in any way tainted with corruption, and are, in short, wise, conservative attempts to preserve to the executive its well-recognized powers.

Many other instances might be adduced in which the veto has been used wisely and successfully to defend the Constitution; as, for example, when President Madison vetoed two bills which threatened the constitutional provision against the union of church and state; but it is impossible to consider or even to refer to all such cases.

If a mere recital of the number of vetoes, coupled with a reference to President Jackson's bank veto, is sufficient evidence upon which to base an attack on the veto power, surely the vetoes considered in the present article—Cleveland's pension vetoes, the vetoes of useless bills, the vetoes for the protection of the Indians, Grant's veto of the Inflation Bill, the vetoes of extravagant river and harbor bills, the vetoes for the protection of the veto itself and for the defense of the President's power of appointment and over foreign affairs, and Madison's vetoes for the protection of the principle of the separation of church and state—these vetoes, I say, are a sufficient foundation for a most complete vindication of the veto power. Indeed, these vetoes are more; they are an indication that not only relatively, but absolutely, the veto power has been used wisely. To be sure, it has not been quite what the founders of the government intended; it has not in all cases protected the executive from legislative encroachment, or invariably prevented the passage of objectionable laws; but its faults have been negative rather than positive—sins of omission rather than of commission. In short, the veto power has been used honestly in almost every instance; has been seldom used injudiciously, and almost never carried beyond reason. It is, indeed, no unworthy part of that system of government which a famous English statesman has called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

EDWARD CAMPBELL MASON.

THE ART OF GERRYMANDERING.

WHEN, in 1812, Governor Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, signed the bill dividing that State into fantastically-shaped senatorial districts, so as to enable the Democratic Party to retain control of the Legislature, he by accident performed one of those acts which sometimes give a man more fame than a lifetime of well-directed effort usually brings. Mr. Gerry sat in the Continental Congress, his name can be read on the Declaration of Independence, and he was a member of the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. The offices he filled were conspicuous and honorable. He was minister to France, governor of Massachusetts, and he died while holding the office of vice-president of the United States; but notwithstanding all these honors and his undoubted ability as a statesman, he would be almost unknown to the present generation were it not for the least creditable act of his career.

Gerrymandering, which was thus introduced into American politics, is the art exercised by the party in power when a State is to be divided into districts, of making its own vote go as far as possible, and of causing its opponent's vote to count for as little as possible, in the election of members of a legislature or of the national House of Representatives. An illustration of how this is done and of the political advantage gained, can be readily given. The following tables suppose a State with twelve congressional districts. The organization which we shall call the First Party, has control of the Legislature, and it wishes to arrange the districts so that it can elect two thirds of the congressmen, and leave to its opponent, which we will call the Second Party, only one third. A study of the last election returns shows the voting strength of both parties in every county. With these figures as a basis, the First Party proceeds to make up the districts. To illustrate, let us take the first three districts made up from nine supposable counties:

Counties.	Vote at Last Election.		Counties.	Vote at Last Election.		Counties.	Vote at Last Election.	
	First Party.	Second Party.		First Party.	Second Party.		First Party.	Second Party.
Jackson, . . .	3,120	3,880	Perry,	3,680	3,320	Pierce,	3,980	3,420
Erie,	3,280	3,720	Lincoln, . . .	3,150	4,850	Polk,	3,200	5,390
Porter,	3,340	3,660	Grant,	3,750	3,280	Adams,	4,440	3,160

Total vote, Second Party, 34,680

“ “ First Party, 31,940

Second Party majority, 2,740

These counties are now redistributed as follows:

First District.	First Party.	Second Party.	Second District.	First Party.	Second Party.	Third District.	First Party.	Second Party.
Jackson, . . .	3,120	3,880	Porter, . . .	3,340	3,660	Lincoln, . . .	3,150	4,850
Erie,	3,280	3,720	Perry,	3,680	3,320	Pierce,	3,980	3,420
Adams,	4,440	3,160	Grant,	3,750	3,280	Polk,	3,200	5,390
	10,840	10,760		10,770	10,260		10,330	13,660
First Party majority,		80	First Party majority,		510	Second Party majority,		3,330

Here are three congressional districts made up from nine counties, and although they have an aggregate Second Party majority of 2,740, they are arranged so as to elect two First Party congressmen, and one Second Party congressman. If the First Party were to make up the other nine congressional districts, the result in the whole State would be something like this:

Districts.	Vote.		Majority.	
	First Party.	Second Party.	First Party.	Second Party.
First,	10,840	10,760	80	.....
Second,	10,770	10,260	510	.....
Third,	10,330	13,660	.....	3,330
Fourth,	11,400	10,300	1,100	.....
Fifth,	12,600	11,800	800	.....
Sixth,	9,800	12,400	.....	2,600
Seventh,	9,400	10,900	.....	1,500
Eighth,	11,300	10,700	600	.....
Ninth,	13,000	11,400	1,600	.....
Tenth,	10,850	12,950	.....	2,100
Eleventh,	11,360	10,460	900	.....
Twelfth,	10,820	9,900	920	.....
	132,470	135,490	6,510	9,530

Total Second Party vote, 135,490

“ First “ “ 132,470

Second Party majority in twelve districts, 3,020

Notwithstanding the Second Party majority of 3,020 in the whole State, the First Party is able to elect eight representatives, and the Second Party is able to elect only four.

It would be interesting to know to what extent each of the two existing parties is affected by the gerrymandering of its opponent, and how fairly the people are represented in Congress under the present methods. If there were a fair vote and an honest count in every State, it would be possible to answer both these questions accurately. Any attempt, however, to reach conclusions is vitiated from the start by the failure of universal suffrage in some of the southern States. But the following table will aid in forming a correct judgment upon the matter:

States.	Congressmen.		Vote.		Vote to Each Republican Congressman.	Vote to Each Democratic Congressman.	Vote to Each Congressman in the State
	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.			
Alabama,.....	..	8	54,547	117,583	.....	14,698	21,516
Arkansas, .....	..	5	66,804	89,576	.....	17,915	31,276
California,.....	4	2	126,060	116,057	31,515	58,028	40,352
Colorado,.....	1	..	50,620	37,725	50,620	.....	88,345
Connecticut,....	3	1	75,129	74,340	25,043	74,340	37,367
Delaware,.....	..	1	12,935	16,396	.....	16,396	29,331
Florida,.....	..	2	26,534	39,836	.....	19,918	33,185
Georgia,.....	..	10	33,476	96,046	.....	9,604	19,760
Illinois,.....	13	7	372,138	347,562	28,626	49,651	35,985
Indiana,.....	3	10	265,365	259,987	88,455	25,998	40,411
Iowa,.....	10	1	212,084	184,384	21,208	184,384	36,042
Kansas,.....	7	..	182,274	105,129	26,039	.....	41,057
Kentucky,.....	2	9	152,710	182,035	76,355	20,227	30,431
Louisiana,.....	1	5	26,827	86,432	26,827	17,286	18,876
Maine,.....	4	..	79,748	60,977	19,937	.....	35,181
Maryland,.....	2	4	99,975	106,095	49,987	26,523	34,345
Massachusetts,...	10	2	178,841	150,918	17,884	75,459	27,479
Michigan,.....	9	2	236,898	215,070	26,322	107,535	41,096
Minnesota,.....	5	..	139,666	108,010	27,933	.....	49,535
Mississippi,.....	..	7	25,600	88,614	.....	12,659	16,316
Missouri,.....	4	10	235,668	262,006	58,917	26,200	35,547
Montana,.....	1	..	19,912	18,264	19,912	.....	38,176
Nebraska,.....	3	..	106,071	81,838	35,357	.....	62,636
Nevada,.....	1	..	6,912	5,682	6,912	.....	12,603
New Hampshire,	2	..	45,271	43,935	22,635	.....	44,603
New Jersey,...	4	3	146,035	144,160	36,508	48,053	41,756
New York,.....	19	15	633,520	607,161	33,343	40,477	33,231
North Carolina,.	3	6	130,480	148,344	43,493	24,724	30,980
North Dakota,..	1	..	26,077	12,006	26,077	.....	38,083
Ohio,.....	16	5	416,620	395,639	26,038	79,127	38,679
Oregon,.....	1	..	32,820	25,412	32,820	.....	58,232
Pennsylvania, ..	20	8	512,217	436,944	25,610	54,618	33,898
Rhode Island,...	2	..	22,032	17,051	11,016	.....	19,541
South Carolina,.	..	7	9,704	65,915	.....	9,416	10,802
South Dakota,...	2	..	54,983	23,229	27,491	.....	39,106

the disparity in the number of votes necessary to choose a representative by the different parties in that State, is that the Republican county majorities run evenly through the State. It would be impossible under such circumstances to elect representatives by districts made up of counties, and yet give the minority party the congressmen to which its vote apparently entitles it.

New York gives a most striking illustration of the same fact. The present division of that State into districts was made by the Democrats, but under it they have not been able at any election to choose a majority of the State's delegation in Congress. The explanation is that the Democratic vote is largely concentrated in New York City and Brooklyn, and the Republican vote is evenly distributed over the rest of the State. Kansas has seven Republican members of the House of Representatives and not one Democratic member, and it is a specious argument to assert that it needs only 26,019 Republican votes to elect a congressman, while 105,129 Democratic votes cannot elect even one. But when every county in a State, with two exceptions, gives a Republican majority, it is manifest that the Democrats are not deprived of representation through a gerrymander.

The real proofs whether a State is gerrymandered or not are to be found in the territorial construction of the districts and in the general evenness of their vote and population. If the vote evidently shows that the party making the arrangement tried to group into a few districts counties that give majorities for its opponent, and to distribute counties containing a majority of its own votes among as many districts as possible; if the boundaries of districts are distorted and counties are wrenched from their natural position; and if the vote and population of the different districts vary widely, then it can be justly claimed that a State has been gerrymandered for party purposes. Applying these tests to States that elected congressmen in 1888 from districts arranged by the Democrats and Republicans respectively, it will be possible to determine which party is the more inclined to gerrymander. Ohio gives a very pertinent illustration. In 1888 the arrangement of the districts was Republican, but they have just been re-arranged by the Democrats. Testing the two arrangements by the last congressional vote, these tables result:

VOTE IN 1888, UNDER A REPUBLICAN ARRANGEMENT OF THE DISTRICTS.

Districts.	Vote.		Majorities.	
	Republican.	Democratic.	Republican.	Democratic.
First,	19,336	17,437	1,899	.....
Second,	21,627	20,031	1,596	.....
Third,	20,912	20,497	415	.....
Fourth,	14,500	22,296	.....	7,796
Fifth,	16,081	22,075	.....	5,994
Sixth,	22,434	22,329	105	.....
Seventh,	17,600	16,742	858	.....
Eighth,	20,898	17,628	3,270	.....
Ninth,	19,491	17,267	2,224	.....
Tenth,	18,496	19,637	.....	1,141
Eleventh,	20,802	15,817	4,985	.....
Twelfth,	20,133	19,453	680	.....
Thirteenth,	22,298	24,869	.....	2,571
Fourteenth,	16,211	15,249	962	.....
Fifteenth,	17,591	15,284	2,307	.....
Sixteenth,	19,819	24,444	.....	4,625
Seventeenth,	20,584	15,580	5,004	.....
Eighteenth,	25,249	21,150	4,099	.....
Nineteenth,	22,991	11,091	11,900	.....
Twentieth,	19,381	17,283	2,098	.....
Twenty-first,	20,086	19,470	616	.....

THE RECENT DEMOCRATIC GERRYMANDER, TESTED BY THE VOTE OF 1888.

Districts.	Vote.		Majorities.	
	Republican.	Democratic.	Republican.	Democratic.
First,	17,671	19,245	.....	1,574
Second,	23,292	18,224	5,068	.....
Third,	20,954	23,123	.....	2,169
Fourth,	20,976	23,506	.....	2,530
Fifth,	19,466	22,600	.....	3,134
Sixth,	19,017	18,924	93	.....
Seventh,	18,496	19,637	.....	1,141
Eighth,	17,096	18,249	.....	1,153
Ninth,	19,310	20,237	.....	927
Tenth,	23,929	17,871	6,058	.....
Eleventh,	15,251	17,355	.....	2,104
Twelfth,	21,013	13,281	7,732	.....
Thirteenth,	16,697	17,305	.....	608
Fourteenth,	18,580	21,061	.....	2,481
Fifteenth,	19,128	21,862	.....	2,734
Sixteenth,	17,762	19,330	.....	1,568
Seventeenth,	15,636	16,194	.....	558
Eighteenth,	21,543	14,624	6,919	.....
Nineteenth,	26,276	15,175	11,101	.....
Twentieth,	27,476	18,734	8,742	.....
Twenty-first,	17,402	18,638	.....	1,236

The Republicans were able to elect fifteen of the twenty-one congressmen in 1888, as the first table shows, the election being held in districts constructed by themselves. But they had a majority of 20,981 on the congressional vote, and such a majority will generally carry enough counties to elect from two thirds to three fourths of a State's delegation in Congress. The small Republican majorities, however, obtained in 1888 in six districts, indicate that, while there may have been no gross gerrymander, the Republicans did not lose sight of party interests in dividing the State into districts. But the Democrats, in the arrangement of the districts just made, have obviously gone to the extreme length of disfranchising the majority. As tested by the latest vote on congressmen, the Republicans, with a majority in the State of 20,981, would be able to elect only one third of the delegation. It is very plainly a gerrymander. Indiana gives another illustration in the same line. The present arrangement of the districts in that State was made by the Democrats, and in 1888 the vote on congressmen resulted as follows:

Districts.	Vote.		Majorities.	
	Republican.	Democratic.	Republican.	Democratic.
First,	20,627	20,647	.....	20
Second,	16,653	18,537	.....	1,884
Third,	15,198	18,274	.....	3,076
Fourth,	16,176	16,905	.....	729
Fifth,	17,506	18,210	.....	704
Sixth,	23,424	14,302	9,122	.....
Seventh,	25,500	27,227	.....	1,727
Eighth,	23,084	23,153	.....	69
Ninth,	24,717	20,267	4,450	.....
Tenth,	19,546	18,390	1,156	.....
Eleventh,	21,900	22,375	.....	475
Twelfth,	19,828	20,139	.....	311
Thirteenth,	21,206	21,561	.....	355

The Republicans, as will be seen, had a majority of 5,378; but so skilfully had their vote been massed in three districts and the Democratic vote distributed over ten districts, that less than one fourth of the delegation was elected by the party having a majority of the votes. No such result could follow under any fair arrangement of the districts. It is evident, then, that

Indiana as well as Ohio has been gerrymandered in the interest of the Democratic Party.

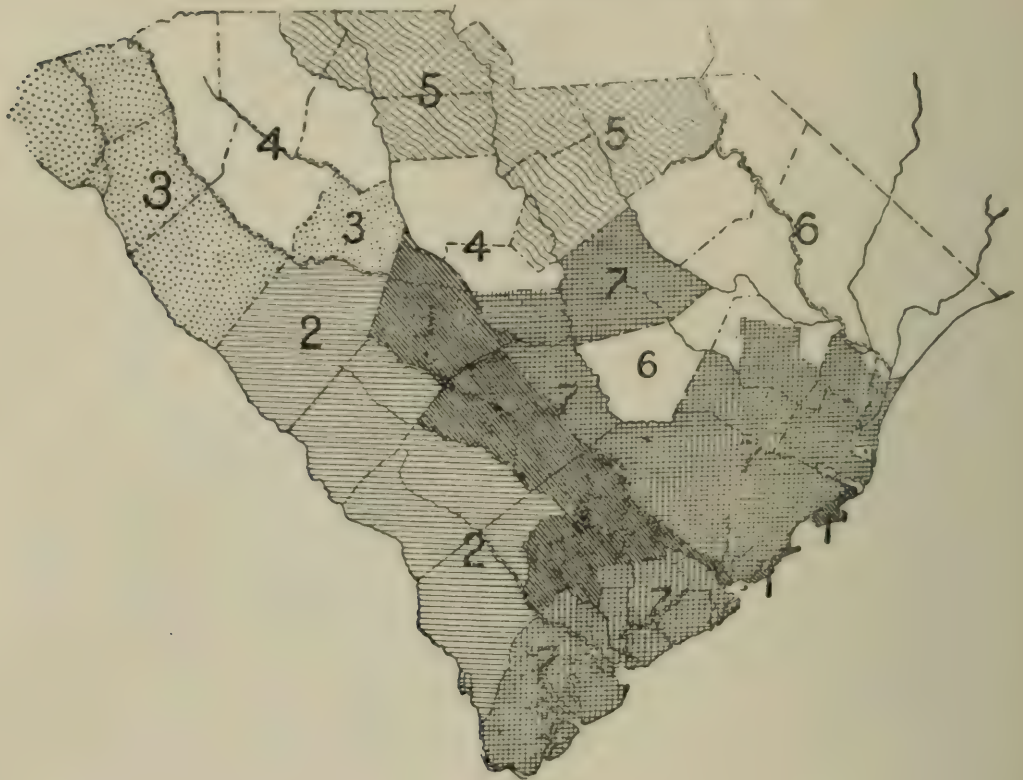
These northern States do certainly afford good examples of the gerrymanderer's art, yet they do not exhibit it in so picturesque a light as some southern States do. The two States in the South which are the most grossly gerrymandered are undoubtedly Mississippi and South Carolina. In both of these States the vote, population, and territorial construction of the districts prove the charge. The following table will make this plain in the case of Mississippi:

Districts.	Population.		Total Population.	Vote.		Dem. Maj.
	White.	Colored.		Repub.	Dem.	
First,	70,670	68,501	139,171	1,732	11,353	9,621
Second,	78,262	90,590	168,852	5,817	13,978	8,161
Third,	25,374	104,471	129,845	4,614	11,624	7,010
Fourth,	82,984	102,987	185,971	2,393	12,855	10,462
Fifth,	91,389	99,484	190,873	3,993	16,247	12,254
Sixth,	59,568	66,200	125,768	3,464	10,580	7,116
Seventh,	63,632	115,823	179,455	3,587	11,977	8,390
	471,879	648,056	1,119,935	25,600	88,614	63,014

The wide disparity in the population of the districts is apparent, one district having 65,000 more inhabitants than another. The construction of the third district could have suggested itself only to some skilled gerrymanderer. It runs along the Mississippi River for 242 miles, or nearly the whole length of the State, while it is nowhere more than one eighth as wide. Its shape entitles it to be called the "shoestring" district.

The State of South Carolina, however, seems to have been reserved as the field in which the gerrymanderer could display his art in its highest development. It is impossible to give a just idea of the arrangement of the districts in that State by the vote or the population, as county lines were disregarded in making them up. It would be necessary to go back to the time of Governor Gerry and the famous "salamander" district, which Gilbert Stuart's pencil made famous, to find a parallel to the shaping of some of the South Carolina districts. A correct idea of how the State is gerrymandered can be gained only from an outline map, such as the following:

MAP OF SOUTH CAROLINA DISTRICTS



In the four States thus far considered the districts were arranged by the Democrats. Let us look at some examples of Republican districting. In 1888 the election for members of the House of Representatives resulted as follows in Pennsylvania:

Districts.	Vote.		Majorities.	
	Republican.	Democratic.	Republican.	Democratic.
First,	22,523	16,838	5,685	.....
Second,	16,776	12,368	4,408	.....
Third,	*10,017	17,642	.....	7,625
Fourth,	32,841	23,202	9,639	.....
Fifth,	29,466	22,781	6,685	.....
Sixth,	19,299	12,799	6,500	.....
Seventh,	22,226	21,215	1,011	.....
Eighth,	11,731	18,071	.....	6,340
Ninth,	17,373	27,032	.....	9,659
Tenth,	21,796	10,622	11,174	.....
Eleventh,	10,844	9,158	1,686	.....
Twelfth,	16,117	14,618	1,499	.....
Thirteenth,	12,570	13,258	.....	688
Fourteenth,	20,206	13,944	6,262	.....

* Presidential vote.

Districts.	Vote.		Majorities.	
	Republican.	Democratic.	Republican.	Democratic.
Fifteenth,.....	18,833	12,494	6,339	.....
Sixteenth,.....	19,204	15,550	3,654	.....
Seventeenth,.....	11,356	14,012	.....	2,656
Eighteenth,.....	20,583	15,867	4,716	.....
Nineteenth,.....	16,901	21,480	.....	4,579
Twentieth,.....	21,739	17,458	4,281	.....
Twenty-first,.....	24,151	18,930	5,221	.....
Twenty-second,.....	21,970	13,065	8,905	.....
Twenty-third,.....	13,990	6,711	7,279	.....
Twenty-fourth,.....	26,246	21,908	4,338	.....
Twenty-fifth,.....	21,636	14,481	7,155	.....
Twenty-sixth,.....	16,924	13,852	3,072	.....
Twenty-seventh,.....	13,582	9,370	4,212	.....
Twenty-eighth,.....	14,899	17,588	.....	2,689

The size and general evenness of the majorities given in the congressional districts disprove on their face the charge of a gross gerrymander. The election of less than three fourths of the delegation by a party having a total majority of 75,273, is not unreasonable. Undoubtedly as many districts were made Republican as the vote and situation of counties permitted; but if the plan pursued in Indiana and South Carolina had been followed, every district in the State could have given a Republican majority. To illustrate further Republican methods in congressional districting, the result of the last election in Illinois is cited:

Districts.	Vote.		Majorities.	
	Republican.	Democratic.	Republican.	Democratic.
First,.....	26,553	22,697	3,856	.....
Second,.....	12,969	19,051	.....	6,082
Third,.....	23,671	21,295	2,376	.....
Fourth,.....	22,273	19,755	2,518	.....
Fifth,.....	20,077	10,018	10,059	.....
Sixth,.....	18,139	11,903	6,236	.....
Seventh,.....	16,380	11,341	5,039	.....
Eighth,.....	20,596	17,454	3,142	.....
Ninth,.....	16,871	14,490	2,381	.....
Tenth,.....	18,824	16,166	2,658	.....
Eleventh,.....	19,657	17,580	2,077	.....
Twelfth,.....	16,628	21,938	.....	5,310
Thirteenth,.....	18,450	21,364	.....	2,914
Fourteenth,.....	18,570	16,740	1,830	.....
Fifteenth,.....	19,897	17,204	2,693	.....
Sixteenth,.....	17,037	17,742	.....	705
Seventeenth,.....	14,775	19,385	.....	4,610
Eighteenth,.....	16,151	16,167	.....	16
Nineteenth,.....	15,615	18,086	.....	2,471
Twentieth,.....	19,005	17,186	1,819	.....

These two States furnish as strong proofs as any that can be cited of the length to which the Republican Party will go in gerrymandering congressional districts; and while they show that that party takes advantage of its majorities to aid itself, no gross injustice to its opponent is evident. The conclusion is warranted, then, that the Republicans have been more fair than the Democrats in districting States. Since the arrangement of districts was made, under the apportionment of 1882, the Republicans have redistricted one State only. That is Iowa, and the explanation given was that the growth of population in the western part of the State had given some districts a disproportionate number of voters and warranted a rearrangement of boundaries. On the other hand, the Democrats have disturbed the decennial arrangement of districts in four States, and in each instance it has been done with the avowed purpose of gaining a partisan advantage by redistributing the party vote. Ohio's districts have been twice disturbed with this object, and those of Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland once.

In the light of the record of the two parties in gerrymandering, the principle which has governed each of them seems to be about this: The Democratic Party in defining congressional districts has proceeded on the rule that all is fair in politics as it is in war. The Republicans will probably claim that whatever is bad in their course in this matter is justified by the methods of their opponents; and they will argue as Alexander Hamilton did, when he was trying to overcome the conscientious scruples of Governor John Jay, that popular governments "prove engines of mischief if one party calls to its aid all the resources which vice can give, and the other (however pressing the emergency) confines itself within all the ordinary forms of delicacy and decorum." It will probably be a generation before there will exist a political organization able to rise superior to so specious an argument.

With the evil admitted and the abuses which have resulted recognized, the question of a remedy presents itself. The method which is first suggested for checking gerrymandering, is to take the power of districting States and of controlling congressional elections away from the State legislatures and to give it to Congress. Of the right of Congress to assume full control of the

manner and method of electing members of the House of Representatives, there can be no doubt. The language of the Constitution fully warrants this conclusion. It is as follows:

“The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations except as to the place of choosing senators.”

At first, congressmen were chosen in all the States on general tickets; but the desire for local representation gradually brought into use the practice of electing them from districts into which the States had been divided, until the elections for the Twenty-sixth Congress, in 1838, when only New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Georgia still adhered to the old method of election by general ticket. In that year a dispute arose over the election of five of the six congressmen from New Jersey, and contesting delegations of Whigs and Democrats appeared from that State when Congress met in December, 1839. Such contests are not always decided on their merits; and there was less reason than usual to expect an equitable decision in these cases, because the control of the House of Representatives depended upon the issue of the controversy. The debate which preceded the settlement of the disputed seats is one of the most memorable in American political history, and, as might have been expected, the decision was influenced more by party exigency than by a sense of right and justice. After weeks of turmoil and wrangling, the Democratic contestants were seated and a Democratic speaker was elected.

The Whigs controlled the Twenty-seventh Congress, however, and with the design of guarding as far as possible against the recurrence of such controversies as the disputed New Jersey seats had occasioned, they enacted a law making the election of members of the House of Representatives by districts mandatory on all the States. The Democrats opposed it, and in a few States refused for a time to comply with its terms; but after a few elections there was a general agreement in the wisdom of the measure; and now, after the lapse of half a century, no proposition looking to the election of congressmen otherwise than by districts would be entertained. This was the first and most important interference by Congress in the manner and method of elect-

ing members of the House of Representatives. The Tweed frauds in New York City in the national election of 1868, showed Congress how easily the control of the House might be won by dishonest means, and suggested the passage of the measure known as the supervisorship law. Under this statute supervisors are appointed by the United States courts on the petition of a specified number of citizens in any election district, and they have the right to supervise the registration and watch the casting and counting of the ballots for the election of members of the House of Representatives.

Again, in 1872, Congress exercised its authority by passing a law requiring the election of representatives in all the States on the same day—the Tuesday following the first Monday in November. But as several States still adhered to the practice of electing representatives on the same day that they chose State officers, which day fell on another date, the law was modified so as to legalize these elections. Since then, however, all the States, with the exception of Maine, Vermont, and Oregon, have complied with the terms of the law as originally passed. These three laws mark the extent to which Congress has thus far gone in controlling the manner and method of electing members of the House of Representatives.

It is now a question of debate whether Congress shall proceed further, and, assuming all the powers granted it by the Constitution, take full control of the election of its own members. This would include the division of the States into congressional districts, as well as a supervision of the registration and of the counting and casting of the votes. Against the change, the argument is brought that it would sensibly increase the tendency toward centralization—an inclination which, it is asserted, is too strong already. It is also claimed that it would only exchange State gerrymandering for national gerrymandering, and do nothing to check the evil. The party in power at the time the decennial apportionment is made, might district States so as to aid it in retaining its hold upon the government. If the law should prescribe that there should be no change in the make-up of the districts until the next census, this party advantage would continue for ten years, and it might have a lasting effect upon

the policy of the country; while if the districts could be altered at any time, they would probably be disturbed as often as the shifting majorities in Congress should change.

The arguments in favor of a full supervision of congressional elections, are that Congress, acting on a national scale and with the eyes of the whole country upon it, would proceed with much more deliberation and a greater sense of responsibility than any single legislature. Public opinion could act upon it more forcibly, and as it is composed of a higher class of men, having a wider experience in governmental affairs than State legislatures possess, the arrangement it would make of the districts would be more likely to be just and equitable than it is when the work is left to local governments. It is also claimed that, as a gross gerrymander in any State affects the whole country, by giving the party that makes it an unwarrantable advantage in national legislation, all the States ought to have a voice in the matter.

The best guard, however, against the gerrymandering evil, whether local or national, is an alert and intelligent public opinion. There has been a gradual spread of a sentiment opposed to gerrymandering, and the result is seen in the fair division of a larger number of States under the apportionment following the census of 1880 than under any former enumeration. There is wide room for improvement in this respect, however, and the best way of attaining that end is by a full and free discussion of the subject and by impressing the public mind with the enormity of the evil. If such a debate can be had now, and public sentiment can be thoroughly aroused and can express itself forcibly, the result will be a more equitable arrangement of congressional districts under the census of 1890 than under any previous census, whether the apportionment be made by Congress or by the States themselves.

WALTER C. HAMM.

MODERN ECLIPSE PROBLEMS.

Now that the United States Eclipse Expedition to West Africa has reached the placid isle of Saint Helena, there is opportunity to sit down and quietly think matters over. While it has to be confessed that our efforts were largely foiled by clouds during the critical hours of the eclipse, it will, I think, be generally conceded that much good work has been accomplished, which will make the observation of eclipses easier in the future. But however this may be, it is worth the while now to consider the problems under discussion and the means at hand for attacking them, and to reflect what might have been if our trusted African skies had been clear instead of cloudy. That they were not clear was deeply to be regretted; nor were the clouds merely local at Cape Ledo. Inland to a distance of eighty miles, within which area a half-dozen branch stations had been established, clouds everywhere prevailed. Even out at sea, whither the "Pensacola" had gone a few hours' run in order that the observers on board might perchance get something, even if the sky should be overcast at the shore station, it was cloudy too. And all this in the face of very favorable meteorological indications.

This, by the way, suggests the query I often hear made, whether an eclipse coming on may not itself produce the very clouds which work the astronomer's defeat. To this the answer is that, as yet, no reason is apparent why the advent of the lunar shadow should cause the formation of visible cloud. A portion of the direct solar heat is of course withdrawn from a comparatively small volume of the atmosphere, having the shape of a slightly flaring cylinder about one hundred miles in diameter. The air temperature falls a few degrees only, the direction of the wind may change several points, and there is usually a slight deposition of dew. The barometer does not fluctuate appreciably. But a more satisfactory answer is had on appeal to the cloud records of past eclipses. If there were anything in the

notion that eclipses themselves bring on a thickening of the atmosphere, evidently we should expect to find more cloudy eclipses than clear ones. Of course the data are not at hand for showing the state of the sky all along the track of total eclipse; and our only present means of judging is the success or failure of the parties of observers situate at particular points here and there along the line. The expeditions of 1878, 1880, 1882, and 1883 were generally successful, although the latter, to Caroline Island in the remote South Pacific, came very near losing the total eclipse by reason of thick skies which prevailed except at the critical moments. The eclipse of 1885 was clear in New Zealand; and that of 1886, while partially obscured in Grenada, where the astronomers were all located, was perfectly clear in Benguela, west Africa, as I have since ascertained. Then followed the eclipse of 1887, remarkable for the defeat of expeditions everywhere, from Russia to Japan. But the next darkening of the sun in total eclipse, on New Year's day, 1889, was equally memorable for transparent skies all the way from California to Manitoba; while this last eclipse, which passed for the most part in clouds in the eastern hemisphere, favored the observers with clear skies in the western. Every one may now judge for himself.

But now to the problems of the eclipse proper. I pass by those relating to the accurate prediction of eclipses, and to the location of eclipse stations. Important as they are, I take it that the simple means which the astronomer employs in this part of his work is already sufficiently a matter of general knowledge. Also, I do not need to tarry more than a moment to remark the usefulness of these phenomena in improving the elements of the lunar motion, whereby the accuracy with which the moon's place among the stars may be predicted is greatly enhanced. A half-century ago, this, with the converse problem of finding longitudes on the earth, was the main objective point of the astronomer in the observation of solar eclipses. But now all is changed, since longitude can everywhere be found by chronometers and telegraph cables. If, however, the verifying and correcting of the lunar tables in the interests of navigation were the main end of eclipse observations, the expense of expeditions

to remote localities would scarcely be justifiable, as the lunar predictions are already so nearly perfect that they would probably satisfy the needs of the practical navigator for perhaps a half-century to come. But when the more critical requirements of the astronomer are regarded, the lunar theory, as it is called, is in a confessedly unsatisfactory condition; and not only mathematical research of a high order, but observations of the moon's place by all possible methods—by stellar occultations, meridian transits, and solar eclipses—are absolutely necessary to bring the theory and tables of the moon's motion into perfect shape. So eclipse expeditions include observations of this sort as a matter of course; indeed, it was the work of this kind that it was able to do which saved the present expedition to Africa from entire defeat. The sun partially eclipsed was photographed more than one hundred times behind the clouds. Astronomy of precision gained, while solar physics lost.

For the most part, however, astronomers and physicists of to-day have greater interest in total solar eclipses because they afford the only opportunity of investigating the sun's surroundings. Also, certain electric and magnetic phenomena have come to be worth observing, and the prosecution of studies in solar radiation is not to be neglected. Here, it may be, is a great variety of occult phenomena for future investigation; and the most recent theorizing points to the likelihood that the solar corona, and the magnetism of the sun and that of the earth, have all to be studied as a single problem. And an immense and difficult one it is.

The corona itself, however, is now universally regarded as the prime object of attack. And any one, scientist or not, seeing a total eclipse for the first time, would not for a moment question why this is so. The solar corona is the most striking of celestial phenomena—a halo of filamentous structure and silvery radiance encircling the jet globe of the moon hung in mid air. It compels our reverence. Of it Professor Langley, in his "New Astronomy," justly remarks that "the spectacle is one of which, though the man of science may prosaically state the facts, perhaps only the poet could render the impression."

If asked to name the eclipse problem which most appeals to

me, I think I should say the "reversing layer." It so happens that the dispute about its actual existence is not yet over, and the chief parties to it are two unquestioned authorities in solar physics. Our own Professor Young is *pro*, and Mr. Norman Lockyer, of England, is *con*. Professor Young himself says:

"The reversing layer of the sun's atmosphere owes its scientific recognition mainly to an observation made by myself during the Spanish eclipse of December, 1870. The observation referred to was this—and an exquisitely beautiful thing it was to see: the slit of the spectroscope, attached to a powerful telescope, was adjusted tangent to the sun's image at the precise point where the last ray would vanish under the advancing moon. A few moments before totality the spectrum still preserved in the main its familiar appearance, except that certain lines, usually only flickeringly and faintly bright at the sun's limb, were now steady and conspicuous. This was specially true of the three magnesium lines, and the mysterious line of the corona; the other countless dark lines remained hard and black. But the moment the sunlight vanished, the dark lines instantly flashed into colored brightness, shone for two or three seconds, and then quickly faded away, leaving still visible only those which had been bright before totality. Of course, in the two or three seconds during which the phenomenon lasted, it was not possible to be quite sure that *all* the dark lines were thus reversed; and in this uncertainty lies the opportunity for varying interpretations of the phenomenon. The natural interpretation, in the light of what was then known, was that this bright-line spectrum which flashed out so beautifully is due to a thin sheet of gaseous matter, overlying the luminous clouds which constitute the so-called 'photosphere,' and containing, in the vaporous form, all the substances which reveal themselves to us by the dark lines of the ordinary spectrum."

It will be observed that the matter is supremely important. Professor Young himself took the long journey to Russia three years ago to re-observe, if possible, this remarkable reversal of the spectral lines. Months later Professor Pickering devised for the Californian eclipse of last year an ingenious form of photographic spectroscope, wherein the trail spectrum was to reveal at the critical instants, both before and after totality, either the reversal of the lines or their continuity as darkness. Should the reversal take place, the rate of motion of the plate, combined with the length of the broken section of the lines, and the distance of the sun, would show the real depth of the reversing layer. By the courtesy of the Harvard astronomers, this same instrument became part of the spectroscopic equipment of our

present expedition. But on no one of these three occasions has any result been possible, and the problem is still unsolved.

Then there are the curious shadow bands—to take up details in approximate order of occurrence. And very hard things they are to put the scientific finger on. Just a few seconds before the corona flashes out in total eclipse, dark narrow bands are usually seen swiftly flitting across the landscape. All the elements pertaining to them apparently vary from one eclipse to another, thus adding greatly to the intricacy of the puzzle. Sometimes about eight inches broad and two or three feet apart, at others only one or two inches broad and ten or twelve inches apart, they travel at one time about as fast as a man can run, at another with the velocity of an express train. While visible at eclipses generally, just after totality as well as before, occasionally an eclipse occurs without their being seen at all. These impalpable shadow fringes have not yet been sufficiently observed and studied to render it possible to make more than a fair guess at what they are; but most likely they are due to irregularities of refraction, by our atmosphere, of the slender beam of light from the waning or waxing crescent. The direction of the wind appears to coincide with, if not to control, the direction in which the bands travel; they have indeed been somewhat poetically described as “visible wind.” During the last three total eclipses, the apparatus has been at hand for obtaining instantaneous photographs of these nimble, shadowy fringes, as they swiftly traverse a bright ground; but without results. The experiment promises well, and must be repeated.

I may now consider the corona itself. A half-century of total eclipses has cleared up a few obscurities and added many perplexities. Astronomers generally are no longer in doubt about the substantial, if not entire, reality of the corona as a truly solar phenomenon. That is a good deal to have settled. The moon, if it has anything at all to do with the corona, aside from the simple fact of its coming handily in between sun and earth so as to allow a brief glimpse of something startlingly beautiful which otherwise we should never have known, is probably responsible for only a very narrow ring of the inner corona light, of pretty even width all round. This is conceded as dif-

fractive effect; but the problem still remains how great this width may be, and whether the diffractive annulus varies in width, as it likely does, from one eclipse to another. On settling these questions, we shall be in a position to excerpt the spurious streamers from the true, and analysis of the solar corona may then proceed unhampered.

Perhaps the most striking fact developed by research upon the phenomena of mid totality, is that the axis of symmetry of the corona does not coincide with the sun's axis of revolution as determined by long observation of the solar spots. This might have been expected, but astronomers were a long time in getting at it. Then comes the question, What is the angle of divergence of these two axes? Or, if we regard the earth as a great magnet, and the sun as a great magnet too, may not the poles of the corona mark the position of the magnetic poles of the sun? Zöllner was, I believe, the first to guess this relation; and if, as I suspect, there is much in the recondite researches which Professor Bigelow * has already ably begun and is persistently following up, the guess is far from being a wild one. But the eclipse part of the problem—I mean the actual determination of the solar coördinates of this possible “magnetic pole”—would be easy enough, only that observers in the past have too often paid little regard to precise orientation in pictures of the corona which otherwise are unexceptionable. All that is needed is the geometric means of drawing the sun's axis across the photograph, and the required datum for each picture is then had at once, by direct measurement of the angle it makes with the coronal axis. This latter is very sharply defined on photographs taken with large telescopes driven by highly-accurate clock work. Also, it must not be forgotten that the center of the moon will nearly always fail of exact coincidence with the center of the sun; as a consequence whereof the full discussion of a photograph of the corona implies correct knowledge of the longitude and latitude of the place where it was taken, and of the local time of mid exposure. Unluckily these matters have too often been treated

* “The Solar Corona, Discussed by Spherical Harmonics.” By Professor Frank H. Bigelow. City of Washington: Published by the Smithsonian Institution. 1889.

with indifference; but the eclipses of another decennary will perhaps provide the data required for this fundamental discussion.

The true solar corona appears to be a triple phenomenon. First, there are the polar rays, nearly if not quite straight throughout their visible extent. Gradually, as these rays start out from points on the solar disk farther and farther removed from the poles, they acquire increasing curvature, and very probably extend into the equatorial regions, but are with great difficulty traceable there because projected upon, and confused with, the filaments having their origin remote from the poles. Next may be considered the inner equatorial corona, the lower regions of which have the semblance of an outer solar atmosphere. Apparently these are intimately connected with truly solar phenomena, quite like the polar rays. Then there is the third element in the composite, the outer equatorial corona, made up of the long ecliptic streamers, for the most part visible only to the naked eye; also existing as a solar appendage, and possibly merging into the zodiacal light.

The precise pictorial portrayal of an object so complex is utterly impossible save by photographic means. One good photograph is worth more than a bushel of hand sketches; in fact, the latest photographs, like those by Pickering, Barnard, and Burckhalter, of the eclipse of January 1, 1889, show, it is to be feared, the practical worthlessness of all hand work, except upon the long faint streamers; and here photography has been largely a failure. In point of fact, it amounts to this, that a long series of exposures of varying lengths has to be made with each lens, and the whole combined into a composite by means preferably photographic. In no other way can the whole corona be photographically depicted as the eye would see it in every part.

Also, there are problems of size and form of apparatus still awaiting solution. What size of lens is best adapted to photograph specific parts of the corona? Should the full aperture be used, or should it be reduced? Do lenses figured for the actinic rays offer great advantages over those not so figured? Are not reflecting telescopes with metallic specula in every way better adapted to coronal photography than refractors? Much light is

still demanded upon these and other matters governing the proper equipment of eclipse expeditions.

Then, too, the photometry of the corona in every part is a problem requiring critically-arranged apparatus. Nearly all this work is now best done photographically. The plates need to be standardized before developing; and series of exposures, through closely perforated disks, are no less required than in the merely pictorial work. Then, after the sensitized surfaces have been successfully exposed and developed, the real work upon them is just about to begin. Tedious measurements by the thousand must be made upon the intensity of the coronal light in every part. Professor Harkness's discussion of the photographs of 1878 indicated that the light of the corona varied inversely as the square of the distance from the edge of the sun, but more recent work appears to show that this cannot be a general law applicable to all eclipses. So the redetermination of the formula from the photographs of every new eclipse becomes a matter of investigation. In addition to this, the entire light of the corona is an important factor which must be evaluated for every totality in terms of some recognized standard.

The foregoing considerations on the simpler problems of the corona will suggest the complexity of those researches which have to be essayed and pushed to completion, if our way through the confusing labyrinth of the coronal filaments is ever to be successfully threaded. Indefinite in variety are the problems which arise; and a century of faithful study of eclipse phenomena will be of but little avail in unraveling the mysteries bound up in the intricate bundles of this filamentary structure, unless the questions are attacked with the utmost vigor and persistence. A larger amount of apparatus, particularly spectroscopic, for detailing the lines in the coronal spectrum for a large number of different areas of a given corona, and a greater variety of apparatus, photometric and polariscopic, as well as spectroscopic, must be brought to bear upon future coronas. Especially should every precaution be taken in the preparation of photographic plates, and in the provision of dispersing media of various sorts, to insure the registry of all possible lines in the spectrum of the corona, from the red through the ultra-violet.

The eclipse work of the African expedition, while itself a blank in so far as actual photographs of this particular totality are concerned, has, as it seems to me, occasioned a significant advance in the right direction. Much of the energy of the expedition was concentrated upon the contriving of photographic apparatus which, once "loaded" and set a-going, should take entire care of itself from one end of totality to the other. The principle of the device was a pneumatic commutator which exercised perfect and automatic control over a score of instruments of all sorts. To explain its working here would involve too long a digression, but its thoroughly satisfactory performance at Cape Ledo has demonstrated that one man can now operate thirty or forty photographic telescopes quite as readily as he could two or three by former methods of management merely manual.

Also, advantage should be taken of every opportunity to multiply future eclipse stations, at localities as widely separate as possible, in order that the chances of entire loss through prevalent cloud may be minimized.

Many more are the problems of modern eclipse observation, but I restrict myself to the mention of but a few. Special spectroscopes are applicable to a variety of problems, not the least of which is a general spectrum of the eclipsed sun, extending to a distance of two degrees and more on each side. Then, too, the hydrogen prominences come in for a share of the spectroscopist's attention; for, contrary to the popularly-accepted notion that these objects are quite as well studied without an eclipse as with, the critical observations of Tacchini at Caroline Island in 1883, and at Grenada in 1886, show conclusively that a given protuberance observed before totality becomes a vastly more complex object if followed with the spectroscope into the period of total obscuration, and further show that these objects are down-rushes of material relatively cool. The bearing of this important observation upon solar theories is so significant that astronomers ought again to add prominence-research to their eclipse programs, quite as in the days before the memorable discovery of Janssen and Lockyer in 1868. Then, too, Mr. Lockyer's possibly fluted spectra have to be most critically looked

for, if perchance they may shed more light on his fascinating meteoritic theory of the origin of celestial species.

The long-suffering intra-Mercurian planets would, I fancy, be still regarded as a legitimate eclipse problem by only a small contingent of the astronomical fraternity. If, however, there are cameras enough, one of large aperture and short focus would properly be assigned to the photographic outlook for such bodies; because, with precautions, there is the possibility of its doing good work upon the outer streamers of the corona as well. The only remaining problem which I need to cite here relates to the possible rapid variation of detail in some of the coronal streamers. Rarely does an eclipse take place without offering opportunity, however small, of attacking this important question. It is only necessary that photographs be taken at stations widely remote from one another, and with instruments, plates, exposures, and developments as nearly as may be alike. Then, if the sun's altitude is about the same at both stations, and careful comparison of the two photographs shows identical streamers, in identical position, in both, it is inferable that the corona has not changed appreciably in the time occupied by the lunar shadow in traversing the earth from station to station. Near the equator, the rate of the shadow's motion is about one thousand miles in an hour's time; and it is sometimes, though rarely, possible to select a pair of stations two or three thousand miles apart. The general result from the eclipses of 1871, 1878, and 1889 (I.) is that, while the corona may vary from hour to hour, there is good evidence that it remains unchanged from minute to minute. The greatest time difference ever secured was short of an hour; and it is matter for serious regret that this salient research, admirably planned in the late eclipse, has come to naught. The preparations were on a scale never before attempted, particularly those of the English parties in South America and in Africa. The former were successful, the latter not; and the question must now be tabled, with all the others, until the eclipses of 1893 and 1898. There will then be a wide opportunity for choice of stations in a pair of continents, and a rich harvest in solar physics seems sure to be garnered.

DAVID P. TODD.

PERPLEXITIES THAT CANADA WOULD BRING.

A NUMBER of men on both sides of the boundary, whose motives are freely impugned, and yet whose motives are, on the whole, I think, better than their judgment, are forcing the question of annexation upon the people of Canada and the United States. That they have not been entirely unsuccessful in this, is due certainly not to any novelty in the theme, but rather to the fact that the advocates of annexation appear to have begun to take themselves seriously.

Now I am too thoroughly a Canadian not to believe in our great value to any nation with which we should be willing to ally ourselves, or to harbor a doubt of our ability to become a great nation ourselves; and yet one cannot but see that we should bring certain political difficulties to the United States, not arising so much, perhaps, from our unworthiness, as from their weakness. The triumph of democracy as represented in the Republic is not yet complete; in fact, little more has yet been done than to fix attention upon the more serious problems of democracy. You—if I may presume an American audience—have the stagnant South to direct into channels of industry and prosperity. You have the labor giant awaking fitfully from his drugged slumber, and muttering socialism, or meditating rapine and bloodshed, or exploding dynamite bombs at the Hay-market. He will be the life of the nation when once awake, but it will tax the keenest faculties of your government to steady his waking movements. Then there is a Catholic school problem in Massachusetts, a Mormon problem in Utah, a “foreign-element” bugbear in New York and Chicago, a tariff conflict between the opposing interests of different sections, and many other knots at whose corded complexity your politicians must tug. These snarls in the skein of the future are not merely disadvantages, as political problems often are to other peoples; they entangle the life line of the nation. You can bear great pressure

at almost any other point. A war, an invasion, a commercial crisis would not unsettle your foundations, but the political chess board cannot be more deeply complicated without serious danger. This is the weak spot in your armor, and at this spot the annexation of Canada would strike at least three heavy blows. I am not troubled, as some are, about your ability, or even your willingness, to carry our public debt or to bear any other like burdens, but the trio of problems that this article will outline might well provoke on your part serious apprehension.

It is evident at a glance that Canadians would go into the American Union without affiliations to existing American parties. Their own party lines would be well-nigh obliterated by the discussion of annexation, and the feelings of the people toward American parties would be almost wholly determined by the things said by the leaders of those parties during the international negotiations. It is quite probable that these feelings might be far from weak, should one party appear to be the champion and the other the opponent of Canadian interests; but they would be common to the entire Canadian people, would be based upon matters wholly Canadian and local, would be easily changeable were a kindness done us by the hitherto critical party, and would but intensify our disposition to look at Washington legislation through Canadian spectacles.

We should be in truth a Canadian party interjected into American politics. When a Republican Congress in the national interest enacts a law that happens specially to affect Iowa, the Republican Party in Iowa becomes official counsel for the new legislation. Practically one half of the politicians of the State, because of their desire that their party shall continue to control the national government, are directly interested in commending this new measure to the favor of their fellow citizens. The other half are, of course, as surely retained as counsel in opposition to the measure. But, at their worst, the Democrats can do no more than play upon the local feeling and try to persuade the people of Iowa that their State interests are being sacrificed by the Republican Party; and they must carry on this sectional argument against opposing counsel and before a jury one half of which is prejudiced against them.

But the state of affairs in annexed Canada would be far different. In Canada there would be no counsel for the nation. There would be no section of the people willing to risk the lightest local interest for the triumph of a national party. Our politicians would be all retained for Canada, outvying one another in endearing themselves to the people by the keenness of their jealousy for "Canuck rights"; and the people would be only too ready to take alarm at the first intimation of the approach of the sleepest possible kind of a "wolf." We should constitute a perpetual opposition, always alert to find a grievance in the management, by the national executive, of Canadian affairs.

It is impossible, of course, to predict how the American government would deal with this kind of thing. A czar would merely increase the strength of military occupancy and send a few of the keenest patriots to Siberia, but this direct method is hardly open to the party government of a republic. We in Canada have had to face a mild form of this problem on a small scale, and, as politicians are very much alike the world over, the plan followed by ours in this case might be some indication of the path that those at Washington would tread. Our method was, stripped of all verbiage, public bribery. The Province of Nova Scotia was our disaffected region, having been brought into confederation somewhat against its will; but our policy of conciliation, which consists in building a railroad to every man's door, and cumbering the Province with public works, has been almost as effective as costly. As the result, the Nova Scotians elect a provincial legislature overwhelmingly for secession, but send to Ottawa a majority supporting the federal government. Whether American politicians should follow this method or should choose another, the difficulty that would be presented by a distinctively Canadian party would be a grave one, constituting a political problem of first-rate importance.

The second problem that I wish to outline is of the nature of the first, concentrated, embittered, and made perpetual. It will be found in the anti-annexation or ultra-British party, left of necessity under arms at the signing of the annexation agreement. The composition of this party would depend somewhat upon the course of the campaign, but its main features can be easily fore-

seen. Annexation could never be carried without the support, or at least the consent, of Quebec, and with that consent no tremendous majority would be needed in Ontario. No one knowing anything of Ontario at present could fail to pick out many of the elements of this anti-annexation minority. The Imperial Federationists would be there, as well as a large share of the Orange body, and the backbone of the Presbyterio-Protestant Sabbath-observing people of the Province—pluckiest of fighters and most persevering believers in their own rightness.

Can there be any doubt as to the grave danger of dragging this element by force into the American Union? It would be neither small nor uninfluential, and the public ear would be turned toward its jeremiads most kindly. Minorities are not disinclined to believe themselves misused, and especially is this true of a minority that has to hold its own in the face of a strong, progressive, and at one time hostile, people. A pro-British speaker would always have at his command two of the most thrilling chords in the whole vibrant harp of the emotions—that recalling the “good old days” to memories in whose sight distance hides the darker gullies and softens the hill tops, and that arousing a people against foreign rule with cries of tyranny and injustice. And pro-British speakers there would be; for these men are, many of them, descendants of those British loyalists of the last century who left opulence in New England for niggardly subsistence in the forests of Canada that they might live under the British flag. It would be hardly too much to say that this would be a disloyal element in the Republic, and, what adds to the danger of its presence, disloyal as a matter of conscience.

Your leading statesmen are considerably alarmed at the foreign element in your population, the gravamen of the charge against them being that they are not in sympathy with the American spirit. But they are not disloyal; they have signified in a practical manner their preference for the government of the United States over any other government in the world; they become citizens of the Republic voluntarily, not under compulsion and against their strongest protest; and yet they are thought to be a source of danger. What then would be a people openly disloyal; ready, at least in the near past, to bear arms against the

Republic; not only without the American spirit, but saturated with the British spirit? If Americans are rendered nervous by mere lack of sympathy, they should hesitate before taking to their bosom antagonism, disloyalty, and possible rebellion.

The third and most serious problem that Canada would bring into the Union is now to be seen, ready-made, in the Province of Quebec. If ever annexation shall become possible, it will be because of the problem that that province now presents to Canadian statesmen. The difficulty is at once one of race and one of religion, and has inherited all the bitterness and passion and prejudice of the bloodiest wars of Europe, in which Protestant has been arrayed against Catholic and Frank against Saxon. For one, I believe that we in Canada shall solve this problem ourselves on the broad basis of Protestant toleration and of trusting the "*habitant*" to think out his own freedom as he has in his native France, and that thus annexation will be banished from the region of the possible; but, should my belief have drawn too much of its life from preference, and should annexation become an issue in practical politics, Americans would do well to look carefully into the matter and learn that Quebec as a State in the Union would be a much more difficult enigma than even Quebec as a Province of Canada. Our acceptance of annexation would be a confession that Quebec the Province had driven Canadian statesmen in sheer bewilderment to national suicide—Canadian statesmen, remember, who have practically no other problem of first-rate importance to solve. Then this problem would be complicated in Quebec the State by a union with the ambitious Catholics of your country, and would be rendered more insistent and insidious because the prelates of Rome would be playing for larger stakes. Consider the effect of laying this knotty problem upon the already cumbered council board of your nation.

Certain writers have been pleased to tell you that in the Union the problem of Quebec would solve itself; that while it might possibly wreck the Dominion, still, once in contact with the aggressive, Protestant, nineteenth-century spirit of your nation, its difficulties would disappear. In my humble opinion, nothing of the kind would happen. You know well whether the Catholic Church with you is now quiet or restless. Massa-

chusetts can tell you. Wisconsin can tell you. New York can tell you. From all quarters of the Union you can hear the thunder at your school-house doors. You know, too, that your young Democracy can keep its lithe fingers upon the throat of that mediæval power simply because that power has not been able to mass its forces in any one State with strength sufficient to obtain the control. Quebec would supply that want. Quebec would become your Ireland. Quebec would give to the mother church a State vote in the election of the president, in the Senate, in the House of Representatives.

When Quebec shall offer for annexation, the government at Washington may set up a needle's eye through which she must pass naked, stripped of every privilege of race and religion; Congress may take every precaution possible and take it to the full; but unless the history of Romanism has been written by contraries, the care will be taken in vain. Rome has never yet been unhorsed while the horse remained faithful. When, in the quiet of peace, the horse has time to think, to feel, and, looking around, to see the burden it carries, the day of that Roman rider is over; but in the clangor of conflict, when the hostile lance pricks the steed far oftener than the rider, the mad rush of the papal charger has never failed. Those magnificent stallions, France and Italy, when left in serene peace by their Protestant neighbors, threw their popish riders, while Catholic Bavaria, fighting for its religious life at the Protestant court of Berlin, is sturdier, more faithful, and, I suspect, nearer victory to-day than ever. We in Canada—at least some of us—propose to let the horse roll in Quebec where it can crush nothing but its own daisies. The American Union could not allow that, when the first plunge might wreck the public-school system. In a word, we have the room here for the throes of another Italian liberation; you have not. Every abridgment by the American government of the privileges of the ecclesiasts of Quebec, would but make the people more firmly attached to their bleeding church. You may take from his Eminence the Cardinal every peculiar weapon that he holds, but you cannot take his solid vote—a vote that, if left alone, would loosen and disappear, but that, under your chastening hand, would be compacted into the solidity of granite; and

you could not leave it alone, for that would mean, were the Quebec church in political union with the American church, removal of the pressure at Boston as well as at Quebec.

It is only too clearly evident what Quebec the State, once within the Union, would accomplish. The more compact her vote should grow through pressure of persecution, the more formidable would she be. She would become the redresser of Roman Catholic grievances the Republic over. Did the Republican Party rudely blight Catholic school aspirations in Massachusetts, it would be punished at the next presidential election by the loss of the Quebec State vote. Democrats, were they recalcitrant, could be similarly treated at another time. For there would be one solid State vote in the Union then that would favor the parties as the parties should favor the church. Another means of obtaining the vote of Quebec the State, would be to proffer her restored privileges, such as she enjoyed as a Canadian Province; and it can hardly be doubted that such bids would be made, publicly or privately, when a neck-and-neck presidential election should induce politicians to try every expedient.

There is in my breast, in common with the great majority of Canadians, an abiding hope that our country will never so much as look toward annexation—not because the Americans are not a great people, but because we believe that our form of democratic government, molded in the furnace of British history, is the best in the world. Still, with the present cat-and-mouse attitude of Ontario and Quebec, one can never tell what will happen; and should our good sense desert us in a passion-swept moment, then ought American caution—knowing a little of the political pill offered—to come to our rescue and set us back on our own broad feet.

A. R. CARMAN.

THE NEWSPAPER OF THE FUTURE.

AMONG newspaper editors there is a suspicion that the monthly reviews and magazines are too nearly approaching the field of journalistic competition. It has been complained by the magazinists, whose favorite topic is the faultiness of the newspaper press, that the tendency of the newspaper is toward literary pauperism and trivialities; but, with strange inconsistency, the reviews and magazines appear to be imitating the qualities that they have condemned in the daily journals. To read the complaints of approaching competition that come from the daily papers, one would suppose that they dread the entrance of rivals into their own peculiar field. But the change in the conduct of the magazines should gratify the journalists. Imitation, we are taught, is the sincerest form of flattery; and that spirit of enterprise which is reckoned absolutely essential to successful journalism has in some degree infected the conductors of the magazines. Nobody need be surprised, under the circumstances, if every man who has aught to do with a printing press should be seized by a frantic desire to be "ahead of all contemporaries."

Perhaps the audacious foray of the newspapers into the field of general literature may have invited reprisals in kind. The daily newspapers have manifested a disposition to make their special editions, notably those of Sundays, as much as possible like those of cheap magazines. It is the frequent boast of the publisher of a daily paper that his journal is a small library in itself. The Sunday paper, voluminous as to sheets and multifarious as to contents, proudly carries contributions on topics recondite, as well as of contemporaneous human interest. Special papers by special contributors, essays, biographical sketches, elaborate reviews, and a mass of matter that makes tolerable pretensions to being literature, constitute the greater part of the load of one of these special editions of a daily newspaper. Is it surprising that the impartial observer regards the deflection in the

line of the magazine as the result of a too-sharp rivalry with the daily newspaper? If the monthly publication carries too many articles of transient interest, is it not true of the newspapers that they aim to be low-priced rivals of the magazines? If this is the state of the case, who opened the competition between these once-differing classes of publications?

There are observers of this novel complication who think that they see in it the promise of a compromise, in the shape of a daily newspaper that shall be a *newspaper* without the faults and follies of the thing that goes now by that name. In its ambition to be everything and to have everything, the newspaper has traveled far beyond its legitimate bounds. The complaint of the magazines indicates the overstepping of these bounds on one side; the more excited protests of an invaded privacy tell of a like outbreak on another; on all sides, in short, the barriers are giving way. The original functions of a daily newspaper appear to have been forgotten. Keen competition among themselves has finally brought newspaper people to a condition of feverish and anxious eagerness to make everything within reach their own. Everything printable is printed. Nothing is so low that it cannot be stooped to; nothing too remote and abstruse to be reached after.

The name of the newspaper once indicated its single function and mission in the world. The first newspapers were news letters, written or printed, and passed from hand to hand for the dissemination of the news of the day. Nobody seems to have dreamed of circulating a sheet, whether written or printed, for any other purpose than this. After a while, the editor introduced comments on the news contained in his paper, explaining and elucidating; and these modest observations, becoming imbued with the opinions of the editor, were eventually evolved into the editorial article, or leader. About this time, or very soon after, certain enterprising tradesmen, perceiving the value of this new channel of communication with buyers, availed themselves of it for the purpose of advertising their wares. It is a fact worth recalling to mind, that the first advertisements were those extolling the virtues of patent medicines. Next came the record of events in the locality of publication; letters from dis-

tant correspondents followed, and the evolution of the newspaper was complete.

The most obvious faults of the daily newspaper of the present day are its inaccuracy and its partisan unfairness. From these failings the magazine is at least tolerably exempt. The daily newspaper has become so untrustworthy, with its looseness of statement, its disregard of truth, and its often willful perversion of facts, that fair-minded men sometimes say that they find more satisfaction in reading the journals of the party to which they are opposed than in reading those of their own political faith. One may not accept as trustworthy a statement found in one newspaper till he sees it confirmed by others. If the monthly magazine shall ever become a daily newspaper, let us hope that its first and last purpose in life will be to tell the whole truth accurately. In the feverish race to "distance all contemporaries," the daily metropolitan journal too often throws decency and discretion to the winds. Things have finally come to such a pass that none of these will believe the others. They are all busy in discrediting one another's news, denying the accuracy of one another's reports, and undervaluing one another's enterprises. In such a state of things, what can be expected of the general public, looking on at the jealous contention from the outside? The impartial observer is often tempted to say: "Gentlemen, you tell the truth about one another."

Very much of the so-called slovenliness of the daily newspaper is unavoidable. It is absolutely impossible, in the hurry and rush of putting together the latest news and getting the paper to press, that all the matter in its broad sheet shall read smoothly and be entirely conformed to the canons of style. The literary quality of a daily newspaper cannot be as finished as that of a book, or even of a monthly magazine. Small wits, and some great ones (Oliver Wendell Holmes, for example), have spent much sarcasm on the inaccurate and slipshod style of the hapless reporter. The poor devil who writes his last paragraph for the paper just as the press is ready to begin its revolutions, may surely be excused if his rhetoric is a trifle shaky. But this needful haste does not excuse the failure to verify rumors and chase down facts—a failure responsible for much of the loose-

ness of statement that is now so characteristic of the daily newspaper. It may seem preposterous to say that no item of news, no alleged fact, should be printed until its trustworthiness has been fully established. A consuming desire to be the first to tell the tale, true or false, has given the daily newspaper of to-day its notorious character for untrustworthiness. Of course we make no account here of the so-called newspapers that are indifferent to the truth or falsity of the stuff they print; these are beyond the pale of reputable journalism.

Political partisanship is the bane of modern American society. In every department of human activity, politics seems to be a determining factor. Almost all the daily newspapers are political newspapers. They are bitterly partisan, the so-called independent journals being as unfair as any of the brood. A journal that pretends to give the news and does not give it impartially, can hardly be called a *newspaper*. It is a partisan sheet that misrepresents, distorts, magnifies, suppresses, or colors the news to suit the views of the manager. Even the headlines that garnish the daily record are made to do duty as innuendo, argument, or wilful perversion of the truth that follows. The ingenuity with which news common to all the newspapers of any given community may be twisted and colored, is sometimes marvelous to behold. The ingenuous seeker after truth who hunts for it in the columns of three or four journals of diverse political faith, may well be confounded. Let us imagine a man whose reading is confined to one newspaper and whose ideas of the news of the day are derived wholly from that sheet; is it not likely that he will be habitually deceived? Gatherers of news take their cue from the management of the journal to which they belong. Sometimes they are instructed to color all that passes through the alembic of their thought. It is obvious that the strongly-partisan newspaper must needs be conscienceless, dishonest, whether unwittingly or intentionally.

Of course if these things are true of the news department of the newspaper, we need not expect fair treatment of themes in the editorial columns, where the prejudices and obligations of the writer are likely to be brought into play. It may be said of the editorial writers on the American press, that they evince a breadth

of horizon and an intelligence beyond what we discover in any similar class of writers on the foreign press. It is true that they discuss topics of foreign origin with a certain levity that often shocks the visiting stranger; but they are usually able to handle these with fairness, good sense, and sound judgment. We should be amazed to find American questions discussed in a London newspaper, for example, with the same degree of skill and intelligence which characterizes the handling of English questions in any American newspaper of recognized leading.

It is lamentable that partisan strabismus should seize upon almost every American leader-writer when he comes to the discussion of the questions that most occupy the attention of American readers. In our country, unhappily, the trail of politics is over pretty nearly everything that enters into the affairs of men. In Congress and the State legislatures, parties instinctively take opposite sides on every matter that comes up for legislative consideration and settlement. It would seem as if each waited to see which side its opponent would take, before throwing its influence for or against any proposition.

This habit has so fastened itself upon the daily newspaper, that many readers are doubtless surprised when they look into their favorite journal and find that that oracle has discovered politics in a matter that only the day before seemed wholly removed from the political field. This habit of regarding everything with reference to its possibilities as a political question, is an insufferable and growing nuisance in public life and in one sort of journalism. Invasion of the privacy of the individual is frequently held up to scorn as one of the grossest abuses of the press. But that is nothing when compared with the habitual, persistent, and malevolent misrepresentation of public men who happen to be political leaders. Possibly many people like this sort of thing. Like Mrs. Battles at whist, they love a good hater. But men who do not know how false and dishonest all this miserable business is, are habitually imposed upon. The partisan editorial writer habitually lies to his readers. He glozes the faults of his own political friends, and misrepresents the failings, real and imaginary, of his adversaries. The partisan editor, whatever he may himself think, never by any chance permits his readers to learn the whole truth.

There is no need, however, for us to descant further on the faults and shortcomings of the newspaper as it exists to-day. Heaven knows that critics, reviewers, and essayists, to say nothing of statesmen in Congress, have often enough held up to public reprobation the weaknesses and the vices of the foremost power in all Christendom, the newspaper press. It would be more to the purpose, perhaps, if we were to look ahead a little, to discover if there is any possibility that the evils of which we are so often reminded may not be cured, or may not cure themselves, in the course of time. The most discouraging feature of the so-called sensationalism of the present age is that the people seem to like it. Like many another evil thing, it flourishes on the frailties of mankind. If every man could be brought to despise the sensational and lying sheet, as no doubt the reader of these lines does, that disgrace of an honorable profession would speedily perish from off the face of the earth. But the phenomenal prosperity of the despicable thing does not indicate that high-strung general moral sense which we like to believe is ours. There is hope, however, that we have reached the lowest depth of the deplorable business, and that journalism will after a while experience a species of moral uplift that will raise us all into a higher and purer atmosphere. It really seems as if things could be no worse than they are; and the experience of mankind teaches that when matters are at their worst, the time for them to mend has come.

As we have seen, the real purpose of the newspaper has been defeated by its own mismanagement. Nobody expects to find the truth about public men and public measures fairly and candidly stated in the political newspapers. As we have seen, too, that variety of matter known by the slang name of "fake" has become so common, that we are obliged to discredit everything that is printed in the newspapers. In such a depressing condition of things, perhaps the better portion of the newspaper fraternity will resort to honesty, fair dealing, and conscientious treatment of the news, in sheer self-defense. Reformers on this line need not expect to be understood and believed at first. They must allow the shock of novelty to pass away. Popular disbelief of the newspaper may have become too deeply seated

to be removed at once; but, as the copy-books have taught us, truth is mighty and will prevail—after a while. Like a new Columbus in a heedless and gainsaying world, the coming leader in the new enterprise may vainly knock at many doors before he will find recognition and good cheer; but mendacity, partisan injustice, and general harum-scarum cannot always succeed in journalism.

The newspaper of the future will rid itself of the smartness and flippancy with which the newspaper of the present is too often disfigured. Its writers will be selected for their learning, careful literary training, and fairness of judgment. Verbosity is one of the most-dreaded terrors of the average newspaper reader. He is likely to think that an erudite, thoroughly-informed writer must needs be dull and prosy. Let us admit that we cannot possibly endure long, dull, editorial articles, and that we will not have a colorless, dry statement of facts in the news columns of the journal of our choice. But is it asking too much of human nature—newspaper human nature—that the paper shall be crisp and bright without malice, learned and intelligent without dullness? No sensible person expects that political parties are to be disbanded or hooted out of existence. The parties and the newspapers will remain for many a century to come. But men will learn that it pays to be fair and honest in politics as in diplomacy, and in many another field of human activity in which lying was once thought to be part of the best equipment. Then readers, tired of the fruitless hunt for truth and fairness in the columns of the political newspaper, will be gratified with an answer to their demand for a change to something better.

It may seem like a Utopian theory of a newspaper that is here hinted at; but it should be borne in mind that this is an age of experiment. On the whole, perhaps it should be a matter for surprise that we have gone on so long in the bad old way, or rather, in the old way continually growing worse. When the newspaper of the future comes—clean, bright, honest, impartial, accurate, painstaking, and absolutely just (allowing for the frailties of poor human nature)—we shall doubtless be surprised that we have so long endured the crude methods, conscienceless habits, and reckless haste of the journalism of to-day.

It is inevitable that the ideal newspaper will be more costly than the newspaper of the present; for, with all their boastfulness of princely expenditure and magnificent enterprise, publishers and editors are not willing, apparently, to pay for the verification of the matter they print. They are too much afraid of their "enterprising" competitors to risk being beaten in the race for news. When raw and untrained men on the reportorial staff of a daily newspaper shall give place to those whose mental discipline and ripe judgment shall fit them for their station, it must be admitted that the maintenance of a staff of such writers will dismay some of the publishers of daily newspapers who now think very highly of themselves for their munificent management. But, unless all signs fail, the newspaper press, now steadily discrediting itself with the world of readers, will eventually be compelled to learn that it has forgotten its calling and has ceased to be a *newspaper*.

It is a common saying that advertisements are the life blood of a newspaper. Its circulation is valuable, from the counting-room point of view, only as offering special inducements to advertisers. As we have seen, the original idea of the newspaper was to furnish the news. When we return to that idea, the advertiser will be relegated to his proper subordinate place; perhaps he will disappear altogether. In the fearless and independent administration of a daily newspaper, the publisher's department is often a serious drawback. It is apt to be officious, if not influential, in directing the editorial conduct of the paper. This is especially true of the country papers, those rural leaders of public opinion on whose unbiased judgment so much depends. In these days of voluminous Sunday editions, as if the crushing amount of reading matter pitchforked into the paper were not sufficiently embarrassing to the buyer, pages on pages of advertisements are foisted upon the unfortunate reader. He thinks to buy a newspaper, and is loaded down with an advertising sheet. To the general newspaper-reader, this is simply an impertinence. It is pretended that every man is greatly interested in the advertisements of a newspaper. This is notoriously untrue. The delusion is kept up for mercenary reasons sufficiently obvious. The reader will learn, after a while, that the printed matter, outside

of the little that he really wants to see and read, is a mere superfluity, and that its cost is met by the revenue from an intolerable amount of advertising in which he has no interest whatever. He has been beguiled into buying twenty or thirty pages of printed stuff of various sorts and kinds, in order that he may glean out of the mass a page of information concerning the history of the world for a day.

The proposition to abolish or even to curtail the advertising portion of the daily newspaper, will be met with a howl of derision from the conservatives who think that what is must always be. But when newspapers shall be printed for the edification and enlightenment of mankind, as they will be some day, mankind will not buy a bushel of chaff for the sake of finding in it a few grains of wheat. On that simple principle the newspaper of the future will be conducted. Possibly the "cheap and nasty," whose price and whose quality are equally low, will still find a market. Possibly, too, advertisers who are now desperately climbing over one another in attempts to get out of the hurly-burly of the daily newspaper advertising columns, will seek some other less crowded and more hopeful channel of communication with the public of buyers. Undoubtedly the popular belief in the saving grace and the supremacy of the advertisement in the newspaper will expire reluctantly, but the time will come when the advertising sheet must lead an existence separate from the newspaper.

The tendency to dogmatize, apparent in many of the newspapers of the present day, is an abnormal outgrowth of the old-time modest editorial utterance. There is too much editorial writing. Uncandid opinions and assertions have unsettled popular belief in the infallibility of the journalistic pope. His oracular givings-out are often regarded as of little worth and are often absolutely unheeded. The man who in this age of "hustling" has barely time to glance at the headlines of the morning paper, treats with scant courtesy the able leading articles that adorn its editorial page. Not only so, but impudent disregard of truth, and a perverse habit of making the worse appear the better reason in public matters, are having their perfect work in the undermining of the editorial influence of the daily newspaper. Local reporters, correspondents, and even the

manipulators of the telegraphic news, impertinently thrust their opinions upon the reader at every turn. Every newspaper-manager knows the correspondent with "views," and the local reporter with convictions, who are determined to edit at long range the newspaper of which they are only *attachés*. This attempt is too often tolerably successful. The newspaper of the future will be no less opinionated, perhaps, than that of the present; but it will be more honest and candid, and therefore its utterances will be more worthy of respect. What is quite as important as a matter of reform, editorial opinions will be expressed in their proper and legitimate place, not spread all over the paper. In that day, the man who shall look in the best newspaper for the news, will not be compelled to swallow the prejudices and notions of the editorial staff along with information from the four quarters of the globe.

Almost all unattained good seems unattainable when seen from a distance. The ideal newspaper is certainly remote just now; but perhaps it is not so far away as it may seem to be to the weary watcher. When a good thing comes, men wonder how they have rubbed through life so long without it. When the newspaper of the future shall have come, a world of readers will be gratified that the remnant of nineteenth-century journalism then surviving will have been spared only for the minority of mankind.

NOAH BROOKS.

GUNPOWDER AND ITS SUCCESSORS.

UNTIL the propulsive force of saltpeter was discovered, the arms of the savage and the civilized man were too nearly alike to enable the discipline of the latter to obtain more than temporary advantage over the former; but since the regular employment of explosives in warfare, the periodic irruptions of barbarians have ceased; and they will never recur, notwithstanding the Tartar hordes which still exist, and the sensational ideas occasionally advanced as to what they might do if supplied with modern weapons. Such weapons require the mechanical faculty of western civilization for their care and maintenance. Even the civilization of southern China is not adapted to them.

The ancients had no suspicion of the energy that the chemical forces of nature might substitute for muscular strength. This is shown by a study of their war machines when they advanced from hand weapons to those embodying more power. All of these were animated by the tension of cords or springs liberated by a trigger, and imparting a propulsive force to stones, arrows, or beams. Chemicals were first used for starting fires, and the incendiary projectiles were torches or pieces of ignited wood, together with pitch, sulphur, naphtha, and resins—substances easy to inflame and difficult to extinguish. Once being thrown, they adhered strongly to any object struck by reason of their viscosity; and the heat produced by their combustion rendered them more fluid and caused them to flow in every direction, carrying the fire with them. It was possible, however, to extinguish these flames by deluging them with water and cutting off the supply of air, or by covering them with sand, which would lower the temperature below the point of ignition; and such projectiles could not be thrown with high velocity without being extinguished by the refrigerating and abrading action of the air.

The discovery of Greek fire remedied these defects, and for

many centuries the terror it inspired brought victory to the Byzantines in naval battles. This substance is first mentioned in history about A.D. 670, as the invention of Callinicus, who destroyed with it the Moslem fleet besieging Constantinople. The secret of its composition was carefully guarded by the Greeks, and its effects were much magnified by the ignorance of the soldiers and sailors. It was said to be inextinguishable itself, and to impart the same quality to everything it touched. It was also said to burn downward as well as upward, which was in those days considered an extraordinary phenomenon. Nothing positive has come down to us regarding the exact composition of this fire, because all the constituents are mentioned by the Greeks except the vital one; but from the researches of modern chemistry it appears more than probable that its essential ingredient was nothing but saltpeter. Its hissing, flaming, and roaring in the air, which were among its most frightful qualities, would thus easily be accounted for; and as saltpeter contains its own oxygen, it is almost inextinguishable when combined with carbonaceous matter. Men completely clad in armor were not injured by Greek fire; stone structures were not damaged, nor were wooden ones, if covered with raw hides. Treason or corruption finally caused the secret to pass to the Moslems, who made use of it during the fifth crusade and afterward, throwing it in huge casks with the various ballistic machines of those days. In naval combats it was thrown from copper tubes mounted in the bows of the galleys, by the tension of cords and springs. The Arab writers mention many compositions used in this way, consisting of resin, pitch, sulphur, etc., mixed with saltpeter in varying proportions. Regarding saltpeter itself, it is probable that the Chinese made the first use of it in fireworks. It is called by old writers "Chinese salt" and "Chinese snow," but it is difficult to fix Chinese dates on this subject earlier than A.D. 969, in the reign of Tai-Tsou. The Chinese never developed its use in war except with the aid of foreign engineers.

The ancients employed in war other chemicals besides those that have been enumerated. Vinegar was used to extinguish Greek fire, and Hannibal is said to have used it in conjunction with fire to break the rocks when he crossed the Alps. Salt was

strewn on arable lands, and geese were pastured on the sites of razed cities to render them barren. Geber, the Arabian alchemist, discovered nitric acid in the eighth century. Sulphuric acid was known in the fifteenth, and phosphorus in the seventeenth. It is probable that all these substances were used in conjunction with the known weapons of melted lead, boiling oil, Chinese stink pots, and glass vessels filled with snakes; but the effects of these latter weapons are principally moral, and it is the material effect that is to be sought for.

For hundreds of years Greek fire was thrown only by mechanical means; and though it was the forerunner of gunpowder, the use of its own gas as a propelling force is first specifically mentioned in the writings of Marcus Græcus, about the tenth century; and at that time it took the form of a rocket. It is not until the end of the thirteenth century that the first clear mention of a powder for throwing projectiles is found. It appears in an Arabic manuscript of that era, which gives a composition of 10 drams of saltpeter, 2 of charcoal, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ of sulphur. This was the fundamental discovery which changed the art of war. Cannon came into use in Europe about 1338, and small arms followed; but progress was at first not rapid, owing to the difficulty of controlling the irregular action of the powder, which was full of dirt and of very variable quality. There was also the strong opposition which a new invention always encounters—an opposition natural enough when one considers that nowhere in the world is there so much at stake as on the field of battle. Another element of opposition was pride in the use of arms, for which particular nations were famous. The English, for instance, employed bows at the siege of the Isle of Ré in 1627, nearly three hundred years after the battle of Cressy, at which their first artillery was used. Wooden cannons bound with rope or leather were first employed, then bars of iron hooped, and next solid metal. After this the progress was in some respects abnormal. Enormous size was speedily reached; brass guns throwing stone balls of 600 and even 1,200 pounds were not uncommon. Mahomet II. used one of these in breaching the walls of Constantinople, in 1449, and some of the same species are mounted at the Dardanelles now, or were a few years ago.

Breech-loading was speedily accomplished; the English had breech-loading cannon in 1545, and Cortez also at the conquest of Mexico, in 1519. Nearly everything in the way of revolvers and repeating guns can be found in the museums of Europe; but none of those devices could in those days be perfected, owing to the backwardness of the mechanic arts. Muzzle-loading, with all its defects, was fixed upon as the only reliable system for service down to within forty years; since that time built-up guns, rifling, and breech-loading have all been successful in both large and small calibers.

During all these years powder remained almost constant in composition, viz., 75 per cent. saltpeter, 15 per cent. charcoal, and 10 per cent. sulphur. At first it was used in the form of dust, but toward the close of the fifteenth century it was discovered that when formed into grains its force was increased. Afterward it was found that glazing enabled it to resist the action of the air and to bear transportation, and later that the size and density of the grains had a marked effect upon the rate of combustion and upon the uniformity of pressure. During our civil war, Major Rodman, in experimenting for the most suitable powder for the smooth-bore 15-inch gun, reached a rough, almond-shaped grain an inch long, which he called mammoth powder. Since that time grains have assumed a more regular shape, usually a hexagonal prism pierced with holes. Each size of gun has its own size of grain; and in large guns the cartridges, instead of being loosely-filled sacks, have their grains uniformly arranged, so that the holes correspond, and the whole is carefully sewn up in woolen serge. It was formerly considered that the most suitable length of bore for a cannon was eighteen times the diameter or caliber. With a gun shorter than this, part of the charge was blown out without burning; with one longer than this, the powder was no better burned, and friction in the bore diminished the range. In the reign of Charles V., a 36-pounder smooth-bore, fifty-eight calibers long, was cast at Genoa; it did not have the range of a 12-pounder, and was cut off. Our largest guns are now from thirty-five to forty calibers long, and rapid-fire guns are from forty to forty-five calibers, since it is now possible to make powder which, while exerting less pres-

sure on the gun than the old powder, will give greater velocity to the projectile if the gun is rifled and long enough to burn it all.

Within recent years we have reached a point where the composition itself is changing. The first alteration was in the use of under-burned charcoal, together with sugar and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of water; this produces the chocolate-colored, or cocoa powder, which is the best at present in general use and gives magnificent ballistic results. In an 8-inch gun at Annapolis, a charge of 100 pounds has lately given a velocity of 2,000 feet per second to a 250-pound projectile (equal to a range of about eight miles), with a pressure of less than 13 tons per square inch in the breech of the gun. But this powder makes more smoke than the black, and its endurance of hot temperatures and climatic changes is not well established. A reliable smokeless powder is now being sought in many different fields, but so far successfully only in two: first, substituting nitrate of ammonia for nitrate of potash (saltpeter), and straw charcoal for wood charcoal in ordinary powder, and using less sulphur; secondly, using one of the forms of nitro-cellulose or gun cotton—that is, treating cardboard with nitric acid, re-treating it with ether (which converts it into a species of celluloid), pressing and cutting it into grains, and sometimes adding camphor to make it slower. Cordite, which resembles cord, or more nearly vermicelli, is another form, and is a remarkable example of progress in the arts. Thirty years ago, Baron Von Lenk, in Austria, made a long-fibered gun cotton which he wove into cartridges resembling the cylindrical wicks of argand lamps, with a block in the wick to keep it from collapsing. These cartridges, of sizes suitable for field artillery, were introduced into thirty batteries of the Austrian army. Smokeless powder was an accomplished fact. It deteriorated in store, however, and the factory blew up. Now we have cordite, which will probably again be woven into Von Lenk's cartridges.

So far perfection has not been reached with any of the smokeless powders. They do not keep well, and have a tendency to absorb moisture, the result being a change in the rate of burning and consequent pressure in the gun. In the course of experi-

menting, however, marvelous results are being obtained. In France a powder for small arms has been discovered which behaves in exactly the reverse manner from ordinary rifle powder, the pressure being greater at the muzzle of the rifle than at the breech; and velocities of over 4,000 feet per second have been obtained with the bullets.

A hundred years ago Paixhans invented the explosive shell, in which powder was used, and now we are introducing more powerful explosives in place of the powder. Torpedoes, too, have come into existence, and up to the present day gunpowder has been used in them; but hereafter we shall see explosive gelatin, dynamite, and gun cotton adopted almost exclusively. The first is the most powerful, the second the cheapest, and the third the most convenient to handle. Their relative efficiency under water, compared with powder, is by volume 138, 100, 66, 14, and by weight 142, 100, 80, 25. In air and in hard blasting their efficiency is greater. All three detonate, that is, they totally explode without lapse of time, while powder burns and gives a gradual push. Regarding the utility of firing small masses of high explosives in shells, there has always been a difference of opinion, which is quite independent of the possibility of doing it. Commander Barker, of the United States Navy, at Newport, in 1874, suggested the idea, and was perfectly successful in firing nine 24-pounder shells filled with dynamite, using service charges of powder; and Commander Folger, at Annapolis, in 1884, fired twenty-two 12-pounder shells, ten of which were under service conditions, with equal success; and there have been examples abroad of the successful use of other high explosives. But it is usually considered dangerous, and in firing common shells from modern guns it is possible to break them into such fine pieces that, notwithstanding the strength of the bursting charge, the radius of explosive effect will be much less than if larger pieces were propelled by powder. There have been some English experiments which support this view. Within recent years, however, attention has been attracted to the desirability of using small masses in armor-piercing shells. These shells have but a small cavity for the bursting charge and are filled from the rear. If powder is used, the heat generated in passing through

armor is sufficient to ignite it prematurely, and the shell is usually so strong that the base plug is simply blown out. Gun cotton, either wet or saturated with paraffin, can be rendered sufficiently sluggish to pass through armor without ignition, and one of the problems of the day is to find a delayed-action fuse that will detonate it at the proper time afterward. The Italians claim to have solved this problem up to a thickness of five inches of armor, but excellent English authorities say that no one has yet succeeded. The trouble is with the fuse.

But it is in the use of large, thin-walled shells, which are not expected to penetrate an object, but to crush it, that we may look for the most startling results. In Italy and Germany, 48 pounds of wet or paraffined gun cotton have been thrown from mortars, and in France, more than 77 pounds of melinite—an explosive made from picric acid, gun cotton, and gum arabic, and about three times as strong as gunpowder. In this country we have thrown 600 pounds of dynamite and explosive gelatin from the pneumatic gun. The danger of premature explosion in the gun is much greater when the weight of the bursting charge is very great in proportion to the weight of the shell; and the practice in Europe is to use ordinary guns and to deaden the explosive as in armor-piercing shells, only in this case it is deadened to get it safely out of the gun, a powerful exploder or fuse being inserted to recover the energy at the end of its flight. In this country the opposite course has been pursued with the pneumatic gun, in which a regulated pressure of air permits the use of any commercial explosive. The difference is radical, as the pressure in a mortar is thirteen to fifteen tons per square inch, and is liable to vary a ton or two either way, while in the air gun only about a thousand pounds per square inch is used, and it can be regulated within three or four pounds, the range being changed by altering the pressure. This matter has opened up a new field for investigation, and the chemist will soon be called upon to discover a smokeless powder which will produce absolutely reliable pressures as low as 1,000 pounds per square inch, and from that to 5,000; but an air or steam gun will always have the advantage of being able to change the pressure at will without reloading. Against stone, brick, or sand the effect of large masses

of high explosive is very marked, as would also be the case on or over a ship's decks or in the water alongside; but against vertical armor of even moderate thickness their execution up to the present time is zero. Ten pounds of dynamite in a cigar box, resting upon a four-inch iron plate lying on the ground, will blow a hole through the plate; but if the plate is vertical, five times the quantity will have no effect. The power was there; what became of it? We must learn to direct this energy.

Nitro-glycerin and gun cotton are the most important high explosives. Both were discovered about 1846, but neither was of practical value until about 1860, when Nobel, a Swede, discovered a cheap method of manufacturing nitro-glycerin and afterward of making from it dynamite and explosive gelatin. Abel, the English War Department chemist, discovered about the same time a safe method of making and keeping gun cotton by pulping it so that it could be washed free of superfluous acid. In Paris during the siege an exhaustion of the gunpowder supply was feared, and the ablest chemists were employed to find a substitute. Although the powder did not give out, many useful forms of dynamite were discovered, which were extensively used in the various sorties for destroying obstacles. The subject, moreover, has never been dropped, and there exists to-day in France a "commission of explosive substances," presided over by M. Berthelot, the father of thermo-chemistry, who has carried the whole subject from the sphere of empiricism to that of scientific investigation, and enabled his disciples to analyze any explosive and to indicate what its force will be, and also to discover new compounds which shall possess properties designated in advance. He commenced by investigating the phenomena of heat developed both in the formation of an explosive and in its decomposition, and discovered the key which unlocked the mystery that had previously surrounded all explosives. Nitrate of potash (saltpeter), for instance, was for centuries known to be useful for powder-making, but no one knew why it was so. Lavoisier discovered a hundred years ago that it was a vast magazine of oxygen; but sulphate of potash is an almost equally vast reservoir of oxygen, yet it cannot be used for making powder. It was reserved for Berthelot to discover that nitrate of potash in

decomposing with charcoal gives out a large quantity of heat, while sulphate of potash under the same circumstances absorbs an even greater quantity. Since it is the heat which expands the gases resulting from explosion and gives them their energy, the value of the discovery is obvious. Advancing from this point, he has developed a system by which he investigates the characteristics of an explosive and expresses them. Nitro-glycerin, for example, is expressed as follows: Formula, $C^6H^2(AzO^6.H)^3$. Weight corresponding to formula = 227 grams. Heat disengaged at constant volume by one kilogram = 3,059 calories. Volume of permanent gases for one kilogram = 713 liters. Specific pressure of one gram in one cubic centimeter = 10,950 atmospheres. Velocity of explosive wave = 5,000 meters per second. With this knowledge of each explosive they can all be theoretically compared. In practice, the maximum work of an explosive is not equal to its theoretical potential, and the results vary according to the purpose for which it is employed. Many dynamic or static-measuring machines have been devised for particular objects by Abbot, Berthelot, Trauzl, Chalon, and other eminent engineers.

The chemical analysis of the products of combustion shows a wide difference of results. Ordinary gunpowder has 68 per cent. of solid residue, while nitro-glycerin not only has no solid residue, but has a surplus of oxygen; that is, in 100 pounds of gunpowder there is only enough oxygen to consume 32 pounds of it in a useful manner, and the remainder, 68 pounds, is converted into solid chemicals of no expansive force, which are blown out of the gun. In nitro-glycerin there is more than enough oxygen to burn all the other components. Substances containing oxidizable constituents can therefore be added to it with advantage, and this has given rise to the numerous mixtures found in the market. Gun cotton mixed with nitro-glycerin utilizes the surplus oxygen of the latter in the most efficient manner, and produces explosive gelatin, the most powerful practical explosive known. Nitro-glycerin is also made into a solid by mixing it with powdered silica, which will absorb 75 per cent.; and this constitutes dynamite. These changes of physical condition modify the susceptibility to shock, and oftentimes in an unexpected

manner. For instance, explosive gelatin ordinarily requires six times as much as dynamite, but if frozen it requires less than dynamite.

All explosives are liable to detonation by "influence"; that is, the detonation of one mass will explode another of the same kind at a distance, and possibly masses of other kinds also. The results of experiment are anomalous and unaccountable. Champion and Pellet had reason to think, from some very interesting experiments, that there was a vibratory musical wave to which each explosive was susceptible. Abel supports this theory, and it is said originated it. Berthelot proved to his satisfaction that this theory was incorrect, and advanced another, which supposes an explosive wave that does not cause the second body to vibrate, but which the second body arrests, and absorbs the living force thereof. Later, Threfell advanced a theory, derived from experiment in a glass tank of water, that there is a vortex ring movement, rolling in on itself like a ring of cigar smoke, but in an irregular manner, which would account for the lack of uniformity of explosions by influence at different distances and in different directions. Whatever may be the correct theory, we know that fulminate of mercury produces a shock to which all other substances are sensitive, and hence is better adapted for exploders than any other. This is probably due to its density. It is very heavy in proportion to space occupied, and its shock is more intense within a limited radius than that of any other explosive. Regarding the sensibility to influence of other explosives—and there are some three hundred and fifty of them—we are much in the dark. The matter is of minor importance when it applies to torpedoes, and the safe distances from each other at which they can be planted have been established; but now that we are commencing to throw large masses from guns, the exact shock at which each kind will prematurely explode should be determined.

F. M. BARBER.

THE NEWER WEST.

FROM the Missouri River, anywhere between Leavenworth and Sioux City, to the Pacific Ocean, a bird's flight, however direct, would cover more than 1,400 miles of territory. From the British dominions to the Gulf of Mexico, on a course marked southward from Pembina upon the Manitoba line, our aërial messenger would also traverse 1,400 miles. When the writer first crossed the Missouri River, early in 1856, this vast region was almost a solitude, practically unknown even to geographers. A considerable portion of it appeared on their maps as the "American Desert." Eastward, the nearest railroad points were Iowa City and Jefferson City, both not less than 200 miles away. Westward, California had some 26 miles of railroad, and it was several years before this lengthened out to 31 miles. It was still nearly two years before the telegraph crossed the Missouri and moved on westward. The pony express was evolved during the next year; the first overland mail had been received but a year before. From the Red River to the Gulf, and from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, there would not have been found a total American white population of over 150,000. The whole number of persons inhabiting the region in the summer of 1856 could not have exceeded 450,000. The Indians would have numbered 200,000. The hybrid Mexican population found in south-western Texas and New Mexico, then including Arizona and a considerable portion of southern Colorado, was about 100,000 strong. The whites were found in largest numbers in California, in Oregon, in Missouri west of the river, and in south-western Texas; 25,000 were in the newly-organized Territories of Nebraska and Kansas.

A few days before this article was begun, the writer returned from an extended journey (made on public business) through the same region—the latest of many which he has made under all sorts of conditions during the intervening years. This one

covered more than 14,000 miles, of which all but a few score were traversed in well-appointed railroad cars. The work undertaken was one which enabled all those engaged in it to obtain an excellent insight into the economic conditions, the social aspects, and the public feeling of all the States and Territories of the far West. It gave extended opportunity for a study of the changes that have occurred. The official purpose of the journey had reference only to the region beyond the 98th meridian of longitude west of Greenwich. Eighteen States and Territories were visited and traversed. The contrasts offered by this region to the solitude of 1865 were almost amazing. West of the meridian named there are now at least 22,000 miles of railroad, and of telegraph wires not less than 150,000 miles. Of telephone and electric-light cables, in proportion to population, there are more miles in use than elsewhere within the United States. There is to-day more property owned *per capita* than elsewhere on the continent. Two fifths of the national domain is found west of the line given, and certainly three fifths of the remaining public lands of the United States must be sought for in the same region; and that, too, without considering Alaska. Yet how few persons are cognizant of the fact that, east and west, the geographical center of this Union is somewhere in the Bay of San Francisco; for with the Aleutian Islanders flying our flag within 50 miles of the Siberian coast of Asia, our domain extends, on a north-western and south-eastern line, some 3,000 miles beyond the Golden Gate.

Returning, however, to the solid earth, and eschewing what seems hyperbole, the region between St. Paul, Great Bend, Fort Worth, and the Gulf, on the east, and the Rio Grande, San Diego, and Tacoma, on the west, contains at this writing a population of about 5,000,000. It may support, under conditions that are realizable, a population of 100,000,000. This statement is made with full knowledge of the contemptuous sneers it will evoke from the learned ignorant and the unthinking sciologists who accept opinions and form conclusions at second hand.

This newer West had eight senators in the last Congress, and the same number of representatives. Four new States have been recently admitted; there are now sixteen senators and thirteen

representatives. Four additional senators and two additional representatives, from Idaho and Wyoming, will be seated before the present session of Congress shall adjourn. Kansas, Nebraska, and Texas, with six more senators and twenty-two representatives, are immediately concerned with the fortunes of the region under consideration, for at least one third of each of those States lies west of the line laid down as our eastern starting point. It may be safely assumed, then, that if there are sectional and special interests to be legislatively considered, the region indicated will have, as now organized, the support in Congress of at least twenty-four senators and from twenty-seven to thirty-eight representatives. It needs no deep research in the history of politics to establish the formidable possibilities of such a combined vote.

After more than fifty days of constant observation and inquiry, one may well be asked for the most salient fact the journey impressed on those who participated. That question seems easy to answer, and yet when the reply comes to be expressed, there is difficulty in making clear and plain what is felt. But the marvelous change in the character of pioneer life, belongings, and conditions is the one overwhelming fact. To think of towns springing up almost as if overnight; to see comfortable farm houses scattered widely over a new land whose sod was but the previous year, perhaps, turned up for the first time; to see the railroad pushing into, crossing, and conquering the wilderness; to ride, as in one instance we did, through a long mountain tunnel lighted by electricity; to watch from car windows, as we sped in the clear darkness of a California night, the electric lamps that shone over city, town, farm, village, and fruit colony, glowing like stars hung in mid ether; to see the bare brown of the desert transformed into the emerald verdure of vineyard and orange grove; to hear the hum of busy port, of mining town, or lumber camp; more than all, to take note of the intelligence of the bright and brainy young thousands whom everywhere we met—these were impressive experiences indeed. The new population of the newer West is the most marvelous of all its striking features. It would seem in the Dakotas, in Montana, Idaho, and Washington, in the basin region, on the great plains to the center and southward, among the foot hills of the Rockies

and the Sierras, as well as along the coast from Puget Sound to San Diego, as if a draft had been made upon the central States and the old North-west for their younger men and women. There was nothing rustic or unusual either in their dress or ways, and that was not the least of the changes observed. Even the cowboy disappears. There is little of such pioneer life as characterized the "fifties." No less striking is another fact, namely, that there are to be seen but faint traces of the rude life of the old mining camp, or of the louder and coarser vulgarity and license of that carnival of vice and crime which was so marked a feature of the "railroad front" 20 or 25 years ago. The shrill cry of "Keno!" may yet be heard on the streets of some mountain town, as the tourist passes the open or swinging door of a miners' "hell"; but even in such centers of coarse masculinity the echoes grow feebler, and civilization is assuming a show of virtue, "even if it hath it not." The newer North-west is remarkable for its rapid growth in the amenities as well in the solid externals of material advancement.

One momentous fact must be taken into account first of all, in considering the social-economic forces that are developing within the newer West. The same period which covers the writer's observation of this region, comprises also the culmination of a struggle whose political and social conditions were all controlled by a single series of economic facts. Chattel slavery was made valuable, as such, by the fact that for the period of its dominance cotton was king. Conditions in that case were forced and artificial. In the suggestions about to be made as to a possible regional policy, the fundamental conditions are natural, not artificial; the primary factors are physical—indeed, almost cosmical in character. Economics lie behind all politics. They dominate philosophies and inspire ethical ideals, yet are always themselves the outcome of natural forces and physical conditions.

The newer West preëminently illustrates this. Its physical geography, though vastly diversified in details, is still a stupendous unit. Man may enormously modify the earth's surface by persistent activities, but when they cease, the ameliorations are effaced, and the original physical conditions become again dominant. How often, too, under the best conditions, do they force a

stern recognition of their supremacy! Mountain ranges may be passed or surmounted by man; they have never yet been lowered or removed. The arid interiors, with their basin-like beds of ancient seas or lakes, may be made in some degree subservient to the demands of industry. Across the great plains natural rivers will not run again, at least without the presence of earth-shaping catastrophe. Similar forces must come into play if the now dry belts of mountain streams and the basins of extinct lakes on plateau, range, and table land are ever again to be filled with water. The newer West is mastered by its sublime physical features. These, therefore, must shape its policy and control its relations, integrally, with the rest of the American Union. The chief factor, indeed the dominating one, is that of aridity.

"The arid West" is not a misnomer. From $97^{\circ} 30'$ to the 100th meridian, the sub-humid area east of the Rocky Mountains is well defined. From the 100th to the 126th meridian of west longitude across the continent, with the exception of the north-western section, where the limit is the 124th meridian, as far south as the northern boundary of California, the entire region is an arid one. Within the whole of it, water must be artificially applied to the soil, otherwise fertile, if agriculture and horticulture are to be in any wise successful pursuits. Even the raising of cattle and sheep is limited by this condition of aridity. There are not a thousand miles of navigable waters in the whole region. The rainfall ranges from 2 inches annually in the extreme south-west, to about 20 inches in the farther north-west. Across the continent direct from east to west, the range will be variable from 20 inches annually in the eastern sub-humid area, to about 18 on the plains beyond the 100th meridian; falling thence to 15 inches in the foot-hills, and to 8 or 9 in the basin region; rising again to 16 and 18, or even 24 inches in some localities, as the mountain depressions admit the influence of the Kuro Shiwo, the arctic current, or the trade winds that blow steadily for at least six months in the year from the Pacific Ocean. Another controlling factor in the future development of the newer West is found in a physical or climatic condition, which, broadly stated, is this: on the mountain ranges everywhere throughout its whole extent, the precipitation (rain and

snow) is always from three to five times the number of inches per annum that is recorded as falling on the plains, table lands, valleys, and basins below.

The importance of these facts may be understood more clearly when it is recalled that a precipitation of 28 inches is considered essential to agricultural security. Under irrigation it may fairly be assumed that not over one half of that amount of moisture is essential. The difference lies in the fact that under artificial conditions the application of water to the soil is always made when the same is most needed. The precious eight weeks or so, in which the agriculturist of the far West sees his harvest made or ruined, are exactly those in which the rainfall is most uncertain or entirely wanting. The lack of showers during six weeks of July and August will reduce the wheat crop of the Dakotas by at least one half.

The problems, then, of uncertain rain, nay, of almost complete aridity, are to be solved by permanent storm and flood storage works on a large scale adapted to regional conditions; and this solution can be reached only through the interposition of the whole nation. This statement is of course disputable for constitutional expounders, but facts and the logic of events are all in favor of it. The later highways of the land were unwittingly surrendered to private control, but the safety of the commonwealth is requiring, step by step, the reassumption of its sovereignty over the public function of transportation. Opposition was for years steadily made to appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors. All sorts of legal fictions are invented to remove constitutional scruples. It is asserted, and truly, that constitutionally the general government may not exercise police powers; for example, where the State powers are legally paramount. Yet when it was sought to make a national park on the Straits of Mackinaw, at the Sault Ste. Marie, the object was easily obtained, in the face of the non-objecting State and municipal rights of Michigan, by styling the same a military reservation. In like manner, when it shall seem advisable for the general government to undertake the work of reclaiming arid lands, a way will surely be found of reconciling that action with the letter and the spirit of the Constitution

So essential to the newer West is the matter of water-storage on a scale commensurate with the area, that the demand therefor will most certainly shape and give form to all of its public affairs and legislative discussion and action. The sources of the great rivers—the Missouri, the Upper Mississippi, the Columbia, the Colorado, and others—still largely remain as national property. It will become a regional question whether they must so continue. The gravest problems of water-appropriation as well as of water-storage confront the several communities west of the 100th meridian. A glance at the map will show the truth of this. Inter-State appropriations of water cannot be solved by any tribunals other than those that Congress may organize, or by the United States Supreme Court. Artificial political lines must be ignored by the projecting and constructing engineers. They work under unchangeable physical features. The lines of a drainage basin existed before any State was bounded, and will remain after existing State boundaries shall have been forgotten. In the arid West it will be found that the people are not afraid of coöperative government, or opposed to the development of administrative supervision in the directions suggested.

An examination of the Constitutions of the States of Washington, Montana, and North Dakota shows some notable facts. In each of them, as well as in the Constitutions adopted for statehood purposes by the people of Wyoming, Idaho, and New Mexico, are to be found the most stringent provisions yet framed for the control of transportation companies and other corporations whose franchises cover economic functions concerned with the conveniences of the community—as coal-mining, gas and other light supply, street tramways, etc. The community asserts its power of control in the most unmistakable manner. In the same spirit also do these young commonwealths deal with the supply and distribution of water. Like Colorado and California, they declare all natural water supplies within their borders to be public property and under the control of the States. They declare that such water may not be used except for beneficial purposes. Those who for private profit build ditches, in order to bring the waters to the thirsty soil, are in law esteemed only as common carriers, entitled to compensation for the service ren-

dered, and no more. The use of land for water-storage purposes and for right of way is considered a public right; condemnation under eminent domain for such use must follow. Everywhere the tendency in the older irrigable sections is distinctly up to and even beyond State supervision and regulation of water-usage, and to community ownership of water ways and works. There still remains profit, large profit, for the capitalist in the present construction and rapid sale of irrigation works. But those who expect to hold such works as a permanent source of rent, reckon without their host. The water is public property, and communities that require it to make their land useful will surely become the owners of all the works and ways by which it is to be applied where needed.

In forecasting, then, the growth of a distinct policy shaping fresh demands for this newer West, I am first confronted by the overwhelming physical geography of the region; secondly, by the one supreme condition that it creates—aridity; thirdly, by the fact that it is impossible to achieve full reclamation of the desert without concurrent and continued control over the sources of the waters, first by the nation, next by the States affected acting with it, and finally by the local communities into which the States are subdivided. Private ownership of water is already set aside. Private appropriation thereof is already modified by public control of a deficient supply. Private and corporate rental of water is subject to State and county regulation of rates. Private ownership of water works and ditches will soon be a thing of the past. The needs which have already created the beginnings of these policies and purposes will, as fast as the newer West reaches the fullness of statehood, find their counterpart in strenuous demands upon the nation for aid in constructing the greater works needed in a vast system of water-storage and flood-control, such as is certain to be inaugurated. With this, it will be found that a general control of our remaining forest region and timber areas will be demanded by the same physical conditions which must make the newer West a practical unit, both in configuration and in the social-economic forces that will be thereby created and evolved. The railroads beyond the Missouri have already shown their submission to the same controlling law.

Their construction and administration have been carried forward on an immense scale. Unity along the latitudes they serve is absolute; as absolute will be the demand in the newer West for their public ownership. There being no possibility of competition—for there are no navigable water ways—the combination of forces is such as to drive forward the problem of general control.

Though the dominating factors have now been indicated, the brief list does not include all the economic forces and physical facts which must determine the regional necessities of the newer West. Irrigation and reclamation, though supreme, are not the only factors that must be considered; mining and pastoral life and enterprises must also be taken into account. They will both have their say, especially the first named. Mining for the precious metals has already made of the newer West a powerful instrumentality in the making of modern history. It is fast becoming a systematized, scientific pursuit. Even prospecting is being organized. With irrigation from the stored waters of the mining West, the farm will soon be alongside the mine, and the prospector will no longer be at the mercy of the middle man for the necessities of life. The mining interests of the newer West are sure to be found in the arena of financial politics, fighting for the metal which eastern preponderance has condemned. It will surely startle some complacent monometallists to realize that the stronghold of the bimetallists will be found in the United States Senate. The eight senators from the newly-admitted States are unquestionably radical bimetallists. The three Territories which stand with constitutions in hand awaiting statehood, will give six more senators to the same column. It may with safety be assumed that all the States west of the Mississippi will present an unbroken front for the free coinage of silver. They now number thirty-two senators, and with the three Territories asking admission from Congress, they will soon be thirty-eight—more than two fifths of the body as it will then be constituted.

The newer West, if it can have no interior water traffic, will nevertheless have—indeed already has—a commercial position of vast importance. Years since, a great Russian publicist, Alexander Herven, wrote of the Pacific Ocean as destined to be the new world's Mediterranean. It was pointed out that

nearly one half of the globe's inhabitants were on the Asian side thereof, and were therefore its commercial tributaries. The American shores of the Pacific are to be first considered in all forecasts of commercial progress and power. The people who are making Puget Sound alive with their activities, are surely bound to grasp the traffic of the North Pacific. The men of the Oregon and California coast are not likely to be limited in their industrial ambitions. One of their "captains" holds the Sandwich Islands in his hands, and Samoa will yet, despite the triple protectorate, fall easily under American control—not necessarily governmental, however. No matter what action British or Canadian statesmen may take, and however vast the sums they expend, it will soon be seen in our national councils that the newer West will demand, and that its growing business activity will compel, the absorption, not only of the whole coast from Washington to Alaska, but of at least the north-western portion of the Dominion. British Columbia and all the rest east to Winnipeg will ere long be looking toward a continental union. The same law of physical unity which has been considered as immediately affecting the newer West and its internal polity, must control in the extension of our Republic to the north-west. The peninsula of Lower California will finally follow the same directive impulse.

RICHARD J. HINTON.

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PROPHETS OF UNREST.

It was, I confess, very late, and only in dearth of other reading, that I took up the last, and, if popularity and circulation are the tests, the most successful, of all the "Utopias." I am little attracted by compositions of this class, either as fictions or as speculations. As fictions they seem to me inevitably insipid, whatever the talents of the author, since they deal with characters which are preterhuman. Speculation can no longer interest when it loses hold of reality and probability, and when, if you are so matter-of-fact as to attempt criticism, the hypothesis or project slips away into the inane.

An historical interest and a social importance of a certain kind these visions have. They are apt, like the rainbow in the spray of Niagara, to mark a cataract in the stream of history. That of More, from which the general name is taken, and that of Rabelais, marked the fall of the stream from the middle ages into modern times. Plato's "Republic" marked the catastrophe of Greek republicanism, though it is not a mere "Utopia" but a great treatise on morality, and even as a political speculation not wholly beyond the pale of what a Greek citizen might have regarded as practical reform, since it is in its main features an idealization of Sparta. Langland's vision of reform heralded the outbreak of Lollardism and the insurrection of the serfs.

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The fancies of Rousseau and Bernardin de St. Pierre heralded the Revolution. Rousseau's reveries, be it observed, not only failed of realization, but gave hardly any sign of that which was really coming. The Jacobins canted in his phrase, but they returned to the state of nature only in personal filthiness, in brutality of manners, and in guillotining Lavoisier, because the Republic had no need of chemists.

There is a general feeling abroad that the stream is drawing near a cataract now, and there are apparent grounds for the surmise. There is everywhere in the social frame an outward unrest, which as usual is the sign of fundamental change within. Old creeds have given way. The masses, the artisans especially, have ceased to believe that the existing order of society, with its grades of rank and wealth, is a divine ordinance against which it is vain to rebel. They have ceased to believe in a future state, the compensation of those whose lot is hard here. Convinced that this world is all, and that there is nothing more to come, they want at once to grasp their share of enjoyment. The labor journals are full of this thought. Social science, if it is to take the place of religion as a conservative force, has not yet developed itself or taken firm hold of the popular mind. The rivalry of factions and demagogues has almost everywhere introduced universal suffrage. The poorer classes are freshly possessed of political power, and have conceived boundless notions of the changes which, by exercising it, they may make in their own favor. They are just in that twilight of education in which chimeras stalk. This concurrence of social and economical with political and religious revolution has always been fraught with danger. The governing classes, unnerved by skepticism, have lost faith in the order which they represent, and are inclined to precipitate abdication. Many members of them—partly from philanthropy, partly from vanity, partly perhaps from fear—are playing the demagogue and, as they did in France, dallying with revolution. The ostentation of wealth has stimulated to a dangerous pitch envy, which has always been one of the most powerful elements of revolution. This is not the place to cast the horoscope of society. We may, after all, be exaggerating the gravity of the crisis. The first of May passed without bringing

forth anything more portentous than an epidemic of strikes, which, though very disastrous, as they sharpen and embitter class antagonisms, are not in themselves attempts to subvert society. Sir Charles Dilke, after surveying all the democracies, says that the only country on which revolutionary socialism has taken hold is England. German socialism, of which we hear so much, appears to be largely impatience of taxation and conscription. Much is called socialism and taken as ominous of revolution which is merely the extension of the action of government, wisely or unwisely, over new portions of its present field, and perhaps does not deserve the dreaded name so much as our familiar Sunday law. The crash, if it come, may not be universal; things may not everywhere take the same course. Wealth in some countries, when seriously alarmed, may convert itself into military power, of which the artisans have little, and may turn the scale in its own favor. Though social science is as yet undeveloped, intelligence has more organs and an increasing hold. The present may after all glide more calmly than we think into the future. Still there is a crisis. We have had the Parisian Commune, the Spanish *Intransigentes*, nihilism, anarchism. It is not a time for playing with wild-fire. Though Rousseau's scheme of regeneration by a return to nature came to nothing, his denunciations of society told with a vengeance, and sent thousands to the guillotine.

The writer of an "Utopia," however, in trying to make his fancy plausible and pleasing, is naturally tempted to exaggerate the evils of the existing state of things. "Looking Backward" opens with a very vivid and telling picture of society as it is:

"By way of attempting to give the reader some general impression of the way people lived together in those days, and especially of the relations of the rich and poor to one another, perhaps I cannot do better than to compare society as it then was to a prodigious coach, which the masses of humanity were harnessed to and dragged toilsomely along a very hilly and sandy road. The driver was hungry, and permitted no lagging, though the pace was necessarily very slow. Despite the difficulty of drawing the coach at all along so hard a road, the top was covered with passengers, who never got down, even at the steepest ascent. These seats were very breezy and comfortable. Well up out of the dust, their occupants could enjoy the scenery at their leisure, or critically discuss the merits of the straining team. Naturally such places were in great demand, and the competition

for them was keen, every one seeking as the first end in life to secure a seat on the coach for himself and to leave it to his child after him. By the rule of the coach a man could leave his seat to whom he wished, but on the other hand there were many accidents by which it might at any time be wholly lost. For all that they were so easy, the seats were very insecure, and at every sudden jolt of the coach persons were slipping out of them and falling to the ground, where they were instantly compelled to take hold of the rope and help to drag the coach on which they had before ridden so pleasantly. It was naturally regarded as a terrible misfortune to lose one's seat, and the apprehension that this might happen to them or their friends was a constant cloud upon the happiness of those who rode."

And what are the feelings of the passengers toward the hapless toilers who drag the coach? Have they no compassion for the sufferings of the fellow beings from whom fortune only has distinguished them?

"Oh, yes; commiseration was frequently expressed by those who rode for those who had to pull the coach, especially when the vehicle came to a bad place in the road, as it was constantly doing, or to a particularly steep hill. At such times the desperate straining of the team, their agonized leaping and plunging under the pitiless lashing of hunger, the many who fainted at the rope and were trampled in the mire, made a very distressing spectacle, which often called forth highly creditable displays of feeling on the top of the coach. At such times the passengers would call down encouragingly to the toilers at the rope, exhorting them to patience, and holding out hopes of possible compensation in another world for the hardness of their lot, while others contributed to buy salves and liniments for the crippled and injured. It was agreed that it was a great pity that the coach should be so hard to pull, and there was a sense of general relief when the specially bad piece of road was gotten over. This relief was not, indeed, wholly on account of the team, for there was always some danger at these bad places of a general overturn in which all would lose their seats."

These picturesque passages, we have no doubt, will sink deep into the hearts of many who will pay little attention to the speculative plans of reconstruction which follow. For one reader of "Progress and Poverty" who was at the pains to follow the economical reasoning, there were probably thousands who drank in the invectives against wealth and the suggestions of confiscation. But is the description here given true or anything like the truth? Are the masses toiling like the horses of a coach, not for their benefit, but merely for that of the passengers whom they draw? Are they not toiling to make their own bread, and to produce by their joint labor the things necessary for their com-

mon subsistence? As to the vast majority of them can it be said that they are leaping and plunging in agony under the pitiless lash of hunger, fainting at the rope and trampled in the mire? Are they not with their families living in tolerable comfort, with bread enough and not without enjoyment? Has it not been proved beyond doubt that their wages have risen greatly and are still rising? Have not the working classes, unlike the horses, votes? Is there really any such sharp division as is here assumed to exist between labor and wealth? Are not many who have more or less of wealth and who could have seats on the top of any social coach, laborers and producers of the most effective kind? Can so good a writer be the dupe of the fallacy that only those who work with the hands labor? What is the amount of the hereditary property held by idlers in such a country as the United States, compared with that of the general wealth? Do the holders even of that property really add by their existence to the strain on the workers as the passengers by their presence add to the strain on the horses? Supposing they and their riches were annihilated, would the workers feel any relief? Would they not rather lose a fund upon which they draw to some extent at need? The hereditary wealth which is here taken to be the monster iniquity and evil, what is it but the savings of past generations? Had those who made it spent it, instead of leaving it to their children, should we be better off? Then, as to the feelings of the rich toward the poor: can a Bostonian, as this writer is, look round his own city and fail to see that heartless indifference has its seat only in the souls of a few sybarites, and that philanthropy and charity are the rule?

Utopists and communists are set at work by the belief that equal justice is the natural law of the world, and that nothing keeps us out of it but the barrier of artificial arrangements set up by the power, and in the interest, of a class. Break down that barrier by revolutionary legislation, and the kingdom of equal justice, they think, will come. Would that it were so! Who would be so selfish and so ignorant of the deepest source of happiness as not to vote for the change, whatever his wealth or his place on the social coach might be? Unhappily, neither equal justice nor perfection of any kind is the law of the world,

as the world is at present, toward whatever goal we may be moving. Health, strength, beauty, intellect, offspring, length of days, are distributed with no more regard for justice than are the powers of making and saving wealth. One man is born in an age of barbarism, another in an age of civilization; one man in the time of the thirty years' war or the reign of terror, another in an era of peace and comparative happiness. No justice can be done to the myriads who have suffered and died. Equal justice is far indeed from being the law of the animal kingdom. Why is one animal the beast of prey, another the victim? Why does an elephant live for two centuries and an ephemeral insect for a few hours? If you come to that, why should one sentient creature be a worm and another a man? In earth and skies, in the whole universe, so far as our ken reaches, imperfection reigns. The man who in "Looking Backward" wakes from a magnetic slumber to find the lots of all men made just and equal, might almost as well have awakened to find all human frames made perfect, disease and accident banished, the animals all in a state like that of Eden, the Arctic regions bearing harvests, Sahara moistened with fertilizing rain, the moon provided with an atmosphere, and the solar system, which at present is so full of gaps and wrecks, symmetrically completed. All this is no bar to the rational effort by which society is gradually improved. But it shuts out the hope of sudden transformation. Society, like the bodily frame, is an imperfect organism; you may help its growth, but you cannot transform it. To revolutionary violence the author of "Looking Backward" is wholly averse. He uses only the magic wand.

With private property, with which it is the dream of Utopian writers to do away, go, as everybody knows, many evils; among others that of inordinate accumulation, an instance of which the other day startled New York; while, on the other hand, it is hard to see how without private property we could have the home and all that it enshrines. But let the evils be what they may, no other motive power of production, at least of any production beyond that necessary to stay hunger, except the desire of property, is at present known. A score or more of experi-

ments in communism have been made upon this continent by visionaries of different kinds, from the founders of Brook Farm to those of the Oneida Community and the Shakers. They have failed utterly, except in the one or two cases where the rule of celibacy has been enforced, and the members, having no wives or children to maintain, and being themselves of a specially industrious and frugal class, have made enough and more than enough for their own support. Barrack life, without the home, has also been a condition of success. The Oneida Community, the most prosperous of all, had moreover a dictator. So it is with regard to competition, that other social fiend of this and all Utopians. Nobody will deny that competition has its ugly side. But no other way at present is known to us of sustaining the progress of industry and securing the best and cheapest products. It is surely a stretch of pessimistic fancy to describe the industrial world under the competitive system as a horde of wild beasts rending each other, or as a Black Hole of Calcutta, "with its press of maddened men tearing and trampling one another in the struggle to win a place at the breathing holes." It is surely going beyond the mark to say that all producers are "praying by night and working by day for the frustration of each other's enterprises," and that they are as much bent on spoiling their neighbors' crops as on saving their own. Do two tailors or grocers, even when their stores are in the same block, rend each other when they meet? Is there not rather a certain fellowship between members of the same trade? Does not each think a good deal more, both in his prayers and in his practical transactions, of doing well himself than of preventing the other from doing well? After all, there is more co-operation than competition in the industrial world as it now exists. Analyze the composition of any article, taking into account the implements or means by which it has been produced, and you will find that to produce it myriads have co-operated in all parts of the world, yet have not competed with one another. The world would have one harvest if the protectionists would let us alone.

As a normal picture of our present civilization, the table of contents of a newspaper is presented to us. It is a mere catalogue of calamities and horrors—wars, burglaries, strikes, fail-

ures in business, cornerings, boodlings, murders, suicides, embezzlements, and cases of cruelty, lunacy, or destitution. No doubt a real table of contents would give a picture, though not so terrible and heartrending as this, yet rich in catastrophes. But it is forgotten that the catastrophes or the exceptional events alone are recorded by newspapers, especially in the tables of contents, which are intended to catch the eye. No newspaper gives us a picture of the ordinary course of life. No newspaper speaks of the countries which are enjoying secure peace, of the people who are making a fair livelihood by honest industry, of the families which are living in comfort and the enjoyment of affection. Buyers would hardly be found for a sheet which should tell you by way of news that bread was being regularly delivered by the baker and that the milkman was going his round.

Centuries unnumbered, according to recent palæontologists, human society has taken in climbing to what is here described as the level of a vast den of wild beasts or a Black Hole of Calcutta. Yet in one century or a little more it is to become a paradise on earth. So the writer of "Looking Backward" dreams; and to show that he does not regard this as a mere dream, he cites historical precedents of changes which he thinks equally miraculous—the sudden and unexpected success, as it appears to him to have been, of the American revolution, of German and Italian unification, of the agitation against slavery. In two of these cases at least, those of German and Italian unity, the wonder was not that the event came at last, but that it was delayed so long. In no one of the cases, surely, is anything like a precedent to be found.

In a century or a little more, if we are to accept the statement of Dr. Leete, the showman of the new heavens and new earth in "Looking Backward," society has undergone not only a radical change but a complete transformation, Boston, of course, leading the way, as Paris leads in the regeneration proclaimed by Comte, and all the most civilized communities following in her train. Society has become entirely industrial, war being completely eliminated. No fear is entertained lest when the civilized world has been turned into a vast factory of defenseless wealth, the uncivilized world may be tempted to loot it.

The state has become the sole capitalist and the universal employer. How did all the capital pass from the hands of individuals or private companies into those of the state? Was it by a voluntary and universal surrender? Were all the capitalists and all the stockholders suddenly convinced of the blessings of self-spoliation? Or did the government by a sweeping act of confiscation seize all the capital? In that case, was there not a desperate struggle? Was not the entrance into Paradise effected through a civil war? The seer was in his magnetic trance when the transfer took place, and he has not the curiosity to ask Dr. Leete how it was effected. For us, therefore, the problem remains unsolved.

The inducement to the change, we are told, was a sense of the economic advantages produced by the aggregation of industries under co-operative syndicates and trusts, which suggested that by a complete unification of all industries under the state unmeasured benefits might be obtained. But these corporations, syndicates, and trusts, on however large a scale they may be, are still managed each of them by a set of persons devoted to that particular business, and they depend for their success on personal aptitude and experience. Between such aggregations and a unification of all the industries in the hands of a government there is a gulf, and we do not see how the gulf is to be passed. The tendency of industry appears, it is true, to be toward large establishments, the advantages of which over a multitude of petty and starveling stores, both as regards those engaged in the trade and the consumer, are obvious. But the large establishments are still special, and the advantages of combining Mr. Stewart's drygoods establishment with Mr. Carnegie's iron works are not obvious at all.

To the objection that the work of managing all the industries of a country and its foreign commerce (for foreign commerce there is still to be) would be difficult for any government, the simple and satisfactory answer is that in Utopia there could be no difficulty at all. The government of a purely industrial commonwealth is of course itself industrial. It consists of veterans of labor chosen on account of their merit as workers, the identity of which with administrative capacity and power of command, as

it is not likely to be tested, may be assumed without fear of disproof. To banish any misgivings which we might have as to the practicability of such a government, the seer points to the part taken by alumni in the government of universities—surely as subtle an analogy as the acutest intelligence ever discerned.

The new organization of labor has been followed by such a flood of wealth that everybody lives, not only in plenty, but in luxury and refinement before unknown. Everybody is able to give up work at forty-five and pass the rest of his days in ease and enjoyment. "No man any more has any care for to-morrow, either for himself or his children, for the nation guarantees the nurture, education, and comfortable maintenance of every citizen from the cradle to the grave." All the world dresses for dinner, dines well, and has wine and cigars after dinner. Under all this lurks, it is to be feared, the same fallacy which underlies the theory of Mr. Henry George, who fancies that an increase of population, being an increase of the number of laborers, will necessarily augment production, and consequently that the fears of Malthus and all who dread over-population are baseless. It is assumed that everything is produced by labor. Labor only produces the form or directs the natural forces. The material is produced by Nature, and she will not supply more than a given quantity within a given area and under given conditions. Even in Massachusetts, therefore, which is supposed to be the primal scene of human regeneration, the people, however skilled their labor, and however Utopian their industrial organization might be, unless their number were limited or their territory enlarged, would starve.

This is a serious question for a state which guarantees to every one nurture, education, and comfortable maintenance. As the guarantee extends to the citizen's wife and child as well as to himself, and they are made independent of his labor, the last restraint of providence on marriage and giving birth to children would be removed. The people would then probably multiply at a rate which would leave Irish or French-Canadian philoprogenitiveness behind, and without remedial action a vast scene of squalid misery would ensue.

There is no more private property. In its place comes a sense

of public duty urging each man to labor. Of the sufficient strength of this we are positively assured, notwithstanding the result of all the experiments hitherto tried. Reality peeps out when we are told that those who refuse to work will be put into confinement on bread and water—something like a reversion, is it not, to the coach and horses, with the “lash of hunger”? The stimulus of duty to the man’s family will exist no more, since the maintenance of his wife and children will be taken off his hands by the state. For the lower natures, though not for the higher, there will be emulation, which, it is taken for granted, will act on them with undiminished effect when all the substantial prizes with which success in the contest for distinction is now attended have been removed. An appeal is also made to a *quasi*-military sense of honor, and the community is organized as an army, with military titles, apparently for that purpose. But it has been shown, in answer to other theorists who have pointed to military honor as a substitute for the ordinary motives to industry, that military duty is enforced by a code of exceptional severity.

All are to be paid alike, on the principle that so long as you do your best your deserts are the same as those of others, though your power may not be so great as theirs. Your deserts in the eye of Heaven, no doubt, are the same if you do your best, and Heaven, as we believe, has the means of ascertaining that your best is being done. But if it is asked what means a board of industrial veterans, or their lieutenants, supposing them to be ever so excellent craftsmen themselves, have of ascertaining that every man is doing his best, the answer, we suspect, must be that in Utopia such questions are not to be raised. In the present evil world most men do their best, or something like their best, because they have to make their own living and that of their wives and children. Some men, under the voluntary and competitive system, put forth those extraordinary efforts which make the world move on. But the state, though it might command the daily amount of labor by threat of solitary confinement on bread-and-water, could not command improvement or invention. Invention, it seems to us, would be little encouraged under the Utopian *régime*, since no man is to be allowed to

shirk labor on pretense of being a student—a regulation which might have borne hard on Archimedes, Newton, or even Watts. Newton could have given the state no assurance that his time was being well employed till his discovery had been made.

Money has been discarded as “the root of all evil,” though the Gospel denunciation, we venture to think, is leveled against covetousness, not against the use of coin as a circulating medium, which, on the contrary, Christ seems to have recognized on more than one occasion. The place of money is taken by credit cards, entitling the bearer, by virtue of his mere humanity, to a share of the national produce. Wages are a thing of the past. The certificates are to be presented at the government store, for government is the universal store-keeper as well the universal employer of labor. Money, it is said, may have been fraudulently or improperly obtained, but with labor certificates this cannot be the case. We hardly see how a government store-keeper at New Orleans is to tell that the certificate was not fraudulently obtained at Boston. Perhaps it is tacitly assumed in this, as it seems to be in other communistic schemes, that the members of the *phalanstère*, or whatever the organization is called, will always remain in the same place, and that thus life will become stationary as well as devoid of individual aim. But the weak part of the arrangement betrays itself in the necessity of continuing to use the terms dollars and cents. They are used only, we are told, as “algebraic symbols.” Surely the most obvious and the safest course would have been to discard the terms altogether, pregnant as they were with evil associations and likely as they would be to perpetuate the vicious desires and habits of the past. Let another set of algebraic symbols be devised, and let us see how it will work. In the case of the transition from the use of money to that of labor certificates, as in that of the transition from private commerce to commerce concentrated in the hands of government, we should have liked to be present when the leap was taken, or at least to have had some account of the process, especially as it must have taken place at once over the whole civilized world. For commerce, as we have said, there is still to be; the Utopian of Boston could not get his wine and cigars without it.

Law as a profession has ceased to exist. Of course where

there is no property there can be no chancery suits. As nineteen twentieths of crime arises from the desire of money—not from drink as the prohibitionists pretend—it follows that in getting rid of money society has almost entirely got rid of crime. Of crime, in the present sense of the term, indeed, it has got rid altogether. A few victims of “atavism” are left as a sort of tribute to reality, but they generally save the judiciary trouble by pleading guilty, so high has the regard for veracity become even in the minds of kleptomaniacs.

In the present imperfect state of things, the distribution of employments, it must be owned, though partly a matter of choice, is largely a matter of chance and circumstance, the intellectual callings going to those who have the means of a high education. In Utopia it will be entirely a matter of choice, after elaborate testing of aptitudes and tastes under the guidance of a paternal government. It is assumed that all employments will attract, since some men, after deliberate survey of all the walks of life, will conveniently choose to be miners, hod-men, “odorless excavators,” brakesmen, stokers, or sailors on the north Atlantic passage. We should rather apprehend a rush into the lighter callings, especially that of poets. The hardness or disagreeable character of work is to be compensated by short hours—a provision which we cannot help thinking might, if thoroughly carried into effect, entail such a deduction from the sum of wealth-producing labor as would counterbalance even the marvelous gains of state organization. Any repugnance which there might be, will be conjured away by saying that all kinds of labor are equally honorable. Do we not say this now?

Everybody is to be highly educated and thoroughly refined. This in Utopia will not interfere with the disposition for manual labor, nor will it take too much of the manual laborer's time. One question, however, occurs to us. The population cannot have been highly educated when the system was first introduced. How were the ignorant and unqualified masses brought to take part in its introduction, and how was its operation managed before they had been educated up to the proper mark? This is another problem of the transition the solution of which remains buried in the seer's magnetic sleep.

The relations between the sexes and the constitution of the family are, of course, to be revolutionized, and the revolution has so far an element of probability that it follows what we may suppose to be Bostonian theories and lines. The women are to be organized apart from the men as a distinct interest, under a general of their own who has a seat in the cabinet. They would do quite enough for society, they are gallantly told, if they occupied themselves only in the cultivation of their own charms and graces, women without any special charms and graces but those which belong to the performance of their womanly duties as wives and mothers being creatures unknown in Utopia. However, for the sake of their health and to satisfy their feelings of independence, they are to do a very moderate amount of work. They have in fact nothing else to do. They have no household cares, as the state is universal cook, housemaid, laundress, seamstress, and nurse; and "a husband is not a baby that he should be cared for—nor, of course, is a wife." Maternity is thrown into the background. It is an interlude in the woman's industrial life, and as soon as it is over the mother returns to her industrial "comrades," leaving her child, apparently, to that universal providence, the state. Hitherto, it seems, men, like "cruel robbers," have "seized to themselves the whole product of the world and left women to beg and wheedle for their share." By whose labor the world has been made to yield its products, for the benefit of both sexes, we are not told. However, "that any person should be dependent for the means of support upon another would be shocking to the moral sense as well as indefensible on any rational social theory." Women in Utopia, therefore, are no longer left in "galling dependence" upon their husbands for the means of life, or children upon their parents. Both wife and child are maintained by the direct agency of the state, so that the wife no longer owes anything to her husband, and the child is able, as reason and nature dictate, to snap its fingers in its parents' face. The state gives suck, and the baby is no longer ignominiously beholden to its mother for milk. It would be too curious to ask what the state is; whether it is anything but the government, and whether to be dependent on the government is not to be dependent on beings not less human than

a husband, a father, or a mother. To some, dependence on the government might seem the most galling of all.

False delicacy is put out of the way, and the women are allowed to propose. They "sit aloft" on the top of the coach, giving the prizes for the industrial race, and select only the best and noblest men for their husbands. Ill-favored men of inferior type, and laggards, will be condemned to celibacy. From them the "radiant faces" will be averted. These hapless persons are treated with a marked absence, to say the least, of the philanthropy which overflows upon criminals and lunatics, though it seems that the plea of atavism should not be less valid in their case. Has Dr. Leete, when he denies them marriage, found a way of extinguishing their passions? If he has not, what moral results does he expect? He will answer perhaps by an appeal to what may be called the occult "we," that mysterious power which, in an Utopia, is present throughout to solve all difficulties and banish every doubt. Nothing can be more divine than the picture which Dr. Leete presents to us; but we look at it with a secret misgiving that his community would be in some danger of being thrust out of existence by some barbarous horde, which honored virtue and admired excellence in both sexes without giving itself over to a slavish and fatuous worship of either, held men and women alike to their natural duties, and obeyed the laws of nature.

The government is the universal publisher, and is bound to publish everything brought to it, but on condition that the author pay the first cost out of his credit. How the author, while preparing himself to write "Paradise Lost" or the "Principia," is to earn a labor credit, we hardly see. The literature of Utopia is of course divine. To read one of Berrian's novels or one of Oates's poems is worth a year of one's life. Would that we had a specimen of either! We should then be able to see how far it transcended Shakespeare or Scott. For love stories, we are told, there will be material in plenty and of a much higher quality than there was in the days of coarse and stormy passion. The actual love affair that takes place in Utopia certainly does not remind us much of "Romeo and Juliet." Of the pulpit eloquence we have a specimen, and it is startlingly like ours.

One great improvement, however, there is; the preaching is by telephone and you can shut it off.

The physical arrangements are carried to millenarian perfection. Instead of a multitude of separate umbrellas, one common umbrella is put by the state over Boston when it rains. The whole community is converted into one vast Wanamaker's store. You turn on celestial music as you turn on gas or water. These visions of a material heaven on earth naturally arise as the hope of a spiritual heaven fade away.

It is specified that at a man's death the state allows a fixed sum for his funeral expenses. This is the only intimation that over the social and material Paradise hovers Death.

A vista of illimitable progress—progress so glorious that it dazzles the prophetic eye, is said all the time to be opened. But how can there be progress beyond perfection? How can there be great progress without organic change? How can there be organic change without something like a revolution in the government? Finality is the trap into which all Utopians fall. Comte, after tracing the movement of humanity through all the ages down to his own time, undertakes by his supreme intelligence to furnish it a creed and a set of institutions which are to serve it forever. Progress, however, we do not doubt there would be with a vengeance. The monotony, the constraint, the procrusteanism, the dullness, the despotism of the system would soon give birth to general revolt, which would dash the whole structure to pieces.

We have touched very lightly on each point, because we have felt all the time that we might be committing a platitude, and that the gifted and ingenious author of "Looking Backward" might laugh at our simplicity in seriously criticising a brilliant *jeu d'esprit*.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF AGRICULTURE.

FEW books have exercised so pernicious an influence upon the general development of economic thought as Malthus's "Essay on the Principle of Population" exercised for three consecutive generations. It appeared at the right time, like all books which have had any influence at all, and it summed up ideas already current in the minds of the wealth-possessing minority. It was precisely when the ideas of equality and liberty awakened by the French and American revolutions were still permeating the minds of the poor, when the richer classes had become tired of their amateurish excursions into the same domains, that Malthus came to prove that no equality is possible; that the poverty of the many is a natural *law*; that population grows too rapidly and the newcomers find no room at the feast of Nature; and that that law cannot be altered by any change of institutions. He thus gave to the rich a kind of scientific argument against the ideas of equality; and we know that though all dominion is based upon force, force itself begins to totter as soon as it is no longer supported by a firm belief in its own rightfulness. As to the poorer classes—which always resent the influence of ideas circulating at a given time amid the wealthier classes—it deprived them of the very hope of improvement; it made them skeptical as to the promises of the social reformers; and to this day the most advanced reformers entertain doubts as to the possibility of satisfying the needs of all, in case these needs were suddenly increased by a revolution, and a temporary welfare of the laborers resulted in a sudden increase of population.

As to science, it is, down to the present day, completely permeated with Malthus's teachings. Political economy, which ought to be an inquiry into the wants of humanity and the means of satisfying them, continues to base its reasoning upon a tacit admission of the impossibility of rapidly increasing the productive powers of a nation, and of thus giving satisfaction to all wants.

That postulate stands, undiscussed, in the background of whatever political economy, classical or socialist, has to say about exchange value, wages, sale of labor force, rent, exchange, and consumption. Political economy never rises above the hypothesis of a limited supply of the necessities of life; it takes it for granted. And all theories connected with political economy retain the same erroneous principle. Nearly all socialists, too, admit the postulate. Nay, even in biology (so deeply interwoven now with sociology) we have recently seen the theory of variability of species borrowing a quite unexpected support precisely from its having been connected by Darwin and Wallace with Malthus's fundamental idea, that the natural resources must inevitably fail to supply the means of existence for the rapidly-multiplying animals and plants. In short, we may say that Malthus's theory, by shaping into a pseudo-scientific form the secret desires of the wealth-possessing classes, became the foundation of a whole system of practical philosophy, which permeates the minds of both the educated and uneducated, and reacts (as practical philosophy always does) upon the theoretical philosophy of our century.

True, the formidable growth of the productive powers of man in the industrial field, since he has tamed steam and electricity, has somewhat shaken Malthus's doctrine. Industrial wealth *has* grown at a rate which no possible increase of population could attain, and it *can* grow with still greater speed. But agriculture is still considered a stronghold of the Malthusian philosophy. The recent achievements of agriculture and horticulture are not sufficiently well known; and while our gardeners defy climate and latitude, acclimatize sub-tropical plants, raise ten crops instead of one, and themselves make the soil they want for each special culture, the economists nevertheless continue saying that the surface of the soil is limited, and still more its productive powers; they still maintain that a population which should double each thirty years, say, would soon be confronted by a lack of the necessities of life!

It is not my purpose to speculate as to what humanity ought to do when it begins to feel overcrowded on the earth. We are so extremely far from that contingency that we may well leave the question to our descendants in the twenty-first century. But

what I intend to show, is that if the populations of our civilized communities were increased tenfold, and inconveniences should arise from that cause, they would not be those which the Malthusian philosophy foresees. Cultivated by ten times more workers, the soil would not refuse to supply them with all they might want. I have given elsewhere* a few data to illustrate what *can* be obtained from the soil. But the deeper one goes into the subject the more does he discover of new and striking data, and in the following pages I propose to mention some of them, especially as regards recent progress in intensive culture under glass and with heated soil.

To begin with an instance taken from culture in the open field—namely, that of wheat—we come upon the following interesting fact. While all over the world—in England, America, Germany, Russia, and France—the farmers maintain that “wheat-growing does not pay,” and England consequently reduces from year to year the area of its wheat fields, the French peasants steadily increase the area under wheat, and the greatest increase is due to those peasant families which themselves cultivate the land they own. Since the end of the last century they have nearly doubled both the area under wheat and the returns from each acre, so as to increase almost fourfold the amount of wheat grown in France.† At the same time the population has not increased even by 50 per cent., so that the ratio of increase of the wheat crop has been $2\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than the ratio of increase of population, although agriculture has been hampered all the time by a series of serious obstacles—enormous taxation (44 per cent. of the gross returns), military service, migration to cities, poverty of the peasantry, and so on.

* “Nineteenth Century,” October, 1888.

† M. Tisserand’s researches may be summed up as follows :

Years.	Population in Millions.	Acres under Wheat.	Wheat Crop in Bushels.	Average Crop in Bushels to the Acre.
1789	27.0	9,884,000	87,980,000	9
1831–41	33.4	13,224,000	194,225,000	15
1882–88	38.2	17,198,000	311,619,000	17
		Average for 44 Departments,.....		21 $\frac{1}{8}$
		“ “ 14	“	26

But the ratio of progress in agriculture is still better seen from the rise of the standard of requirement as regards cultivation of land. Some thirty years ago, the French considered a crop quite good when it yielded 22 bushels to the acre; but with the same soil the present requirement is at least 33 bushels, while in the best soils the crop is good only when it yields from 43 to 48 bushels, and occasionally the product is as much as 55½ bushels to the acre.* There are whole countries—Hesse, for example—which are satisfied only when the *average* crop attains 37 bushels; while the experimental farms of central France produce from year to year, over large areas, 41 bushels to the acre, and a number of farms in northern France regularly yield, year after year, from 55 to 68 bushels to the acre. Occasionally, even so much as 80 bushels has been obtained upon limited areas under special care.† In fact, it is now proved that by combining a series of such simple operations as the selection of seeds, sowing in rows, and proper manuring, the crops can be increased by at least 75 per cent. over the best present average, while the cost of production can be reduced by 50 per cent. by the use of some inexpensive machinery; to say nothing of costly machines like the steam digger, or the pulverizers which make the soil required for each special culture. They are now occasionally resorted to here and there, but they will come into general use as soon as humanity feels the need of increasing the agricultural product tenfold.

And yet when we deal with agriculture we must bear in mind the very unfavorable conditions in which it stands now all over the world. Whatever the natural fertility of the soil, the scantiness or density of population, or the support lent to agriculture by industry; whatever the systems of land tenure and whatever the methods of culture; the agriculturist, as a rule, remains in a precarious condition. Even if he attains perchance a certain prosperity, it cannot last, and very soon he is reduced to working simply for the enrichment of the land-owner, the capitalist, or the middle man, or all three together. When the best fruit of his labor is not taken by the landlord, the state ruins him with

* Grandeau, "*Études Agronomiques*," 2^e série. Paris, 1888.

† Risler, "*Physiologie et Culture du Blé*." Paris, 1886.

over-taxation, as in France, Russia, and Italy. And when either, or both together, have ruined him, the money-lender steps in and enslaves him. So it goes on under every possible system of land-holding and every imaginable system of culture. And hence it is that the progress which is made in several places all over the earth does not spread and become general, whereas any progress realized in industry very rapidly spreads everywhere and comes into general use. Therefore we must not wonder at seeing that the above, as well as the following, examples of agricultural progress remain limited to isolated farms or to very small regions. It is not the infertility of the soil or the climatic conditions that prevent all wheat-growers from raising sixty bushels to the acre; it is simply the systematic ruining of the tillers of the soil by the landlord, the state, the middle man, and the capitalist. So we must continue taking examples from small, specially-favored spots, till the time comes when whole nations shall break the bonds which now fetter agriculture.

One such example may be seen in the district of Saffelare, in a part of East Flanders which Nature has endowed with an unproductive but easily-cultivated sandy soil. Its territory of 37,000 acres has to nourish 30,000 inhabitants, all living by agriculture; and yet these peasants not only grow their own food, but they also export agricultural produce, and pay rents to the amount of from 15 to 25 dollars per acre. By means of "catch crops" (second crops in the later part of the Summer) they succeed in taking three and four crops every two years from the same land; and their regular crops are four, five, and six times as large as those of the "fertile" lands of Georgia, Texas, and Illinois.* Moreover, they keep in the same small area—two thirds of which is under cereals, flax, and potatoes—no less than 10,720 horned cattle, 3,800 sheep, 1,815 horses, and 6,550 swine. A population which is denser than that of England proper, inclusive of its cities, is thus no curse at all. It is easily fed—and could be

* They produce from 33 to 39 bushels of wheat to the acre, or 78 bushels of oats, or 43 tons of beet root, or from 14 to 18 tons of carrots as a "catch crop," and so on, as against from 5 to 10 bushels of wheat now cropped in the above-named States. (I take these last figures from President Smart's paper in the "Proceedings of the 6th Convention of Bureaus of Labor.")

fed much better, were it not for the ever-increasing rents—upon an unproductive soil, simply improved by rational manuring.*

And yet, if we compare the Saffelare crops with those which are obtained with heavy manuring, we must say that the agriculture of Flanders is still in its infancy. Instead of 43 tons of beet root, Mr. Champion, at Whitley, England, and very many in France, will obtain from 77 to 110 tons of beet from each acre. M. Goffart will grow for 14 consecutive years, on the same plot of land, an average of 40 tons of green fodder for ensilage—that is, the food of at least four cows—and, with proper care, he occasionally will obtain as much as 150 tons from the acre.† And Mr. Hallett, by a simple selection of grains, will obtain in a few years a wheat which bears 10,840 grains on each stem grown from a single seed; so that from seven to eight hundred of his stems of wheat (which could be grown upon a score of square yards) would give the yearly supply of bread for a full-grown person.

Going now a step further, from the well-manured fields of Flanders to irrigated lands, we see how the productivity of the soil can be further increased if labor has been spent to improve it, once and forever. In the part of Flanders just mentioned, $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons of hay to the acre are considered a fair crop. But as soon as a meadow has been irrigated, even with pure water, it begins to yield three and four times as much. Thus, on the irrigated meadows of the Vosges, the Vaucluse, etc., even upon an ungrateful soil, six tons of hay to the acre become the rule, and that means a little more than the annual food of one cow. By means of irrigation, a money return of from \$120 to \$280 is obtained from a soil which formerly would not yield more than from \$16 to \$48 worth of poor hay.‡ The Moors in Spain fully understood the meaning of irrigation, and while

* O. de Kerchove de Denterghem, "*La Petite Culture des Flandres Belges.*" Gand, 1878.

† "*Manuel de la Culture des Maïs et Autres Fourrages Verts.*" Paris, 1877.

‡ Barral, in "*Journal de l'Agriculture Pratique*," 2 février, 1889. Boitel, "*Herbages et Prairies Naturelles.*" Paris, 1887. It is worthy of note that 1,355,000 acres of irrigated meadows have been added in France during the 20 years 1862 to 1882. That represents the full amount of a liberal meat diet for 1,350,000 full-grown men.

they thus created the *huerta*, the garden, of Valencia, they understood also the importance of irrigating part of it with water derived from the sewers. To-day, after so many wanderings in agriculture, we return to the same system, and the *regados* of Valencia, thus irrigated, are now sold at from \$720 to \$880 the acre; that is, from 9 to 11 times the price of the *secanos*, or unirrigated meadows of the same region. Below Paris, in the irrigated fields of the Genevilliers plain, each acre is capable of yielding double the crops of the very best unirrigated lands. And below Milan, the nearly 22,000 acres irrigated with water derived from the sewers of the city are yielding crops of from 8 to 10 tons of hay as a rule; while occasionally some separate meadows will yield the fabulous amount—fabulous to-day but no longer fabulous to-morrow—of 18 tons of hay per acre; that is, the food of more than three cows to the acre, or nine times the yield of common meadows.*

I need not mention the wonders realized by the market gardeners below Paris, Orléans, London, and other big cities, as the subject has become better known during the last few years. The incredibly high rents paid by the Paris *marâchers* (\$126 per acre on the average), and by some of the London market gardeners (from \$50 to \$75), are the best test of the results obtained, as well as the best illustration of how the lion's share of their product is taken by the landlord. There is a misunderstanding with regard to market gardening which it is well to remove. It is generally supposed that what chiefly attracts market gardening to the great centers of population is the market. It must once have been so, but it is so no longer, especially with regard to Paris. A great number of the Paris *marâchers*, even of those who have their gardens within the walls of the city, export the whole of their produce to England. What chiefly attracts the gardener to the great cities is stable manure; and this is not wanted so much for increasing the richness of the soil—one tenth part of the manure used would do for the purpose—as for keeping the soil at a certain temperature. Early vegetables pay best, and to obtain early produce, not only the air but the soil as well

* Barral, article "*Irrigation*," in "*Dictionnaire d'Agriculture*," Beauclercq, "*Rural Italy*." London, 1888.

must be warmed, and that is done by putting great quantities of properly-mixed manure into the soil; its fermentation heats the soil. But it is evident that with the present development of industrial skill, the heating of the soil can be obtained more easily and at less cost by warming-pipes. It was easy to foresee that heated soil would be the next departure in horticulture. And so it is. I now learn that a few years since the Paris gardeners began heating the soil by means of portable hot-water pipes, or *thermosiphons*, provisionally established in the cool frames. This new improvement gives excellent results, and we have the authority of M. Barral to affirm that it cannot fail to come into general use.

As to the different degrees of fertility of the soil—always the stumbling-block of those who write about agriculture with little knowledge of it—the fact is that in intensive agriculture the soil is always *made*, whatever it originally may have been. Consequently it is now a usual stipulation of the renting contracts of the Paris *marâchers*, that the gardener may carry away his soil when he quits the tenancy. He himself makes the soil, and when he moves to another plot, he carries his soil away, together with his frames, his water-pipes, and his other belongings.*

Soil-making, hot-water pipes in the soil, and culture under glass at a certain period of the life of the plant, will be essential features of the gardening of the future. They will finally dissipate the childish fears as to the impossibility of satisfying the needs of a rapidly-increasing population, and they will permit man always to have fresh from the soil, the bush, or the tree, most of what is necessary for his life. That is not a dream of

* See the article, "*Marâchers*," in a recent fascicule of Barral's "*Dictionnaire*." "Portable soil" is not the latest departure in agriculture. The last one is the watering of the soil with special liquids containing special microbes. It is a fact that chemical manures, without organic manure, seldom prove to be sufficient. On the other hand, it was discovered lately that certain microbes in the soil are a necessary condition for the growth of plants, hence the idea of *sowing* the microbes, which rapidly develop in the soil, and fertilize it. This new departure was discussed at some length by Prof. Gustavson at the last congress of Russian naturalists. However, further experiments are required before a definite judgment can be pronounced upon the new method.

futurity; it is becoming a fact of modern life. Indeed, nothing can be more instructive on this account than a visit to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, such as I recently made. It gives one a concrete idea of what the world is rapidly coming to in the way of culture under glass.

Jersey still remains a land of open-field culture, and yet its inhabitants, who happily have not known the blessings of Roman law and landlordism, and still live under the common law of Normandy, obtain from their land twice as much as the best farmers of England. This small island, which comprises only 28,717 acres, rocks included, nourishes its population of about two inhabitants to each acre, or 1,200 to the square mile, and well-being is the distinctive feature of the peasantry. Their chief crop consists now of early potatoes, of which they grow about 70,000 tons every year; and that represents a money value of about \$2,000,000, or more than \$300 from each acre under potatoes. Besides, they grow plenty of cereals and grass for cattle; they keep admirably well their meadows; they have more than one cow to each acre of meadows and fields under grass; they export every year, besides an enormous amount of dairy produce, some 1,500 milch cows, each of which gives from 4 to 5 gallons of milk every day; and, on the whole, they obtain agricultural produce to the amount of \$250 to each acre of the surface of the island.

And yet, barring a few exceptions, Jersey hardly knows what intensive market gardening is. To see this, one must go to the sister island of Guernsey, which has to nourish 1,300 souls on each square mile, and has more of unproductive soil. Guernsey, like the suburbs of Paris, is a land of market gardening, which has developed of late into greenhouse culture. All over the island, especially in the north, wherever you look, you see greenhouses. They rise amid the fields and from behind the trees; they are piled upon one another on the steep slopes of the hills facing the harbor. The origin of this new departure was the raising of grapes, which was started some thirty years ago by a few enterprising men. At present, Guernsey exports every year about 500 tons of grapes, which represent a money value of

\$215,000, at the low average price of 18 cents a pound.* However—and that is the chief point—grapes are no longer the most important crop of the Guernsey and Jersey greenhouses. Ordinary vegetables—tomatoes, potatoes, carrots, etc.—are also grown to a great extent, the present tendency being to build glass shelters of the plainest description, heated or not, and to grow therein whatever is usually grown in the open air. Kitchen gardens under glass are now the rage. And when I walked through these glass-roofed kitchen gardens, which do not know what failure means, and which yield crop after crop throughout the Spring, Summer, and Autumn, I could not but admire the recent conquests of man. I saw three fourths of an acre, covered with glass and heated for three months in the Spring, yielding about 8 tons of tomatoes and about 200 pounds of beans as a first crop in April and May, to be followed by two crops more during the Summer and Autumn. Here one gardener was employed, with two assistants; a small amount of coke was consumed; and there was a gas engine for watering purposes, consuming one dollar's worth of gas every month. I saw again, in cool greenhouses (simple glass-and-plank shelters), pea-plants covering the walls for the length of a quarter of a mile, which already had yielded by the end of April 3,200 lbs. of exquisite peas, and were yet as full of pods as if not one had been taken away. I saw potatoes dug from the soil in April to the amount of 5 bushels to the 21 feet square, and so on. And yet, all that is eclipsed by the immense vineries of Mr. Bashford in Jersey. They cover 13 acres, and from the outside these huge glass houses and chimneys look like a factory. But when you enter one of the houses, 900 feet long and 46 feet wide, and your eye scans that world of green embellished by the reddening grapes or tomatoes, you forget the ugliness of the outside view. As to the results, I cannot better characterize them than by quoting what Mr. W. Bear, the well-known writer upon English agriculture, wrote after a visit to the same establishment; namely, that the

* The wholesale market prices of grapes in London, in the first half of May, this year, were from 60 cents to one dollar a pound. Toward the autumn, home-grown grapes will be sold at the same price that grapes grown in the open air are sold at in Switzerland. .

money returns from these thirteen acres "greatly exceed those of an ordinary English farm of 1,300 acres." The last year's crops were: 25 tons of grapes (which are cut from the first of May till October), 80 tons of tomatoes, 30 tons of potatoes, 6 tons of peas, and 2 tons of beans (the last three in April), to say nothing of other subsidiary crops.

On seeing such results one might imagine that all this must cost a formidable amount of money; but not so. The cost of Mr. Bashford's houses, most excellently well built, is only \$2.34 per square yard (heating pipes not taken into account); and all the work is done by 36 men only; three men to each acre of greenhouses seems to be a Guernsey average. As for fuel, the consumption amounts to no more than 1,000 cart loads of coke and coal. Besides, one can see in the Channel Isles all possible gradations, from the well-constructed greenhouses just mentioned, to the simple shelters made out of thin planks and glass, without artificial heat, which cost only 10 cents per square foot, and nevertheless allow of having the most surprising crops quite ready for sale by the end of April.

Altogether, the glass house is no more a luxury. It becomes *the* kitchen garden of the market gardener. Acres and acres are rapidly being covered with glass in the Channel Islands as well as in England—in some places on a quite grand scale. To use the words of a practical gardener, with reference to one article only, "it is no exaggeration to say that where stones of grapes were produced twenty-five years ago, tons are now produced. Grapes are now whirled into Covent Garden, even from sterile Scotland, by the ton. Now grapes in February do well if they realize from 2s. 6d. to 5 shillings."* They soon will cost in the Autumn no more than the few pence they cost on the Rhine, because the amount of labor spent in growing grapes in Northumberland, where the ton of coal costs 3 shillings at the mouth of the pit, certainly is much less than the usually-underrated

* D. Thomson, in the "Journal of Horticulture," January 31, 1889. He adds: "Grapes in February formerly were sold at 25 shillings the pound by a grower in the north of England, and part of them was sent by the buyer to Paris, for Napoleon III., at 50 shillings the pound. Now they are sold at the tenth and twentieth part of the above prices. Cheap coal—cheap grapes; that is the whole secret."

amount of work which has to be done in carrying the soil up the cliffs of the Rhine, to a height of several hundred feet, and in attending the vines there.

It is evident that in a review article I can give only a few hints to set people thinking for themselves upon this subject. But the little I have said is sufficient to show that we need not fear over-population. Our means of obtaining from the soil whatever we want, under *any* climate and upon *any* soil, have been improved of late at such a rate that we cannot even foresee what is the limit for the productivity of a few yards of land. The limit vanishes in proportion to our better study of the subject. Therefore, I should like to end with a suggestion made by a friend with whom I visited the Jersey greenhouses, and which I earnestly recommend to my American readers. Suppose that instead of building at the Chicago Exhibition an Eiffel tower a thousand feet high, a number of intelligent men should cover with glass houses, say, a hundred acres, or more. Suppose they devote forty acres to art—I mean to flowers and to tropical vegetation—and the remaining sixty acres to the plainest vegetables and fruits, such as will be consumed by the ton during the Exhibition. It will not cost one tenth part of what the tower would cost, but it is sure to repay the expense. And—what is infinitely more important—it will make a complete revolution in the ideas of mankind as to what the soil is, and how it must be treated. It will stimulate invention in a field where it is most required; and it will be a new departure for the coming century, a century which must be—Humanity wills it—the reign of plenty. In such a case the Chicago Exhibition will have duly commemorated the centenary of the Republic, while in building its Tower of Babel it will simply have paid a tribute to modern profit-mongering.

P. KROPOTKIN.

HAVE WE TWO BRAINS OR ONE ?

I. Long ago, in Washington, Brooklyn, and New York, I delivered lectures—still unpublished—with the object of showing that each of the cerebral hemispheres is a complete brain, endowed with all the powers that we know belong to the whole cerebrum. I especially put forth, and will now try to establish, the idea that each half of the brain is capable of originating all the voluntary movements of both sides of the body, and possesses the powers of perception of the various sensitive impressions that may proceed from the whole body; so that, in the same manner that we have two eyes, two ears, etc., we also have two great nerve centres, each of which is capable of performing in its full extent every physical cerebral function.

When I brought forward that revolutionary view, it was in absolute opposition to the opinions held by all physiologists and physicians. But a great progress as regards the duality of the brain had already been accomplished respecting the mental faculties. Many years before my lectures, Dr. A. L. Wigan had issued his celebrated work on "The Duality of the Mind" (London, 1844), in which, after some eminent French writers—Pinel, P. Bérard, Bouillaud, and others—he had shown that in cases when a lesion has destroyed one of the cerebral hemispheres, all the mental faculties may remain quite normal. It is most remarkable, however, that a lesion occupying only a very small part of the brain, in almost any region, can either alter or destroy one or another of the mental faculties or all of them. In the same way, a small lesion can produce a diminution, or the loss, of one or of all the physical functions of the brain, while, on the contrary, as I will try to show, the most extensive lesion of one cerebral hemisphere, or of one half of the base of the brain, can exist without any loss of those functions. I need not say that such facts are quite decisive against the universally-admitted view that each half of the encephalon, as regards voluntary

movement and sensibility, serves only for the half of the body on the opposite side.

II. In an article on "Cerebral Localization" * I have already given a number of arguments against the prevailing doctrines relating to the mechanism of brain functions. Among the conclusions which I drew from the facts and reasonings contained in that paper, there are two which it is essential to reproduce: 1. Nerve cells endowed with any of the cerebral functions, instead of forming a kind of cluster, as is supposed, are disseminated through the whole encephalon, so that considerable alterations or destructive lesions can exist in one of the cerebral hemispheres, or in both, without the loss of voluntary movements, of sensibility, or of any other brain function. 2. The complete disappearance of any cerebral function, in cases of organic brain lesion, is due to a suppressing influence exerted on all the nerve-cells that have a share in that function, in either the encephalon or the spinal cord. The mechanism of that disappearance is that of inhibition, such as takes place in the heart when the activity of that organ is stopped by an irritation of more or less distant parts.

III. The differences which are frequently found between vertebrate animals and man, are now justly considered as being generally mere differences in degree and not in kind. It is quite legitimate, therefore, to apply to man most of the results obtained from experiments on those animals. It is perfectly known and fully recognized by all physiologists that, in the scale of animals, from frog to man, new parts are gradually added to the nervous centres; that, consequently, certain functions of the nervous centres gain more and more power; and that new functions supervene which had no existence in animals compared to man, or in the higher groups of animals compared to the lower ones. Our purpose, therefore, is to make use discriminately of the results of experiments on animals, and to ask from a frog what it can give, and not what can be obtained only from animals placed much higher in the scale.

IV. The grounds for the views relating to the cerebral duality which are generally admitted, are the following: 1. That an irritation of parts of one half of the brain causes movement in

* FORUM, April, 1888.

the opposite side of the body. 2. That paralysis and anæsthesia appear always on the side opposite to that of a brain lesion. 3. That when a lesion has lasted some time in the so-called motor track of the encephalon, on one side, a secondary degeneration is found which indicates that the channels of an order of the will to muscles pass to the opposite side of the body. I will now proceed to the examination of these various arguments, and at the same time will show that facts which are in harmony with the admitted doctrines can be, and ought to be, explained in quite a different way. I will, besides, try to establish that those facts, as well as a great many others, together with many arguments in opposition to those doctrines, all give support to the views I have proposed.

V. It is well known that certain parts of one side of the surface of the brain can, when excited by galvanism, in mammals, give rise to movements in the limbs, face, eye, and trunk, on the opposite side. Those parts are called psycho-motor centers, and they are looked upon as acting on muscles by nerve currents descending to the crus cerebri, the pons Varolii, and the anterior pyramid on the same side, passing, where the pyramids decussate, into the posterior part of the lateral column of the spinal cord on the other side. That this view must be rejected, is clearly proved by the following facts.

After having ascertained what degree of galvanic power can produce certain movements in the limbs, face, etc., on the side opposite to that of the psycho-motor centers which I irritate, I divide transversely either half of the pons Varolii, or of the medulla oblongata including the anterior pyramid, or the crus cerebri, on the side of the galvanization. I then apply again the same galvanic current to those pretended motor centers, and I find that, although the only supposed channels of communication between the brain on the excited side and the muscles on the opposite side, are divided, the action of galvanism is greater, as the movements are more energetic. If the doctrines which are admitted were true, no movement at all could then be produced.

In other experiments, I have ascertained that after the section of both anterior pyramids, the two so-called motor centers can act so as to cause movements almost as well as when the whole

nervous apparatus is normal, which clearly shows that the pyramids are not the only, and not even the principal, channels by which irritations applied to the supposed motor cerebral zone are transmitted to muscles.

In experiments, which for lack of space I cannot describe, I have ascertained that the effects of an irritation of the various parts of the base of the brain cannot, in the least, serve to establish what is the place of passage of ordinary voluntary motor impulses in those parts. All of them produce, in most instances, movements in the corresponding, and not—as should be—in the opposite, side, even when the part irritated is the anterior pyramid just above the spot where its fibers pass into the other side. Still more, if I divide transversely the anterior pyramid, or the whole lateral half of either the medulla oblongata or the pons Varolii, and then irritate one or the other of the two surfaces of the section, *i. e.*, the one yet in normal connection with the brain or the other normally united with the spinal cord, the same movements appear almost always on the side of the irritation, showing that in both cases a reflex action of the uninjured side of the brain is produced. I ought to say that a mechanical irritation causes the same effects as a galvanic one, so that it cannot be supposed that it is owing to a diffusion of a galvanic current that these curious phenomena occur. In presence of such facts, we can certainly state that nothing remains of one of the most important foundations of the doctrine that the motor nerve fibers of one side of the body proceed exclusively from the other side of the brain.

VI. An argument similar to the preceding has been employed by clinicians to show that one side of the brain must be the mover of the opposite side of the body; it is the frequency of convulsions in the limbs or face on the side opposite to that of a lesion of the psycho-motor centers. The question should have been enlarged and put as follows: What are the relations between the various parts of one of the cerebral hemispheres and unilateral convulsions? In a paper I read at the meeting of the British Medical Association, at Cambridge, England, in 1880, I gave a number of conclusions drawn from more than 500 cases of unilateral convulsions due to brain disease, showing how various

these cases were as regards the seat of the lesion which caused these manifestations, the muscles attacked, and the connection of this symptom with paralysis and other phenomena. Among other things I showed, 1, that convulsions can appear on the hemiplegic side, or on the other, whatever be the seat of the lesion; 2, that if unilateral convulsions from disease of one side of the surface of the brain appear far more frequently on the opposite side of the body, they occur, on the contrary, more often on the corresponding side of the body when they are caused by disease of the base of the brain. It is clear, from these general data and from many others, that convulsions cannot be considered as supporting the view that each cerebral hemisphere contains the only centers and conductors for the voluntary movements in the opposite side of the body.

VII. Facts abound, relating to paralysis, or to its absence, in cases of organic lesion of the brain, which show that the views held by most medical men as regards the mechanism of production of paralysis, and its meaning concerning the duality of the brain, are absolutely untenable. Paralysis from brain disease having been used as the most powerful means of support for the doctrine that each of the cerebral hemispheres exclusively contains the centers for the voluntary movements of the opposite side of the body, it is essential, for the object of this article, to prove that this cessation of the power of motion does not depend, as is supposed, on the loss of a motor function of the part organically altered or destroyed, but, on the contrary, that it is due, as I have tried to show already in the *FORUM*,* to a peculiar dynamical influence (inhibition), exerted on motor nerve cells disseminated in many parts of the nervous centers. I have then to show that it is not the part where an organic lesion exists which loses the motor power that disappears, but more or less distant nervous elements, dynamically affected.

VIII. The first argument I shall employ comes from a very interesting experiment on frogs. It is known that when both cerebral lobes are taken away from these animals, no paralysis appears. I have found, however, that when one of those lobes is cut transversely, hemiplegia is caused immediately on the op-

* April, 1888.

posite side, just as would be the case in man from an analogous lesion. If, then, I divide, at the same level and transversely also, the other cerebral lobe, the paralysis produced by the first operation disappears, and the frog seems to move all its limbs just as well as if nothing had been done to the brain. What takes place in those experiments is that the first lesion produces a dynamical change in the nervous centers, one side losing, and the other gaining, power; and that the second lesion re-establishes the dynamical equilibrium, in giving force to the paralyzed side and diminishing the energy of the abnormally strong side. In that case we have an absolutely clear demonstration that paralysis can appear from a mere dynamical influence exerted on more or less distant parts (chiefly the spinal cord, in this instance) by an irritation of a part of the brain.

IX. On many guinea-pigs, rabbits, and other animals, I found that if, after a cerebral injury, paralysis had appeared on one side, I could, by certain other injuries, make that diminution or loss of motor power disappear, in a marked degree if not completely, and produce a paralysis elsewhere. It is clear that such could not be the case if it were by a destruction of a motor function belonging to the part first injured that paralysis shows itself after certain brain lesions. It is clear, also, that a mere dynamical change alone can explain the sudden disappearance of paralysis from the place where it first had been caused. A transfer of paralysis due to a second organic lesion, as in those experiments, has been observed in man by Prof. Leyden and Dr. Dowse.

X. The doctrine generally received by clinicians, and according to which the conductors of the orders of the will to muscles decussate at the spinal end of the anterior pyramids, is proved to be quite false by experimental facts. As that decussation exists in other mammals as well as in man, the same effect should be produced in them as in man, after the section or a destructive lesion of one side of the medulla oblongata, including the anterior pyramid. But it is not so; in other mammals the paralysis is almost always on the side corresponding to that of the injury, while in man it is on the opposite side. In certain mammals, the transversal section of a lateral half of the pons Varolii will give rise to a cross paralysis, while in others this lesion will

cause a direct paralysis; and, to obtain a cross one, we must divide a part higher up than the pons—the *crus cerebri*. As the anatomical organization of the base of the brain is essentially the same in man and in all those mammals, it is evident that if a cross paralysis in one case depended on the section of certain fibers, a similar effect should occur also in the other cases in which the same fibers exist, and we should not see a direct paralysis. If possible, what I have seen in cats is still more decisive. In very young ones, after the section of one of the *crura cerebri*, paralysis usually appears on the corresponding side, while in adults it comes on the opposite side.

We can legitimately conclude from those various facts that paralysis, in such instances, does not depend on the loss of a motor function belonging to the injured parts, as otherwise in all those cases the paralysis should have been a cross one, the decussating fibers of the anterior pyramids having been divided in all of them. This variety of effects is in perfect harmony with what we know of purely dynamical results from an irritation, and it shows that, at least in those cases, paralysis is not due to the loss of a supposed function of the part injured, but that it is a consequence of an irritation that acts on distant parts.

XI. One of the best arguments against the views that paralysis depends on the fact that the lesion with which it is allied has destroyed parts having a motor function, is to be found in cases of direct paralysis. I can say that most clinicians having had for years a large practice have seen such cases. I have seen several; and in one of them I made the autopsy of the patient at the *Charité* Hospital, of Paris, in presence of my able master, Dr. Rayet, and with the help of Dr. Tailhé and Prof. Lebert. In another case, that of a patient who consulted me at Cambridge, Mass., I diagnosed the presence of a tumor at the base of the brain on the side of the paralysis, and this was confirmed by the autopsy, made long afterward by Dr. Edes, of Boston.

Every part of the brain and every kind of lesion can produce a direct paralysis. Of the well-known medical observers who have seen it, I will name only, among the French, Andral, Bayle, Bourneville, Cruveilhier, Dechambre, Gintrac, Gubler, Hayem, Jaccoud, Baron Larrey, Rochoux, Rostan, Trousseau, Valleix,

Vulpian; among the English, Abercrombie, R. Bright, Bristowe, Callender, Cheyne, H. Day, J. Hughlings Jackson, J. W. Ogle, Ramskill, Sharkey, Stanley, Toynbee, Sam Wilks; among the Germans and Austrians, Albers, Arnold, Drozda, Foerster, Lebert, Nasse, Petrina, Virchow, Wenzel; among the Americans, Drs. Horner, of Philadelphia, Enos, of New York, Abbot, Edes, Gould, Homans, Wellington, of Boston.

An effort has been made to escape the verdict of those facts. It has been supposed by Longet, Hilton, and other writers, that the direct paralysis is due to the absence of the decussation of the anterior pyramids. But it happens that decussation existed in the only three cases of that kind of paralysis in which an examination was made of the anatomical condition of the pyramids. Those cases were published by Drs. E. H. Dickinson, Blaise, and Féré and Arnould, whose papers I have quoted in an article on this subject.* Among the arguments I made use of in that paper, with regard to the value of the decussation of the pyramids, I showed that, while that crossing is not known ever to have been missing in any case of direct paralysis, this kind of loss of movement is extremely frequent when disease is located in certain parts of the brain. Indeed, according to a statistical account I have made of cases where unilateral lesion in the medulla oblongata has given rise to hemiplegia, this loss of motion appeared on the side of the lesion in one half of those cases. If now we compare to that proportion that which exists in cases of disease of the so-called motor zone of the cerebral surface, we find that the proportion of cases of direct paralysis is less than one out of a thousand cases of unilateral paralysis. The only explanation of the excessive frequency of direct paralysis in cases of a lesion of the medulla oblongata, and its far more excessive rarity in cases of disease of the so-called motor centers, would consist in this most absurd supposition—that a lesion appears very much more easily in the medulla oblongata when it attacks persons (if there are such) who have no decussation of the anterior pyramids, while it occurs in the motor zone of the cerebral convolutions when it attacks persons having a decussation. If space permitted, I could show that the variations in the number

* See the "*Archives de Physiologie Normale et Pathol.*" Paris, 1889.

of the decussating fibres of the pyramids, which we know from Flechsig's researches to be very great, is in absolute opposition to the view that those fibers are the only or the principal conductors of voluntary motor impulses, and that they have, therefore, nothing to do with the existence of direct or cross paralysis.

XII. According to the generally-admitted views, paralysis, in cases of brain disease, should appear only when a lesion exists in certain parts considered as forming exclusively the supposed motor centers and track. I can state, however, that there is on record a very large number of cases where paralysis has been caused by an injury or a disease located very far from those centers and track. Among those parts of the brain which have caused a loss of voluntary movement when there should have been none, I will especially point out the extreme ends of the cerebrum and most parts of the cerebellum. In the cases I have collected, I have carefully avoided those in which a pressure could have existed on so-called motor parts. Out of the many papers I have published containing such cases, I call attention only to one of my lectures in the "Lancet" for August and September, 1876.

XIII. Paralysis depends so clearly on an irritation of brain tissue, and not on the destruction of conductors or centers endowed with the function which disappears, that, as I have shown in 1879, in 125 out of 181 cases of tumor pressing on one side of a certain part (and always the same) of the base of the brain, there was the excessive variety of paralytic manifestations exhibited in the following table:

1.	Paralysis of the two limbs on the side of the lesion,.....	37	cases
2.	" " " one arm " " " "	3	"
3.	" " " leg " " " "	1	"
4.	" " the two limbs on the opposite side,.....	21	"
5.	" " one arm " " " "	8	"
6.	" " leg " " " "	4	"
7.	" " the two lower limbs (paraplegia),	23	"
8.	" " " upper " (brachial diplegia),.....	1	"
9.	" " one arm in one side and leg in the other,.....	1	"
10.	" " three limbs,....	4	"
11.	" first of the limbs on side tumor, then of other limbs,.	2	"
12.	" of the four limbs,.....	20	"

Besides showing a greater frequency of direct than of cross

paralysis, this table gives a pretty large proportion of cases of paralysis of the two lower limbs (23 out of 125). This kind of paralysis, *i.e.*, paraplegia, may be due also to unilateral lesions in a great many other parts of the brain. I am fully aware that, out of more than 70 such cases that I have collected, a great many should not be counted, as the state of the spinal cord had not been ascertained. Still, even in these cases, the symptoms pointed to the brain as having caused the paraplegia. But in a number of cases the spinal cord, being examined, was found healthy, and, therefore, there is no possibility of denying that one side of the encephalon can produce paralysis in both lower limbs, *i.e.*, a direct paralysis and a cross one. The above table shows most decisively that paralysis may appear in one place or another, although due to a lesion in the same part, and that, therefore, it cannot be considered as allied with a loss of function of the injured part.

XIV. The most decisive argument against the view that we have but one brain for voluntary movements, comes from cases of destruction, in man as well as in animals, of some parts of the supposed motor centers or conductors, or of almost the whole and even the whole of a hemisphere, without paralysis.

It is perfectly well known that, excepting in animals highly placed in the scale of mammalia, we can take away a lateral half of the brain without producing a persistent paralysis. It is, of course, manifest in such a case that all the voluntary movements of the two sides of the body can be performed by one half of the brain. As regards man, facts abound showing that destruction of every individual part of one hemisphere can take place without the disappearance of the voluntary motor functions. Leaving aside cases of tumors or abscesses, there are on record, to my knowledge, more than fifty well-authenticated cases of considerable lesion or complete destruction of the so-called psycho-motor centers on one side, without paralysis. A good many of the authors to whom we owe those facts are men of high standing, and some are physicians of real eminence. Among the best known I will name Vulpian, R. Bright, Andral, Fürstner, Murchison, Longmore, Poncet, H. Day, Luys, Magnan, Duplay, R. Boyd, De Fleury, König, Lecorché, Campbell, R. Quain.

In presence of such facts, a number of able clinicians, without, however, coming frankly to the view that I hold, have tried to explain them by supposing that some other parts of the brain can take up the function of the diseased organ and act in its place. With regard to this, two suppositions have been made. According to one, this replacement occurs in the same side where the lesion exists, and according to the other, it is performed by parts of the opposite side of the brain. This second supposition is in direct opposition to numerous facts showing that a complete destruction of the so-called psycho-motor centers on the two sides can take place without the disappearance of the voluntary movements anywhere. I have collected and published a good many facts establishing this point, and I will mention the following authors as the best-known among those who have seen such cases: Billard, Marcé and Luys (two cases), Siredey, Par-chappe, J. Hutchinson, Bouillaud, Gama, Sims, Gintrac, Wernicke, Fürstner, Broca, R. Bright, Poumeau, Brière, Lenormand, Abercrombie.

Pursuing our demonstration, if we examine what occurs as regards the parietal lobe of the brain alone, or the posterior part of the frontal lobe, we find that there are a great many cases of destruction of these middle portions of the cerebrum—which are looked upon as absolutely essential for voluntary movements—without paralysis supervening. Among the observers to whom we owe those cases, I will name Prévost and Cotard, R. Bright, J. G. Forbes, Warren, Guérard, Bossu, Lagout, Gintrac, Fowler, W. Jones, T. Byrant, Oulmont, Montault, Girard, T. Thompson, A. B. Duffin, Porral, O'Hallaran, C. Holthouse, Dumon.

Before reaching the base of the brain, the fibers establishing a communication between it and the cerebrum are chiefly, if not entirely, congregated in the internal capsule. It is evident, therefore, that a destructive lesion of that part alone, or with the corpus striatum and the optic thalamus, must be the cause of a complete paralysis on the opposite side of the body, if the reigning doctrine on cerebral duality is right. It is not so always, however, as shown by a number of cases published by Gintrac, Lagardelle, J. Russell, and Delbet. I have decided not to make use of cases of tumor, on account of the fact that the fibers and

cells of the brain may remain partly able to act although considerably squeezed. Still, I am entitled to employ cases in which there was a real destruction of the internal capsule by a tumor. There was no paralysis in some such cases published by B. Ball, A. Denmark, Barić, Mueller, and W. B. Hadden.

I come now to the base of the brain, a part which gives a large proportion of cases of destructive lesion without paralysis. Among the authors who have given such facts with regard to the *crus cerebri*, I will name only the best-known. They are: Sander, Elam, Callender, J. Hughlings Jackson, Hayem, Stiebel, H. Roe, J. W. Ogle, Squire, Reynaud-Lacroze, Leboucher, Raikem, Abercrombie, E. A. Parkes, Landouzy, J. B. S. Jackson. As regards the *pons Varolii*, a destruction of a great part of one of its lateral halves, including the whole of the supposed motor track, has frequently been recorded in cases with a very slight paralysis, or none at all. The following are the best-known among the observers to whom we owe such cases: F. Mason, C. Mills, Broadbent, Gay, Moutard-Martin, Raikem, J. R. Bennett, Van der Byl. Regarding the *medulla oblongata*, I will name also the most prominent observers. They are: Vulpian, Cruveilhier, Raikem, Martineau, Taylor, J. Johnson, Middleton, Michel, Royer-Collard.

It is evident from all these cases that one half of the base of the brain is quite sufficient to convey to the muscles of the two sides of the body the orders of the will coming from either one or the other of the two cerebral hemispheres.

The facts remaining to be mentioned are among the most powerful to show that one half of the brain can originate all the voluntary movements of the two sides of the body. They consist of cases of considerable alteration, if not of destruction, of a whole cerebral hemisphere, without paralysis, or with only a slight paresis. I will mention among the observers who have published such cases, the following: Belcher, Tacheron, Serres, Abercrombie, Monod, G. Lowther, Cless, Guéneau de Mussy, Rendtorf, H. Greenhow, Porta, Th. Bryant, Rendu, Debierre, Lélut, McReady, Alègre, Hayem.

XV. I could bring forward many other facts showing, like those I have mentioned, that paralysis can appear where it should

not, or may not appear at all, in cases of a lesion which should always produce it in certain parts of the body, according to the generally-admitted views. But it does not seem necessary to say more on these points, as I believe that what precedes is quite sufficient to establish that each half of the brain can originate all the voluntary movements of the two sides of the body, and, therefore, that we have two brains for all the muscular actions caused by our will in the four limbs, and other parts of the body.

XVI. Arguments similar to those concerning the voluntary movements exist also as regards the transmission and the perception of sensitive impressions. They give forcible proofs that one cerebral hemisphere may be quite sufficient for the perception of all the impressions coming from the various parts of the two sides of the body. I will mention only some of the most striking arguments relating to this part of my subject.

The following experiments furnish the best of these arguments. I discovered long ago that very frequently, after a section of a lateral half of the base of the brain, on a mammal, anæsthesia appears on the opposite side of the body and hyperæsthesia on the corresponding side. If on an animal having had such a section on the right side, and having become anæsthetic in the left side of its body and hyperæsthetic in the right side, I divide the left lateral half of the dorsal spinal cord, I obtain this most remarkable result: the left abdominal limb not only recovers sensibility, but becomes hyperæsthetic, and the right one loses its sensibility. It is evident that if the anæsthesia in the left abdominal limb were produced by the first lesion (that made at the base of the brain), owing to a section of the conductors of the sensitive impressions coming from that limb, the second lesion (made on the dorsal spinal cord) could not have modified sensibility in any way in that part. It is quite certain that the anæsthesia which appeared in the left hind limb after the first lesion was due to a mere dynamical influence, as it disappeared immediately after the second lesion.

An experiment of Dr. Veyssière had led him to look upon the posterior part of the internal capsule as the place of passage of conductors of sensitive impressions in the brain. This view was admitted by most physiologists, and was soon strongly sup-

ported by physicians, who showed that in many cases of disease of that part in man there had been a complete loss of feeling in limbs, trunk, and face on the opposite side of the body. Facts of that kind would be in radical opposition to the view I propose concerning the duality of the brain, if it were true that we are to explain that loss of sensibility by admitting that the section or destruction of the posterior part of the internal capsule interrupts all communications between the center of perception and the half of the body which becomes anæsthetic. The following experiment will show conclusively that this is not true.

After having made Veyssière's experiment, and ascertained, as he had done, that anæsthesia is caused on the side opposite to that of the operation, I divide the lateral half of the dorsal spinal cord on the anæsthetic side, and I find that sensibility not only returns in the hind limb on that side, but becomes greater than in the normal state. It is evident, therefore, that it was not owing to the section of supposed exclusive conductors for the transmission of sensitive impressions that there was anæsthesia after the first operation in this case.

If anæsthesia in one half of the body has been produced by the extirpation of the pretended centers of perception of sensitive impressions, as Prof. Schäfer, V. Horsley, and others have shown to be the case, it disappears also and is replaced by hyperæsthesia in the hind limb, as I have found, after the division of the lateral half of the dorsal spinal cord on the side where it existed. In this case, as in the preceding, it is evident that it was not absence of a part of the nervous center which was the cause of the loss of feeling.

Clinical facts like these experiments show that it is not because a diseased part is endowed with the function of perception, or of transmission of sensitive impressions, that anæsthesia appears when a lesion exists in one half of the brain. It is produced by an irritation which starts from the neighborhood of the destroyed tissue, and proceeds to more or less distant elements scattered in the nervous centers, inhibiting their function. I believe that I have proved in a number of papers the correctness of these conclusions, but I will especially refer to my last publication, which appeared in the "*Comptes Rendus de la Société de*

Biologie" for 1888. I will say here only that arguments similar to those I have employed in this article, concerning voluntary movements, exist also as regards sensibility. A great many facts show that anæsthesia, like paralysis, in cases of unilateral lesion, can appear; first, on the corresponding side, and the more frequently the nearer the injury is to the medulla oblongata, and, therefore, the farther from the top surface of the brain; secondly, in the two lower or the two upper limbs; thirdly, in three limbs, or in all four. Like paralysis, anæsthesia also can appear in one side only of the body from lesions occupying the same extent of the base of the brain on the two sides of the middle line; it can, besides, show itself in cases of lesion in any part of the brain, even one not supposed to be employed as conductor or center for sensitive impressions.

One of the strongest arguments against the received views, and in support of the idea that one side of the encephalon is quite sufficient for the transmission and perception of the sensitive impressions coming from the two halves of the body, is that sensibility can persist entire, notwithstanding the destruction of any part of one half of the brain. I cannot enter here into the details of the cases establishing the correctness of this statement. I will only make a few remarks about some of the facts.

The center of perception of sensitive impressions has been placed in very different parts of the brain. Chiefly from experiments on monkeys, Schäfer, Horsley, and others have supposed that the seat of that power is the limbic lobe. The fact I have already mentioned, that if the extirpation of that part has caused anæsthesia, a section of a lateral half of the cord will make sensibility reappear, disposes of that supposition. Clinical facts show also that the limbic lobe can be destroyed without any loss of feeling. A talented New York physician, Dr. Charles L. Dana, published two years ago an excellent paper, in which may be found several such cases, to which I could add a number of others. Other physicians place the perceptive power in the convolutions where are localized the psycho-motor centers. In a great many cases, however, these parts have been destroyed without any loss of feeling or paralysis.

Cases of considerable alteration of a whole cerebral hemi-

sphere, or of all the parts establishing a communication with the base of the encephalon, without any diminution of sensibility or any marked degree of anæsthesia, have been published by Andral, Bouchut, Barthez, Beau, Anger, Gintrac, Porta, Richet, Robertson, Lallemand, and others.

As regards the base of the brain, I know of more than forty cases of considerable alteration or complete destruction of one or the other of the three parts composing it—one crus cerebri or one side of the pons or medulla—without anæsthesia. It is certain, therefore, that the channels of transmission, as well as all centers of perception of sensitive impression, can be destroyed in one half of the encephalon without anæsthesia. And this clearly shows that one half of that great nervous center is quite sufficient for the performance of all functions relating to sensibility in both sides of the body.

XVII. Before concluding, it is necessary to show that physicians, and also certain physiologists, who look upon the secondary or descending degeneration, often seen in cases of disease of the brain, as having the utmost importance with regard to its duality, would have to change their minds if they paid attention to the following facts. It is known that such degeneration descends from the seat of a lesion in one half of the brain to the place of intersection of the anterior pyramids, and there passes from one side of the encephalon into the posterior part of the lateral column of the spinal cord, descending to the lumbar end of the spinal center. That the fibers which degenerate in such cases are not, as is supposed, the only or the principal channels of transmission of the orders of the will to muscles, is evident. 1. Cases of degeneration of the anterior pyramids and other parts, without paralysis, have been recorded by Bouchard, Albers, Fürstner and Zacher, Lange, Partridge, Debierre, W. B. Hadden and C. S. Sherrington, Bryson Delavan, Landouzy, Lancereaux, Barié, Luys, and others (I must say that, in those cases, the absence of paralysis is made more decisive by the fact that, besides the degeneration of the base of the brain and the lateral column of the cord, there was a persistence in the brain of the lesion which had given origin to the degeneration). 2. The secondary or descending alteration, instead of being, as it

should, a continuous one, may show itself in one part and not in the next, as evidenced by cases of Landouzy, Lépine, Lélut, Hanot, Vulpian, Bourneville, Védie, and others. 3. The secondary degeneration may not appear, however great and persistent may be a brain lesion giving rise to paralysis. 4. The part of the spinal cord which is altered in a descending degeneration is hardly a motor part.

XVIII. That we have more brain matter than is needed, is clearly proved by the facts and reasonings contained in this paper. This is shown also by a great many cases in which a considerable destruction of cerebral tissue, on the two sides, has occurred without any loss to either the physical or the mental functions of the brain. Not only can half of the encephalon carry on all the functions known to belong to the whole brain, but there are cases of almost complete destruction of one side and also of a part of the other side of the brain, without either an alteration of the mental powers or the loss of the physical faculties of that great nervous center.

In connection with the subject of the duality of the brain, there is one point of great importance about which I can say only a few words. It is that we have a great many motor elements in our brain and our spinal cord which we neglect absolutely to educate. Such is the case particularly with the elements which serve for the movements of the left hand. Perhaps fathers and mothers will be more ready to develop the natural powers of the left hand of a child, giving it thereby two powerful hands, if they believe, as I do, that the condition of the brain and spinal cord would improve if all their motor and sensitive elements were fully exercised.

C. E. BROWN-SÉQUARD.

THE FUTURE OF FICTION.

It might well seem a foolhardy venture to attempt to forecast the future of fiction. How, it may be asked, are we to gauge the artistic value and the possibilities of growth of so voluminous and chaotic a material as the contemporary novel? It is questioned by some whether prose fiction has any rightful place in the world of art, and many who would hardly go so far as this in the path of skeptical doubt maintain that the larger part of recent fiction is of no real and permanent worth. On the other hand, there seem to be some happily-constituted persons who discern in the abundance of recent literary output a proof of the prodigality of Nature, who has somehow managed in these latter days to produce something like a plethora of literary genius.

In view of such a perplexing state of things, all that one can hope to do in the way of conjectural forecast is to seek for indications of the future destiny of the novel in a clearer conception of its origin and essential art function. If we can manage to throw a ray of light on the origin and *raison d'être* of the novel, we shall be as advantageously placed as it seems possible to be for answering the question whether it still has a future, and if so, what sort of one.

And here it seems necessary, by way of introduction, to say a word or two respecting the function of art in general. This may doubtless look alarming, suggestive of baffled wanderings among metaphysical subtleties. But let not the reader be afraid. I propose in these pages to spare him everything in the shape of disquisition on the nature of beauty, and merely to call his attention to one or two characteristics of art which have come of late to be more and more clearly recognized.

The first of these characteristics is its play aspect. By this I mean that art, like play, offers us a pleasurable vent or outlet for redundant energy. This idea is as old as Aristotle, though it

has been developed into a clearer and more precise form by recent writers, among whom Schiller and Herbert Spencer deserve special mention. Our bodily and mental powers are needed for, and have been developed by, the performance of the useful and necessary functions of life—what we all know as work. But this serious business of life leaves, or should leave, a residue of capacity, with its correlative interest or impulse to exertion, and it is to this that play and art alike address themselves. Just as boys throw off unused muscular and mental ability in their games, so do we in admiring and enjoying art relieve ourselves of unexhausted impulse. Thus in tracing the contour of a bit of sculpture, my eye is "at play," that is, indulging itself in free activity for its own sake, such activity being the measure of the excess of its power over the demands of work. Similarly, in enjoying a fine poetic description, we are indulging in play-like activity those powers of imaginative interpretation and realization which have not been used up in the actual business of life.

Now it is to be noted that this redundant play-like activity of faculty is at once something detached from, and yet related to, its serious and necessary exercise. The very depth of the antithesis, play and work, in human consciousness, suggests that when we are recreating we throw off the hampering shackles of reality. A boy just released from school indulges in the freest and most frolicsome movement of limb, as if by way of protest against the set and constrained actions of the schoolroom. Similarly, when we betake ourselves to art we like to get as far away as possible from our working-day world, from the too-familiar scenery of our habitual surroundings.

Nevertheless, play, though in appearance so unlike work, is in reality akin to it. A boy's limbs, and still more a man's, possess in their play unmistakable traces of their habitual forms of exercise. In like manner, when we go to art for refreshment we necessarily take with us faculties molded by customary lines of work, and capable of recruiting themselves only upon objects and ideas which bear some resemblance to those which engage our working energies. Thus art calls forth intellect in play-like action just in the measure in which it supplies it with analogues of real objects and events—with a copy of the real world within

the limits of which it is wont to move. And just as intelligence demands of art, objects molded on real and familiar ones, so must feeling, the function of which in art is supreme, find there the semblance of a world which first called it into being. Art makes us laugh and weep, touches us with pity, a humorous sense of incongruity, and so forth, just because in lifting us out of our small actual world and introducing us into another and larger world it constructs this last on the general plan of the first.

The second great characteristic feature of art that we need to keep before us here, is its essential sociality. Art as such addresses itself, not to the isolated individual, but to the community or social organism. This is obviously the case in the primitive forms of art. The decoration of the fane consecrated to the social function of worship was plainly for the eye of the assembly. The same is true of dramatic representation, of music, and even of poetry in its early and natural forms of sung or recited verse (lyric and epic). The apparent exception to the rule in the case of modern literary art, which is largely enjoyed in private perusal, will be dealt with presently.

If these are the essential and vital characteristics of art, we may expect to find its evolution describable in terms of them. Let us see how far this is possible.

We say that art evolves when it exhibits the characters of all organic evolution, namely, differentiation of parts and growing complexity of structure. Thus the modern art of western music has evolved first by detaching itself from other arts with which it was in its infancy organically connected (the dance, etc.), then by branching out into a rich variety of special forms, and lastly by assuming a massiveness of form and a structural elaborateness which the ancients could never have dreamt of.

Now this double process of division and elaboration may be regarded as conditioned and necessitated by that growth of faculty and interest of which art, according to our view, is the happy outcome. Thus the compass, variety, and elaborateness of modern painting answer to our wider knowledge of nature and life, our greater power of coördinating a number of objects as parts of an organic whole, and our larger and more varied interest in things, animate and inanimate. The part which art has to play is

one thing in a pre-scientific age, another thing in a scientific. All that we mean by civilization, by social evolution, serves to expand and transform those powers of understanding and of feeling of which art makes use. This evolution of intelligence and feeling bears at once upon each of its tendencies, which we may conveniently mark off as the realistic and the idealistic. That it necessitates a fuller, more accurately-articulated presentment of fact or reality, must be at once evident. Witness the patient study that now goes to the painter's portraiture of Nature, with her least obtrusive traits, her subtlest and most evanescent changes of expression. Modern art is almost scientific in its solicitude for faithful and accurate record of fact. At the same time, this development of intelligence and emotion acts no less powerfully upon the idealistic tendencies of art. Our admirations, our aspirations, change with our experience and knowledge. The passion of the ancient Greeks for physical beauty has been largely supplanted in the modern world by the enthusiasm of humanity, the feeling bordering on worship for all that is noble, excellent, and lovely in human character. And modern art reflects this change in standards of value by laying emphasis, even in the plastic arts themselves, painting and sculpture, on the expression of moral and spiritual traits.

Just as the evolution of art illustrates the growth of human faculty, so it may be said to measure the advance of man's sociality. It is evident, indeed, that the same process of social evolution which underlies the acquisition of the higher attributes of intellect and emotion, must directly tend to widen the range of social experience, and so to deepen the instinct of solidarity. And art being, as we have seen, something for the community, grows and thrives just as the corporate feeling of the community deepens. Hence the rich efflorescence of art in moments of a joyous accession of national and patriotic feeling, as in the palmy days of Athens or the glorious Elizabethan era. The best and most distinctive attributes of modern art owe their value to the development of a deeper feeling for humanity as a whole. We may not, like the ancient Greeks, have the assembling of a whole people to witness the performance of national games, but, *en revanche*, we may boast of a much wider effect. A great

musical production, or a great book, may now at the instant of its appearance flash its gladdening effulgence over an aggregate of nations. Art is now something greater than national; it has become cosmopolitan. And it is cosmopolitan just because it is able to appeal to that large and universal interest in humanity, that sense of kinship with the great human family, which is the latest and most valuable product of what we call social progress.

And now, perhaps, we are in a position to see the meaning of the essentially modern art of prose fiction. It is not my intention here to discuss the precise artistic rank and dignity of the novel. It may readily be granted that in respect of artistic form it cannot for a moment be placed on a level with the ancient epic, or with the drama, ancient or modern. The loss of the severer regularities of form, of the music of verse, of the poetic style, is not to be underestimated. Yet fiction, in bursting the bonds of poetic structure and broadening out into the fuller and more detailed invention of the modern novel, has gained, too, something of importance. It has secured for us a much more elaborate presentment of human life. It has carried forward the careful delineation of character to the point where the typical sketch, with which the older art had contented itself, has become filled in and individualized. It has discovered in the inner life of reflective feeling of the civilized man and woman a new domain, of which the epic was ignorant and even the drama had only an inkling. More than all, perhaps, it has penetrated into the intricacies of human life, grasped the multiform interactions of the individual and its environment, and detected the hidden complex of processes which constitutes character growth.

Referring now to the two fundamental characteristics of art noted above, one may say that the modern novel has justified its existence by attempting to engage in play-like activity the higher and more complex faculty, intellectual and emotive, of the modern man. The old abstract simplifying mode of presenting life no longer satisfies; we, with our deeper study and fuller knowledge, demand a picture of it in its concrete fullness and many-sidedness. Or, to describe the emotive effect, one may say that we moderns, bringing to the contemplation of fiction a greater range and variety of feeling, require of it such a full presentment

of the life story as will stir a multitude of moods, moving us at once to love and hate, to defiance and resignation, to compassion and to good-natured amusement. The rapid development of the novel since the last century, abundantly illustrates this tendency in art to overtake the evolution of human faculty. If one compares Fielding, for example, with Balzac, Thackeray, or one of the great Russian novelists, one sees at once what a simple toy-like structure used to serve art for a human world. A mind versed in life as contemporary fiction depicts it, feels on reading these already-antiquated forms of the eighteenth century that it has to divest itself for the nonce of more than half its equipment of habitual thought and emotion.

While prose fiction thus answers to our more highly-evolved faculty, so it abundantly fulfills the larger social requirements of modern art. It is preëminently the novel which depicts life as social life, and in so doing appeals to that complex group of feelings which have been nurtured by, and are attached to, this life. Witness, for example, the recognition by recent fiction of the different levels of the life of the community. The detailed narrative of the motley life of the poor by Charles Dickens, was of the deepest significance as showing how completely fiction was able to emancipate itself from class trammels, confining itself neither to the dazzling sphere of "high life" nor to the familiar levels of bourgeois experience, but embracing the human story in all its endless ramifications. In another way we may see the growing sociality of the novel by noting how writers are tending more and more to present the individual—which as a concrete object is of course the proper subject matter of art—in its connectedness with the social organism, with the ruling forces of the community, its customs, ideas, dominant impulses, and so forth. This tendency, already clearly marked in writers like Balzac, Victor Hugo, George Sand, and George Eliot, has, as everybody knows, grown peculiarly apparent in the later work of the French, Russian, and Scandinavian schools of fiction. We see through the efforts, the struggles of the individual, the play of that organized sum of forces which constitutes social life. The tendency of recent French fiction to present life as a sociological phenomenon has recently been emphasized by M. Guyau.*

* "*L'Art au Point de Vue Sociologique.*" See especially Chap. VI.

It may be said, then, that modern prose fiction amply fulfills the two great conditions of all art—that it fully excites the total complex of human faculty, and that it appeals to us as social beings. And in its later and more complex developments it does this in a way that at once shows its fitness to be a main constituent of modern art.

But there is another point which must be glanced at before we are ready to venture on a forecast of the future of this branch of art. It has been pointed out that art, herein resembling play yet further, combines a realistic with an idealistic tendency. But how far does the modern novel satisfy this requirement?

That prose fiction has set itself the task of imitating the real world, is plain to everybody. It follows indeed from the fact of its giving us human life in more and more of its actual concrete fullness, variety, and rich interlacings of relation, that it is essentially realistic. Nothing is more noticeable in the recent growth of fiction than its progressive mastery of realities, and its appropriation of the almost burdensome lore of a scientific age. Think of all the fine knowledge of natural phenomena; of the close and accurate study of physiognomy, gesture, and expression generally; of manners; of the habits of life of different classes; of the processes of industry; of the detailed experiences of travel; of national sport; of political life; and then of the familiarity with foreign life, and with the life of the past, that may be found in the best of contemporary fiction. As I have already said, modern art is allied to science in its accuracy of observation and fidelity of record, and nowhere is this *quasi* scientific reverence for truth to fact more conspicuous than in the novel.

The realism of prose fiction is indeed so patent to every eye, that one rather expects to hear the complaint that in its excessive regard for fact it has failed to find place for the idealistic impulse, and by so doing has forfeited what little claim to the dignity of art it can ever have possessed.

Now if by the ideal is meant what lies wholly outside the sphere of the real, having no discoverable relations to it, then it may be admitted that the modern novel has given no proof of having a wing strong enough for lifting it to this lofty realm. It has not cared to transport its readers into the lawless world of

fairy-land. Even in its earlier and freer form of wild romance it discreetly kept the world of real experience within view. And in spite of the occasional wantonness with which it laughingly tries to shake the firm columns of reality about the reader's ears, delighting him (as, for example, Mr. R. L. Stevenson so well knows how to do) with a momentary chaos of homely fact and magnificent miracle, or giving him for an instant a not unwelcome shudder by touching a still-surviving superstition in his soul, prose fiction never long forgets that its true sphere is that of plain, comprehensible fact.

But, in allowing this, one is far from conceding that the modern novel has no ideal side. The root and impulse of idealism in art resides, as we saw, in the aspiration to get beyond our own personal experience and actual surroundings. The fiction of high life, which was all that the novel not so long since attempted, no doubt transported the poor apprentice of the period who was lucky enough to get sight of it, into the third heaven. And for all of us there are unfamiliar regions of human experience, by projecting ourselves into which we may happily escape from all awareness of our worn-looking every-day world. The very bulk and variety of the modern novelist's material lends itself to this effect. How delightfully were we rapt by the historical romances of Scott from the actual and somewhat cramped world of the school and the play ground! And who that has read the happier rural romances of George Sand, or Auerbach's peasant stories, has not had the joyous sense of detachment from his fixed moorings and of swift transition to a fresher clime? The novel is the novel, the shaper of a new world, just because it can thus transport us, as by a magician's wand, to the remote in space, in time, and in that particular grouping of character and circumstance which gives the hue to everybody's life.

But this service of calling us away from our particular world, valuable though it undoubtedly would be, could hardly entitle the novel to rank among the great arts. A Punch and Judy show, it might be said, does as much for the grinning crowd that surrounds it. Fiction is ideal in another and a higher sense, in that it seeks for all in human life that has special value for our feeling and presents this with artistic completeness and empha-

sis. It began by selectively bringing out the adventurous, romantic side of experience, thrilling the reader with delicious awe by revelation of life's mysteries. But this is far from being its only way of satisfying feeling. The later developments of the novel have shown abundantly that this branch of art is capable of producing an adequate æsthetic impression—of lifting the imagination and rousing the emotions to a passionate apprehension of the dignity of life, of the ineffable sweetness of love and tried companionship, of the beauty of goodness in its older and homelier forms, of the fascinating mystery of a world where the outer word and act so rarely disclose the full complexity of the inner world of feeling-prompted thought.

No observation of real life, it is to be noted, could ever bring us this clear vision of its many-sided value. Who, for example, could from his personal survey of the world have gained such a massive and profoundly-moving impression of its pathos as we all gain from one of the masterpieces of Scott, of Hugo, or of Tolstoi? The great humorists again, Dickens most of all, show their art by creating a scene in which the drolleries of life, the whimsicalities of character, and the comicalities of circumstance seem to have it all their own way. The genuinely-artistic exaggeration that goes to the making of such a boy as Mark Twain's Tom Sawyer, or of a character so splendidly *bizarre* as Mr. George Meredith's Roy Richmond, is justified by the circumstance that it gathers and concentrates for our unmixed and intense enjoyment elements of esthetic value in character which in real life lie apart, sporadically, having only a germinal strength. In this way, then, without forsaking the territory of the real, the modern novel has known how to throw about human life a richer and more various interest, and so to raise it to a higher worth.

Even this heightened and concentrated interest, however, does not exhaust all that we mean by the ideal aims and tendencies of the novel. Experience teaches, and the arts that depict human experience share in this prerogative. We cannot follow the story of a great domineering passion, of an involved, hard-beset life, of the growth of some fine moral trait, without having ideas brought before our mind. Art calls up these ideas, not didactically by usurping the expository function of science, but

suggestively, and as the necessary result of any serious attempt to get below the surface play of things and to discover their inner nature, forces, and tendencies. This suggestive introduction of ideas by art as a part of its interpretative and unifying function, adds a valuable element of intellectual luminosity, and at the same time greatly augments the emotive effect; for these ideas which arise in the thoughtful and sympathetic mind on a survey of human life, are masterful not only in that they bind together and so represent for us many and diverse tracts of experience, but in that, as a consequence of this, they effect a large commotion of the complex currents of our feeling.

Now the novel, by reason of its fuller and more concrete presentment of experience, its more daring unveiling of the inner life, and its full embracing of the sum of processes which make up the life history, has a far wider scope for this suggestive presentment of great stirring ideas than the older forms of poetic art. Compare the limited range of moral reflection in the Greek drama with the vast area opened up by the best modern fiction. It may seem impertinent to hint that Shakespeare could ever have surpassed himself; and yet I am disposed to think that had he lived to-day, and written novels instead of plays, he would have shed a yet fuller and more penetrating light on the obscurities of human life.

And now perhaps we are prepared to consider the question whether the novel has still a future. Is this form of art on the verge of exhaustion, or does it contain the potentiality and promise of yet more abundant and richer growth?

In dealing with this question however slightly, we must not fail to note the fact that the present output of prose fiction, so far from being a small one, seems to be larger than ever. Much of the workmanship is no doubt flimsy enough, showing that the writer had no higher ambition than to supply the lightest form of amusement. At the same time there is a comforting residuum of solid artistic produce. Even if at the present moment we cannot boast of a novelist of the size and compelling force of Scott or Dickens, we may at least be grateful for such brilliant invention as that of Mr. Meredith, such profound life studies as those of Mr. Hardy, and such delicate transcription of manners

as that of Mr. Howells. Without taking an unduly optimistic view of the situation, we may confidently assert that we have a fair number of writers whose books are entitled to a place in literature, and (for this is the real test) that will repay a second and even a third perusal.

This fact of the fecundity of the art of fiction is suggestive. It shows pretty plainly that the novel answers to a growing need of modern life. It reflects no doubt the rapidly-extending taste for reading as one of the staple enjoyments of leisure. In its redundancy of poor writing, it illustrates only too clearly a widespread tendency to regard literature as amusement and excitement only—a tendency favored by the arduous and wearing character of modern life, which threatens to unfit men for the sustained intellectual effort required for mastering the ideas and the characteristic modes of expression of poetry.

Looking at this outwelling of contemporary fiction still further, we note that it shows a progressive tendency. Writers are bent on striking out new paths of imaginative research. The novel is fashionable, and flatters science by imitating her experimental activity. Some of this experimental work is no doubt far-fetched, suggesting that the mine of fiction is emptied rather than that it is disclosing unworked veins. Yet discounting this, one may say that there has been of late a rapid development of the art of prose fiction. This shows itself among other ways in a clearer differentiation of a number of varieties. Thus we have in recent fiction the novel that deals with wild adventure on sea and on land, with the rather dull, stereotyped life of the provincial bourgeoisie, with the unstable and surprising conditions of life in the far West, with the ever-young romance of love, with the picturesque surroundings of peasant life in the woods and on the mountain side, with the characters and events of the past, with the unknown life of other countries than our own, and even with the vagaries of childhood. In mode of treatment, too, no less than in choice of subject, we may see this tendency to differentiation. Thus we have now a quiet objective presentment of the life story, now a mode of narrative that seeks to be thrilling, or pathetic, or boisterously humorous; and these broad divisions admit of a finer and more elaborate subdivision.

This growing diversity of aim seems to be a mark of vitality. It is, moreover, a condition of further progress. Just as in the physical world the process of evolution is most rapid when the variety of forms from which selection has to be made is richest, so in the world of art, amplitude and diversity of experiment mean a prime condition of new selective adjustment. The respectable and commendable work of the hour seems admirably fitted to secure a far higher measure of achievement when the requisite power of imagination is forthcoming.

There is no doubt, I think, that the present condition of the novel, though testifying to its vitality, is not so robust as it might be. The most noticeable feature in recent fiction is, as already hinted, its almost scientific jealousy for truth to fact. Now the eager, ruthless scrutiny of fact which underlies the best work in recent fiction, has inevitably led to a deeper and more saddening recognition of the element of pain and disorder in life. The rapid expansion of the social feelings which is characteristic of our age and measures the velocity of our social evolution, has already led, and will probably lead still more, to the sympathetic comprehension and realization of new and unfamiliar forms of suffering. And this growing feeling for humanity's sad lot reflects itself very clearly in the modern novel, and gives it its characteristic hue. The fiction of England, America, and Germany has as its prevailing undertone that plaint of pessimism, which reaches its most articulate expression in the recent fiction of France, Russia, and Norway.

This tendency has been felt so keenly by some, that they have by way of reaction gone back to the earlier romantic tale of far-off adventure. The present vogue of stories in which the whole effort of the writer seems to have been concentrated in stringing up the nerves of the reader to the highest pitch of excited expectancy (in which effect, by the way, they probably fall considerably short of such a master of the grewsome as Edgar Allan Poe), may show us how the human spirit instinctively recoils from a too naked exhibition of life's ugly sores.

Such a way of escape is, however, illusory. We cannot, as has been seriously suggested by one writer, divest ourselves of our reflective manhood, and don the light, boyish mood, with its *naïf*

credulity and its insatiable thirst for marvel. The pure romance, which knows nothing of probability, and devotes itself to unfolding a dream of preternatural prowess, of an unattainable glory, is not for us. We must, if we want the pleasant and wholesome "play of faculty" which it is for art to provide, somehow make our account with the novel in its higher and more evolved form.

This we may do by first of all accepting sincerely and cordially all that the ampler knowledge and finer insight of the contemporary novelist have acquired for us. Yet in doing this we have a right to protest against his morbid views of things, to ask him with all his fidelity to fact to conserve for us something of youth's gladsome belief in the beauty of things, in human goodness, and in human happiness. We may reasonably insist that the novel, in growing more observant and more learned, shall not wholly separate itself from its parent stem, but retain a trace of the sweet and gracious complacency of the first romance.

If it be asked how this conciliation between the early hopefulness and the later despair is to be effected, one can only remind the reader of what was said above. Real life is not all poor, commonplace; human experience is far from being a monotonous sense of bafflement and pain. The radical fault of the so-called realistic school is that it regards fact and disagreeable fact as synonymous expressions. In insisting on forcing into view what they think the neglected elements of life, they lapse into the error of regarding them as its sole ingredients. The novelist must bestir himself and correct this error by bringing forward again to its rightful place in art—that is to say, the predominant place—what is lovely and of good report, the aspects of character and experience which gladden the imagination, and by gladdening it inspire hope and faith.

The first and most pressing need in contemporary fiction is a more vivid realization of the endlessly-varied beauty of human character. How few among contemporary English and American novelists ever deign to charm us by a picture of a man or woman toward whom our hearts go out in a glow of admiring love? Character-drawing there is in abundance, showing that there is no lack of new material, and no falling off in manual cunning. But the characters rarely excite in us a passionate

and enthusiastic interest. Is it that the prevailing pessimism has jaundiced the novelist's eye so that he no longer sees the play of human nature in all its grace and beauty? The best guarantee for the elevation of the novel just now, would be the disappearance of the fashionable cynicism which sees all men to be alike rather contemptible, and the substitution in its place of a healthy and genial belief in the better and worthier features of human nature, and in the possibility of their becoming dominant.

Before fiction takes on its old happy smile again, we must rise out of the oppressive consciousness that life is cruel for the masses, that traditional social institutions are decayed and our conventional ideas of justice a monstrosity, to a happy faith in social amelioration. How such amelioration is to come about we may not yet see, but our eyes should be intent on discerning it. And here, one may perhaps plead, art might lend a friendly hand, by imaginatively peering further into the obscurities of the future and spying the form of our coming deliverer. Why should not the novelist, following more than one recent and by no means unworthy example, try to forecast the happier days that will come on the earth as soon as men hold in their furious greed, and combine in an honest and strenuous effort to smooth the life path for all? The remarkable success of Mr. Bellamy's little sketch may show us how men's eyes are straining for the first glimpse of a brighter day. Art has for its highest function to satisfy our emotions by an ideal presentment of life. Here, then, is an opportunity for it. Let it turn from the inspection of the social malady, over which it has bent too long, and bethink it of a remedy. We do not want novelists to become didactic exponents of the most advanced ideas in sociology and economics; but by seizing the tendencies of contemporary thought, and forecasting the probable directions of human progress, they may possess themselves of new ideal elements, by the skillful use of which they will be able to brighten their picture of human life, and so to cheer instead of saddening our hearts.

JAMES SULLY.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

IN much of the writing and speaking on the subject of the industrial situation, it is assumed that the wages system, which divides society into two classes—capitalists and laborers, employers and employed—is the inherent, essential, and permanent industrial condition of society. It is, on the contrary, of recent origin; certainly modern, I believe transitional. A hundred years ago the weaver owned his loom, the tailor his bench, the cobbler his stall, the stage driver his coach, the woman her spinning wheel. The invention of steam, the spinning jenny, and the power loom, created a necessity for organized labor. Individualism gave place to combination, and combination created capitalism. I believe, and it is this faith which I wish to set before my readers in this article, that, as slavery gave place to serfdom and serfdom to the wages system, so in time the wages system will give place to industrial democracy.

What is industrial democracy? Aristotle divided government into three classes—government by the one, government by the few, government by the many. We have added a fourth—self-government. This is political democracy—"government of the people, for the people, by the people." Industrial democracy is the application of the principles concisely stated in this motto, to the organization of industry; it is the doctrine of wealth of the people, for the people, by the people. In this article I desire to set forth the essential characteristics of this industrial democracy, toward which I believe all industrial changes are tending and will eventually peacefully carry us.

The wealth of the nation is wealth of the people; that is, it springs from the people. It therefore belongs of right to the people. For what are its sources? In twenty-five years the wealth of the nation is reported to have grown from fourteen billion to forty-four billion. Why? What is the secret of this marvelous growth of wealth?

It is, first of all, discovery. We have found in this land-unmeasured wealth, which God has in ages long past stored here—forests in northern and north-western States, waiting to do obeisance to the woodman's axe; water power in north-eastern streams, waiting to be lassoed and harnessed by Yankee enterprise; harbors and great river ways, built long before river and harbor bills were dreamed of; coal in Pennsylvania mines and oil in subterranean reservoirs, waiting for pick and blast to call them forth; wheat and corn, sleeping in western prairies until Prince Labor should awaken them with his wand to fruitful life; gold and silver in Colorado and California mines, imprisoned until civilization should unbolt their prison doors and summon them forth. To whom belong of right these treasures which are not of our making? To the people first in possession of the soil? Then they belong to the despoiled Indian races. To the first discoverers? Then to the Spanish and French races; certainly not to the present owners, who are neither the discoverers nor their heirs or assignees. To the men who bring them from their hiding places and make them of value to mankind? Then the forest belongs to the woodman, the coal mine to the operator, the prairie to the cultivator of the soil. Something might perhaps be said for each of these hypotheses; the one hypothesis that cannot easily be defended in the court of reason by any theory is the hypothesis on which we have in fact acted—that they belong of right to the strongest (or to the most grasping and unscrupulous) in a struggle, not for existence, but for wealth, luxury, and power. This wealth has been like a shower of gold pieces flung out into a populous Italian street by a passer-by. We have all scrambled for it; a few of the strongest have won the prize, while the rest look on with covetous eyes. This wealth of the continent belongs to the nation; and justice demands such methods of legislation as will give most equitably to the nation this common wealth, and to each member of the nation his share of advantage in the common store.

Next to discovery of wealth hidden in the earth, is what we call invention, which is in truth simply the discovery and application of a like wealth hidden in the forces of nature. We are rich beyond all previous ages because we have found a way to

make nature do our work and accumulate our wealth for us. God puts his muscles at the disposal of our brains. He is the genie of the lamp who has come to do our bidding; to be, as it were, our drudge and servant. His water courses grind our grist for us; his fire summons from the water its secret energy and puts at our service unestimated horse power to drive our machinery for us; his lightning comes from the clouds to carry our messages and light our streets and public halls and private houses. To whom belong these natural forces? There is a reason in justice, and a reason in expediency, why the nation should give a large measure of the first profits they yield to the men whose insight first discovers, whose wisdom first applies to useful service, these divine forces. But the forces themselves are not private property; they belong to humanity. The very existence of our patent laws is public testimony to the truth that every such force is public property; private property only so far as the public chooses to relinquish its larger right for its own larger benefit. Industrial democracy claims as its own the crude wealth hidden in the earth, and the more subtle wealth concealed in the forces of nature. Mr. Edward Atkinson estimates that seven persons can with our improved machinery provide bread for a thousand. This fact, which ought to reduce the labor and enhance the wealth of the entire population, enriches the few and leaves the labor and the recompense of the many substantially as before — the labor but slightly lessened, the recompense but slightly increased.

A third source of national wealth has been in franchises created by the people for the public welfare, and transformed into private wealth through public neglect and private sagacity. The railroads of the United States are estimated as worth above eight thousand million dollars, about one half of which is represented by stock. What gives them their value? It is not the road bed, the iron or steel rails, the stations and surrounding grounds; it is that the railroads are the public highways. Formerly our public highways afforded poor facilities for locomotion, but they were free; now they afford admirable facilities for locomotion, but they are private property. The telegraph wires are the nerves of the nation; the railroads are its arterial system. The

body politic has sold or given away its nerves and its arteries. The nation could well afford to pay liberally the men who invented the telegraph and created the railroad system. It could afford to pay well for poles and wires, for road bed and stations. If it choose to leave pole and wire, road bed and station under private control, it may certainly do so; whether that is wise or not is matter for further consideration. Here it must suffice to say that the wealth of both telegraph and railroad, of long inter-State lines and of short electric or horse-car lines, is due to the fact that they are indispensable means of intercommunication; this wealth is derived from the public and belongs to the public. Like the wealth of the forests, the mines, and the prairies; like the wealth of gravitation, fire, electricity; it is a wealth of the people, and belongs of right to the people.

All these values, and indeed all values of any considerable consequence, are themselves the product of that civilization which is the common contribution of the nation. The wealth of America has attracted hither millions of immigrants, and has given to our country a growth unprecedented, which fills the student of national life sometimes with a sense of exaltation, sometimes with a sense of awe akin to alarm. But it is this immigration which has created the wealth. These hungry mouths have given a value to our breadstuffs; these multiplied homes have made a market for our coal; these rushing hordes of immigrants and traders have enriched our railway companies. No man ever, by himself, created or ever can create wealth. Into the locomotive have entered the hopes and fears, the successes and failures, the labors and achievements of many lives now ended. The railroad owner cannot, does not, recompense the grave. Your beautiful vase cost Palissy the potter many a pang, though he never saw it; and for the sake of it his wife and children often went supperless to bed. Can you pay them? The wharfage of New York City, which with reckless lack of prevision we have allowed to become private property, is valuable solely because of the three million people who live on and about Manhattan Island. Every farmer in Illinois helps to enhance the value of the Illinois Central Railroad; every shop-keeper in New York adds to the value of every warehouse.

Thus it is clear that our wealth is in its source and origin a common wealth. Our system of exchange is a rude method of balancing values with one another. Possibly there may be no better one discoverable; possibly no amendment of it may be conceivable; but no thoughtful man will contend that it affords absolute adjustment or represents a divine equity. The wealth of every millionaire comes from the resources of the land of which he has gotten control; or from natural forces, the chief grist of which falls into his meal bags; or from public franchises given by the state and created for the state; or from that general advantage which grows spontaneously out of the presence and power of a generally-diffused civilization and an increasing population. The least part of it is that which his own effort has created. The basis for a democracy of wealth is found in the fact that all wealth springs from the people. The basilar factor in our civilization is that wealth, like political power, is of the people.

And therefore it ought to be for the people. At present it certainly is not. It is not necessary, on the one hand, to contend that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer; it is in vain, on the other hand, to point to the truth that wages are appreciating and interest depreciating. The fundamental fact remains, that while in the United States political power and public education are distributed, wealth is concentrated. The plutocracy which De Tocqueville dreaded is here. Elaborate statistics are unnecessary. Accurate statistics are impossible. A single brief statement may suffice to illustrate a fact patent to any observer of life or reader of the daily press. Mr. Thomas G. Shearman has made a careful collection and comparison of statistics for the purpose of considering the question, Who own the United States? and reaches the conclusion that 40,000 persons own one half the wealth of the United States; that one seventieth of the population own two thirds of its wealth; and that 250,000 families, aggregating possibly 750,000 to 1,000,000 persons, own upward of three quarters of the whole. A friend, an authority in economics, to whom I submit this article in manuscript to insure accuracy in its statistics, thinks Mr. Shearman's estimate of the number of owners too low, but he writes: "It is quite certain that one per cent. of the families of America own as much

as the remaining ninety-nine per cent."'; and he adds that the concentration of wealth is worse in Great Britain. If these estimates are either of them even approximately correct—and the latter one probably minimizes the concentration—it is clear that the second condition of a democracy of wealth does not exist in the United States; the wealth which really springs from the people is not in fact controlled by, or administered for, the people.

Industrial democracy does not demand simply a division of the wealth of the nation among its 60,000,000 of population. Such a division would have to be repeated in every generation, and would end, not in a common wealth, but in a common poverty. It does not demand that all labor shall receive equal wages, and all men possess equal wealth. It demands equity, not equality. It does not adopt as its own the motto of modern socialism: "From every man according to his ability; to every man according to his need." That is the motto of the church, not of the nation. It is the principle of benevolence, not of justice; and not benevolence but justice should be the basis of the state. But industrial democracy does demand, with Laveleye, "To each worker his produce, his entire produce, nothing but his produce." It agrees with him that "the great problem of social organization is to realize this formula of justice." I do not indeed hold with Laveleye that "if this were once applied, pauperism and divitism, misery and idleness, vice and spoliation, pride and servitude would disappear as if by magic" from among us. Social transformations are not wrought by magic, but by patient labor and painfully slow processes of evolution. There would still be lazy folk who would rather live by begging than by industry; still inefficient folk who could live only by servitude to the more efficient. But organized injustice would disappear from our industrial organization; and with injustice would disappear dangerous, because reasonable, discontent, and the division into the two classes of the very rich and the very poor. Society would still exist in grades, but no longer in castes; and Lazarus would no longer worry Dives with his importunity, nor Dives afflict Lazarus with his scorn.

What is the true basis of ownership? We brought nothing into this world; no infidel was ever so skeptical as to deny that

proposition. How then do we get anything? There are three ways. We may create it by our own industry; that is, it may be the product of our labor. It may be given to us by some one who has created it by his industry, either as a free-will offering or in exchange for a product of our own; that is, it may be acquired by gift or purchase. Or we may take possession of it, without leave. In the latter case, if we take it from a private owner, the act is called stealing; if from the public fund, it is called speculation. The wages paid respectively to brain and brawn are perhaps not unfairly balanced; the values of the respective products of industry are perhaps not unfairly matched. But the great fortunes are not made by industry. They are made by men who have had the opportunity and the ability to get possession of the common wealth. They have been acquired by owners of coal and gold and silver mines taking as their own the wealth of the hills; by oil corporations taking as their own the wealth of the subterranean reservoirs; by railroad kings taking as their own the public highways; by landlords taking as their own the wealth of the prairies and the greater wealth of suddenly-upspringing cities. The just reformer will not condemn these makers of great fortunes. He may even commend their sagacity in discerning the opportunity, their forcefulness in seizing it, and their generosity in so using their advantage as to make the public real sharers in their wealth. But he will condemn the system which has to many workers given very much less than the entire produce of their labor, and to many others has given immensely more. Jay Gould commenced life with a mouse trap; after twenty-five years he displays securities worth \$100,000,000. Who will claim that he has created this wealth by his industry? Part of it? Yes; but most of it our industrial system has enabled him to take from the public stores—from wealth of natural resources and of public highways that is the product of no man's labor and therefore of right the private property of no man. Industrial democracy may be quite willing that the ratio of profit between brain worker and brawn worker, between captains of industry and privates of industry, be left to be determined in a free and open market by the law of demand and supply; but it insists, and will insist more and

more strenuously, that the wealth which is not the product of individual labor shall not become individual property; that what is by its nature common wealth shall remain wealth common to all the people.

Industrial democracy involves the further principle that, as the wealth of the nation comes from the people and belongs to the people, so it should be administered by the people. This is the point concerning which most readers will be skeptical, and here the advocates of the existing system will make their stand. The doctrine that wealth is properly a common wealth, is familiar to political economy and is the basis of the doctrine of eminent domain. The doctrine that it is to be used for the people, underlies the familiar doctrine of the New Testament that wealth is a trust, and the equally familiar doctrine of political economy that it must be active to be profitable. But the doctrine that the common people are competent to administer wealth, will be received with the same sort of skepticism with which its predecessors in the evolution of democracy have been received. Democracy, the doctrine that the common people are better able to manage their own affairs than any one is to manage for them, is accepted by Protestantism in religion, by republicanism in politics, and by industrial democracy in industrialism. The Reformation assumes the capacity of men to answer each for himself the profoundest questions of life: Is there a God? Is the soul immortal? Has God spoken to the soul? How? By church, Bible, conscience, or all three? What are the laws of right and wrong? On what do they rest and how are they enforced? And it regards all priests and prophets as advisers, not rulers, servants, not masters, of the people. Republicanism follows Protestantism in the evolution of liberty. If man can settle for himself the problems of the kingdom of God, he can settle those of the kingdom of men. If he can solve the problems of eternity, he can solve those of time. Priestcraft being repudiated, kingcraft follows. Democracy calls no man master and all men brethren; chooses its own leaders, who become, like the priests and prophets of the church, advisers, not rulers, servants, not masters. Industrial democracy carries this evolution one stage further. It is the necessary corollary of religious and political

democracy. If the people are competent to govern an empire, they are competent to govern a cotton mill; if they can select servants to administer a treasury department, they can choose servants to carry on banking; if they can conduct a gigantic civil war to a fortunate conclusion, they can conduct civil industries with successful results; if they can select their own captains for a few years of military service, they can choose their own captains of industry. The real origin of what men miscall our labor troubles is to be traced back to Luther. When men were taught that they had a right to think, the whole world of thought was opened to them; when they were taught that they had a right to govern themselves in the church, self-government, first in the state, and then in industry, followed as the day follows the dawn. In America, our churches, our politics, our school boards, are based on the competence of the people; our industries on their incompetence. Both views cannot be right; one must overturn the other. We cannot permanently have a state based on democratic principles, and an industrial system based on oligarchical principles. We shall become, sooner or later, consistently democratic or consistently oligarchic. The whole labor movement, with its organizations of workingmen, its labor legislation, its strikes and boycotts, its brotherhood of industry, its demand for shorter hours and larger wages, its rude and sometimes barbaric attempts to exercise control over industrial enterprises in which it has no capital invested, its attempts at profit-sharing and co-operation, its proposed nationalization of land and of industries, is all a movement toward industrial democracy; that is, toward such an industrial reconstruction as shall recognize the truth that wealth, like education and political power, is of the people and for the people, and therefore should be administered by the people.

Industrial democracy is not anarchism and does not tend toward it. Anarchism is the doctrine that government is an evil and should be abolished; the doctrine that "government is a necessary evil," pushed to its extreme by striking out the word necessary; an exaggeration of individualism; *laissez-faire* gone to seed. It is, indeed, the antipodes of democracy, for democracy assumes in men a competence for organization, po-

litical, educational, industrial. The one is founded upon a profound distrust of man, the other upon a profound faith in him. Industrial democracy is not nationalism or state socialism. It does not confound the functions of government and of industry; it does not propose to put two incongruous duties upon the same organization. It does not propose that the state shall own all the tools and order all the industries of the community. It does not necessarily even look in that direction. It is certainly not individualism with its pagan motto, "Every one for himself and the devil take the hindmost," and the equally brutal motto (which belongs to the beasts of the forest, but not to man made in God's image and for the realm of mutual service), "The struggle for existence, the survival of the fittest," and, as a consequence, the tragic "unsurvival" of the unfittest. Yet it involves something of each one of these three systems. The industrial democrat would, with the anarchist, reduce government and enlarge liberty; but, unlike the anarchist, he would preserve government as a necessary and beneficent means of preserving liberty. With the socialist he would give to every man a share in the control of the world's industries, and, consequently, in their gains and losses; but, unlike the socialist, he would adjust both control and participation in the profits according to the measure of each man's contribution, not in the ratio of his need and in the inverse ratio of his contribution. With the individualist, he would leave each individual to a free contract in the open market; but, unlike the individualist, he would recognize the truth of the aphorism, "When combination is possible competition is impossible," and he would make unauthorized and undemocratic combinations impossible by promoting combinations of labor and capital upon democratic principles; that is, upon the simple principle of the greatest good to the greatest number.

If I am asked to be more specific, and to indicate what reforms industrial democracy involves, and what are the first steps it will take toward their realization, I reply illustratively, not comprehensively. Industrial democracy means the recognition in private industries of Prof. Jevons's aphorism, that combinations should be perpendicular, not horizontal; that is, that there should be a combination of labor and capital in one organization,

in competition with a similar combination of labor and capital in a rival organization, not a combination of all capital in battle array against a combination of all labor. Thus it means an extension of profit-sharing and co-operation, for both of which the device of joint-stock corporations is preparing the way. It means certainly, not a nationalization of all wealth, but such legislation as will preserve to the people the values which properly belong to the people—the mines and oil wells, the undeveloped-land values, the forests, the great franchises, and the forces of nature given by our present patent laws too absolutely to the patentee, who is rarely the real discoverer or inventor. It means such reform of taxation as shall prevent the imposition of taxes on the many, to create a surplus in the treasury out of which to pay bonuses or to lend money to the few, whether the borrowers be manufacturers, railroads, ship-owners, sugar-growers, or farmers. It means the total abolition of the methods of partnership now in vogue, by which the state furnishes funds to certain enterprises—sometimes ecclesiastical, sometimes educational, sometimes industrial—and leaves the control in private hands, and the profits, when there are any, in private pockets. It means the adoption of the broad principle, “No appropriations by government to any organizations not under public control and for the public benefit.” It means, not the conduct of the industries of the community by the state, but the regulation by the state of all industries on which the life of the state depends; of all natural and necessary monopolies, such as telegraphs, railroads, water-supply, public lighting, and the like; and the absolute ownership and administration by the state of all such industries, in the measure in which cautious experiments may indicate that the public can serve itself cheaper and better than it can hire private corporations to serve it. It seems to me to involve municipal ownership and administration of all street-lighting, and all street-car routes; federal ownership of the telegraph and telephone service; State regulation of all mines and oil wells; and federal regulation, though probably not federal ownership, of all inter-State railway systems.

These seem to me to be first steps in the forward movement. Yet respecting these specific steps I am not dogmatic. My ob-

ject is accomplished if I have succeeded in setting clearly before the reader the process of the evolution of industry—from slavery, or ownership of the laborer by the capitalist, to feudalism, or ownership by the capitalist of the land, with a lien on the laborer; from feudalism to individualism, or free competition, in an open market, of an almost wholly unorganized industry; from individualism to the wages system, or the organization of industry on oligarchic principles under captains of industry, responsible only to God and their own consciences; from the wages system to industrial democracy, or a system of industry founded upon, and effectually applying, the principle that wealth is *of* the people, should be *for* the people, and must eventually be administered and controlled *by* the people.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

THE *DÉCOLLETÉ* IN MODERN LIFE.

ONE of the profoundest bits of philosophy uttered in our time was given us by Ruskin when he said, "All real strength lies in delicacy." The Corliss engine could cut the finest of watch screws. "It always reminds me of God," said Mrs. Hawley at the centennial exhibition. We feel, more often than we perceive, the fact that force and fineness are one. Indeed, we are more apt to be aware of the antagonism than of the harmony between these two things. Superficially, they seem to conflict. The protest of force is noisy and self-assertive. The scorn of fineness is misapprehended, neglected, too often dumb.

If there is any department of life in which civilization is supposed to have achieved something, it is the moral. It is conceded that we do, on the whole, live better lives than people did two or three thousand years ago. It is claimed, and it is probably true, that "we, the people" of to-day, have purer homes and higher ideals than history has had to show for itself before our times. It is claimed, and it is probably true, that the average civilized man or woman is a person of decency of life, and ready conformity to social ethics. It is claimed—but is it true?—that the instinct of delicacy has matured with the world, and goes to the front with other advancing growths and graces in the movement of life.

Civilization, symmetrically developed, must bring progressions of human strength. Disproportionately developed, it may bring retrogressions. Increased delicacy is the ready proof of increased civilization. We may almost say that civilization *is* delicacy. In one important respect this definition perhaps fails us. It is doubtful if the sense of personal modesty has kept pace with the progress of the age. We might ask if this instinct has not been the subject of an atavism. Has it retroverted to a ruder and earlier state of development? I think there are indications of such a fact. If it be a fact, it is one of a

class which brings the swiftest sense of general or particular disgrace. For civilization supremely implies personal modesty. The lack of personal modesty betokens the savage.

It is not easy, but it is quite possible, to treat a coarse subject in a delicate way. It is with a deep sense of both the difficulty and the responsibility of the undertaking that I venture to consider some serious aspects of the question with which this paper deals. Our boundaries forbid anything like an historical view of our subject; nor is it our purpose to handle remote ethical arguments, but to stimulate moral sensibility by a few illustrations and suggestions such as come closely and readily to the point.

A good lady of Puritan training (but, let it be added, of thorough education and generous culture) took a trip abroad in middle life under circumstances which required her to chaperon some young friends to the French opera. She was the object of infinite *badinage* when it was discovered that during the performance of the ballet she always shut her eyes. A prominent literary man, himself used to the world and the ways thereof, urged earnestly upon the author the publication of this paper, saying, "In my humble opinion, the ideal of propriety held by what is called society has absolutely no relation to the moral sense. To take a point; when I see the ease, nay, the eagerness, with which our young girls attend and seem to prefer those plays where the ballet is enough to make any gentleman uncomfortable, I am confused. What does it mean?"

What does it mean, indeed? Is the sense of modesty declining among our women? Or, to put the question more exactly, is it falling behind the onward motion of other fine forms of progress? Is it the laggard in the great race of the higher evolution? The writer is no crusader against the theater, though not a frequenter of it, but has personally often shared the editor's wince at the attitude of the present race of young ladies toward the indelicacies of the stage. There is a *sang froid*, an ease in the presence of atrocious scenes, which is amazing. The dropped eyelid, the mounting blush, the protest of maiden modesty against sights and suggestions from which any pure girl ought to revolt—when do we see these signs of outraged womanly nature? Admitting all that we must or should of the usefulness

of a refined and a cleanly drama, and doing full justice to its best possible and best actual facts, nevertheless it remains undisputed that very good people encourage very bad things in our theater and opera, and that our women give their full share of this encouragement. Our stage exhibits moral monstrosity to the edge of abomination. No one denies this, any more than we deny the intellectual stimulus of Booth's "Hamlet," or the moral usefulness of Mrs. Vincent in the Boston Museum. The power of Irving, the purity of Modjeska, the wit of Gilbert-Sullivan, do not deter the popular playwright from innuendoes which disgrace his play, or prevent the spectacular *danseuse* from indulging the public taste with indecencies which no matron ought to witness; while the fathers of our girls pay two dollars and a half a seat for the privilege of exposing their daughters to sights which ought to be suppressed under the law prohibiting the exhibition of obscene pictures.

There is an indescribable expression of the eye—every fine observer knows it—which distinguishes a modest girl from a matron. Look for it in the eyes of our girls to-day. It is missing so often, it is replaced by another so unwelcome, so worldly-wise, so unpleasantly experienced, that we shrink with a sense of having lost the most precious thing in girlhood. It is not our purpose to prove here that the lax theatrical view of life is largely responsible for this, but only to ask, by the way, how far it may be responsible. Better, like the Puritan lady, to shut the eyes when the ballet comes. Better a simple, serious, unworldly ignorance of the low and vicious coming in the name of the high and cultured. Better, a thousand-fold, the instinct of modesty which *cannot* see a coarse sight, than the cool, indifferent, ungirl-like familiarity with criminal suggestions which is now the fashion among us.

Let it be said that the theater has always existed, has always deserved moral stricture, and has always been frequented by refined women. What then? Suppose it were said that the advance in moral refinement is too great, or ought to be too great, to justify the rudeness of the past, and that our women ought to be the first to feel the uplifting standard, and our young girls the first to illustrate it. If they are not, why are they not?

Probably the influence of the spectacular stage in coarsening the delicate instincts is more than shared by some of the social customs of our homes. Take, for instance, the promiscuous dances favored by what we call society. One need not be a Quaker or a Puritan, a hermit or a devotee, to turn with disgust and distrust from offenses against a refined taste accepted by dancing people as evidences of it. When all is said that may be—and much can be said—of the beauty, of the innocence, of the grace of

“Music and measure
Set to pleasure,”

of the pure delights afforded to irreproachable people by our dancing customs, enough remains in the illustrations offered by the liberties of the ball room to startle any disinterested observer. Any fashion which gives to a *roué* the right to clasp a pure woman in his arms and hold her for the length of an intoxicating piece of music, is below moral defense. I firmly believe that the time will come when our present license in this respect will be regarded as we now regard the practices attending the worship of Aphrodite. It might be said that the nautch dance is modesty beside our waltz. Bluntly, to one who knows the facts behind our gayest social scenes, how far do we seem to have advanced beyond the Congo idea of a social entertainment? The groves of Ishtar were more frank about it. The drawing rooms of polite America veil and evade the eternal, unutterable, identical thing.

Let it be said that dancing has always existed, and has always been the subject of moral rebuke. Undoubtedly. But suppose it be said that moral ideas have reached a height, or ought to have reached it, where the more indelicate forms of what could easily be kept an innocent and exquisite amusement should not be tolerable; and let us ask, why do our refined men and women—especially our refined men, who understand the actual working of these evils better than their partners—tolerate them? Let it be suggested again, how far is the contradiction between our dancing habits and the natural progress of delicacy responsible for other licenses which have crept into the social preserves? There was a time when well-bred society stigmatized those little personal liberties which brush the bloom from the

heart, at least as earnestly as it would discourage the eating of peas with a knife, or the disposition to say "Haow."

It is to be feared that the very excellent parents who compose our "select circles" have no more intelligent idea of the amusements affected by the "set" with whom their sons and daughters disport themselves, than they have of the entertainments of a factory holiday or a firemen's pic-nic.

A lady reared in the traditions of high birth and gentle training of a generation ago, has a certain exquisite innocence herself, like an ideal girl's, which prevents her from appreciating the perils of her children. She who would have thought it a moral lapse to allow a young man, without right, to hold her hand; she whose lips were never touched by man until she gave them to her plighted lover; she who went to her husband as unmarred as an ideal in a dream, does not readily perceive or accept the conditions of a lowered moral standard. Is it not enough to be a lady? Is not my girl the daughter of her mother? Read your girl's eyes, you lovely lady of the Brahman birth and sweet soul. Question her. She may return you the clear, heavenly look of the heart of your own high youth, and Heaven bless her! Far be it from me to mutter and croak, as if a modest maid were an extinct curiosity. But, if she has passed from under your shelter and beyond your standards; if she has been what we call "gay"; if she has tossed a good deal in the foam of young people's frolics; if she has had some mock of a chaperon, or none at all; if she has sat in the parlor alone till midnight with a young man once too often; if, in short, she has drifted on the current of existing social streams—question her; question her.

I repeat, it is an unwelcome task to do the croaking for a cause; but this humble plea for a revival of modesty would have some weight if it could be understood what pressure from what sources compels it. I may be pardoned for saying that it is not of my own will that I have taken up this subject. I have been solemnly urged thereto by women whose experience in the world entitles their views of social matters to every consideration. "The voice said, Cry!" "This is the curse; Write."

As an instance of the extent to which personal demoralization has invaded what we still call our upper circles, I have been

begged to make public the following case, which is typical of too many and of too much. A couple of distinguished foreigners, a gentleman and his wife, visiting a certain town for the first time, were invited to a dinner given in their honor by some member of the fashionable society of the place. When the dinner was over, the wife sought the first opportunity to confer privately with a lady of acknowledged high position in society and of unquestionable refinement. "What does this mean?" cried the stranger with blazing eyes. "What is this society we are invited to in your city? What do the people in this house take us for? Are my husband and I considered to be dissolute characters? We have never been so insulted in our lives!" Upon being pressed for an explanation, the guest indignantly replied: "Do you know the woman who sat next my husband? Her behavior to him was such throughout the meal that he told me he had been asked to take a disreputable woman down to dinner, and was ready to leave the house at any time I said."

One need not be a fanatic in the temperance movement to discern one cause for the decrease of modesty in the increase of drinking habits among a certain class of our ladies—thank Heaven, we may still believe that this class is not a large one. "Certainly," testifies the first young man I happen to ask, himself a person of so-called good morals; "certainly, I have often danced with young ladies who were intoxicated. It is not an uncommon thing to meet them 'too far gone' to converse." If the delicacy of a sober girl cannot protect her from the taint in the social atmosphere, what is to be expected from the modesty of a drunken one?

In the conscientious treatment of a subject like this, it is a question whether one should omit a matter so hard to discuss that only the urgency of the case could induce the pen of this contributor to meddle with it. I refer to the injury wrought upon the delicacy of our women by the fashion of resorting to physicians of the opposite sex in cases when any sensitive woman would seek a woman's care if it could be had for the praying or the paying. Far from this pen be any flippant fling at the honor, the uprightness, the delicacy of honorable and upright and pure-minded physicians who happen to be men.

But, for young women who prefer attendance which is abhorrent to nature, to that which the progress of science has made practicable from woman to woman—for girls who choose the one when they can command the other—there is no condemnation too severe. For mothers who encourage them, what is to be said?

It is probable that the great increase of physical weakness in our times, and the publicity of physiological discussions, have led to a certain blunting of delicacy in speech which our Brahman lady of the earlier day knew not of. There is reason to believe that too many of our young girls to-day adopt among themselves a tone of discussion to which their more refined mothers never descend. In the old times a modest wife hardly conversed with her own husband as young women may be known to do to-day with young men of their acquaintance. In this respect, certain associations for the advancement of moral purity have wrought mischief by relaxing the strict rule of reserve in speech. Anything which does that, whether it come from the moralist or the scientist, the sick room or the ball room, is doing a harm less easy to rectify because it is so difficult to define and so easy to defend.

One cannot pass such a topic as this without flinging one more lance of scorn at the subject of women's dress. A dozen years ago a movement known as the "dress reform" impressed the moral natures of our women to an unprecedented extent. The wave, which began with a few of the wide-eyed people who are called fanatics, passed on up, or down, as you choose to put it, into less unworldly circles. It became "the thing" to have some knowledge of improved methods in dress. Corsets were judged inartistic; the tight French waist was discovered to be unæsthetic. "Where, ten years ago, we had only strong-minded women for our patrons," said the chief of a large furnishing store for "reformed" garments, "we now have orders from fashionable ladies, ten to one." Hygiene and art, pathology and morality, were summoned to the aid of this movement, and responded heartily. Thoughtful women, who believe that the progress of their sex is seriously impeded by the abuses of their dress, have observed with dismay the ebb which seems within a few years to have borne away all those improvements or ele-

ments of improvement in feminine attire which concern the personal modesty of the wearer. It is a fact, gloss it anyhow as we may, that decent women have never dressed so indecently in our country and our century as they do in fashionable life to-day.

Would that some enterprising journal might take the moral census on this subject as a substitute for prize-baby competitions or guesses on Nelly Bly. We should like to throw down the gauntlet to the women of America. "Defend these immoralities! Speak up for yourselves if you can!" I do not believe that two reputable women in the land would dare publicly to defend the styles of undress which now disgrace our sex. The time has more than come for such a protest against this abomination as will smite women to the dust for shame. What is to be said? Enter any fashionable drawing room and look for yourselves. What is said? Think of it, you high-born ladies! But I forget myself; the ladies who go disrobed in public are not apt to be readers of the FORUM. That their fathers and their husbands may be, is, however, quite possible; and it is with some faint hope of reaching daughters and wives through them indirectly that one ventures an appeal like this.

What is the evening dress of a fashionable woman but a burlesque on civilization? It exposes the body with an indifference which nothing seems to abash. The reproofs of the pulpit, the complaints of the press, the denunciations of modest members of our own sex, flit over these bared bosoms like the feathered tips of their own fans. The impression goes no deeper.

In the most decorous city in our country, a lady representing what may deservedly be called one of the "best" families in the State, herself a middle-aged, queenly, home-loving matron, the wife of an affectionate husband, the mother of grown sons and daughters, wears her dress—but my pen shrinks from *writing* what this high-bred lady *does*. This case, which represents scores of others, is of importance because the offender herself is so unconscious of her offense, and so far in other respects above it. There is no life of concealed dishonor, no intrigue, no shoddy birthright, no fast-and-loose views of duty. The woman is otherwise immaculate. How explain this ethical enigma? Are our ladies morally insane, or mentally? Do they not know what

they are doing? And if not, why not? How shall we characterize the too-low corsage, with some nothing for a sleeve; the lower bodice, with no sleeve at all; nudity covered by transparency; and what is known as the V-back? They are below excuse, as they are beyond explanation. What moral mania blunts the sensibilities that ought to fix the standards of a nation? What dementia deters the "ever-womanly" from "leading us on," at least so far that the simplest instinct of feminine modesty—that which covers nakedness—may keep stroke with the moral development of the age? Let it be said that gay women always have dressed improperly. What of it? Is that any reason why they always should?

O women! queens of life! bestir your hearts. Rouse your dulled perceptions of the monstrous things you do and suffer to be done. Call the fact by its right name. Blush for it, and abhor it, for it is abhorrent. So long as you take your fashions from the *demi-monde*, wherein are ye better than these? The Irish cook in your kitchen is your superior, madam, when she goes to *her* ball room on St. Patrick's Day clothed to the throat, as by the customs of her people she is required to be. And the rules of the Roman Catholic Church forbid *her* to waltz.

Between the ballet girl who dances for bread, and the society girl who dresses as she does for a title or a fortune, there is a moral gap, to be sure; but, for one, I would take my chances with the ballet if I had to face the social standards of another life with either record behind me. Does the lady returning from the theater for her late cognac or champagne, think that she can sit with her body half exposed in the uncurtained window of the café before which men and women of the street stand gazing, and count herself the moral superior of that other woman looking in? Tell us, my lady, if you can, when you exhibit yourself for promiscuous surf bathing, before a thousand spectators, in a bathing costume which stops—where it does, how much more modest are you than the circus dancer, or the mermaid in the ten-cent variety show?

Let us have done with playing about the fire, and call a low thing low, and out with it. Face the truth. An immodest dress does not cover a modest woman. If your costume is coarse and

vulgar, you can blame no voice or pen which calls you coarse and vulgar too. If the dress is disgraceful, the wearer is disgraced. The woman who dresses indecently—never mind who, never mind where, never mind why—is indecent. The woman who dresses without shame is shameless.

By their robes ye shall know them. And, pray, why not? As you characterize the *danseuse*, as you stigmatize the poor creature who flaunts herself in the eye of vice, why shall not yourselves be judged by their judgment? Have women of fortune any special immunity from heaven or earth which releases them from the common, human, moral conditions of their sex? To be rich and fashionable—does this give one the privilege of being immodest and respected?

We are a club-burdened age, and of forming many societies there is no end; but let one association more be suggested; and Heaven hasten, as it will surely prosper it! Let a dozen of the most influential women in the city of New York be banded together—that would be enough; as many in Washington, Philadelphia, and Boston. Let these women, having agreed to regulate their own costume with regard to the essentials of decorum, bind themselves never to receive a second time into their parlors a woman who is immodestly dressed. Let them agree that they will accept no invitations coming from indecently-dressed hostesses. Let them reduce their definitions of modesty to a few articles (this is not intended, Heaven forbid! for a mantua-maker's pun); and the thing is done. It is perfectly easy. Any of us can think, at hap-hazard, of a dozen society ladies, any one of whom would gladly do this if the other eleven would. Suggest, for such an association, simply this name—*The Ladies*. Suppose that there were added to the efforts of these ladies, in full harmony with them, the sympathy of a dozen clean-hearted, high-minded, socially-powerful men? We are glad to believe that it would be quite possible to find them. Let these gentlemen firmly take the stand, "We accept no invitations from hostesses who invite us to meet immodestly-dressed guests." What would happen, think you? Society would be revolutionized in three months. From a half-nude set of Bacchantes, we should become decently-draped human beings, and

probably stay so. When we consider how much easier to put in motion this would be than most social reforms, it is a matter of surprise that some such simple project has not been tried.

At the present state of art and literature, we can but cast a glance so brief as to have little value; yet, asking the question plainly, what is the moral advance of the world accomplishing here? we may pretty near the surface find reason to doubt whether the sense of modesty is developing in proportion to the advance of civilization.

Art, as we all know, kneels no longer before her angels, but, as one of her own great spirits has testified, "paints two dropped eggs on toast," and seems content to do so. It cannot probably be said that the manners and morals of artists are growing worse than they used to be, but are they improving? Take the always doubtful question of the use of the nude. Are undraped models going out of date? Do nude women cease to pose for young men? Ask the *atelier* to reveal its secrets. They would not encourage us. Seek the "references" of the moral character of artists in Paris—of American artists in Paris. We might not be proud of them. Raise the question fairly, how far is the present decadence of noble art to be attributed to her losing ground in the moral race? That realism has weighted her flying feet is only too evident. One might add to that hinderance a less fashionable thing, which the common mind would call shiftlessness. Relatively to the proportion of artistic talent which has received the excellent equipment of our times, the result in really great work is pitiably small. Paltry subjects occupy petty brushes *ad nauseam*. Smatter and spatter, under the names of impressions and sketches, mock grand construction and noble toil. The largest efforts are too apt to lack the broad, ample scope which the maturity of art should possess as naturally as the sea or the mountains possess fine horizons. Imagination pure and simple, imagination lofty and sanctified, is dying out of art, like a lamp flickering on an altar. Study the moral facts. History has given us the hint. Behind every great intellectual or æsthetic decline a moral cause will be discovered. How far may the decline, or what many would prefer to call the variation of weakness, in art, characteristic of our times, be attributed to a

deficiency in the sense of delicacy? Let it be said that art has never been ascetic, that morally deficient artists have always co-existed with good pictures. What then? Is this a reason why they always should? Is it even a reason why they always can?

Under the present ethical standards of civilized life, a man does not go from his mistress to his madonna. One nature or the other, the low or the high, revolts at the leap. It is to be believed that in our present moral enlightenment too many studies from the nude possibly disincline the imagination to reach high themes, or disqualify the hand for touching them. Nature ascends, even if man does not keep pace with her. She whispers her secret to the fine ear. The pure eye sees the ineffable. Who will be the master of masters in human art? The old words of a wise book occur to us: "He that hath clean hands and a pure heart" ascends to the holy place. Here is good psychology and good sense.

In alluding to the bearing of this question on letters, the writer of this paper is at a disadvantage. I ought, perhaps, frankly to own that my opinion here may have less usefulness from the fact that, when it comes to immoral literature, I am without education in that department of culture. With bad books I am not familiar. With one or two accidental exceptions, I must confess that I have not even read the masterpieces of salacious literature which any well-educated person is expected to study. I hasten to say that I claim no special merit for this refraining. The only reason why I have not read these books is because I do not like them. What one finds unreadable, one leaves unread, and one may follow a personal instinct, not a literary custom, in laying aside celebrated works whose coarseness would give more pain than their art could give pleasure. Nevertheless, in spite of this deficiency, I venture to suggest that we have not yet proofs that the sense of delicacy is receiving in literature any culture corresponding to the progress of the age.

For the coarseness of a ruder and earlier day, we have substituted a subtler method of sinning against decency, but we go on sinning with a polite persistence worthy of a better cause. Of an American writer whose questionable book ran like wildfire into every reading home in the country, a publisher said: "You

cannot blame her; she was born *décolleté*." Yet this woman has written one of the most exquisite and purest short love stories in the English language, and there is no more doubt of her genius than there is that the color of carmine is red. She adapted herself to the lower demands of her public; and behold her public turns and rends her, and not a woman of us stays to pity her, for is she not a woman? And what foreclosure had high literature upon her sacred gifts?

"All knowledge," says the Talmud, "is but a step to modesty and the fear of Heaven." The public taste for questionable tales, the readiness of literary talent to supply them—for aught the most hopeful of us can see or say, these two facts continue to be correlated in our times even as in a coarser and cruder age. A publisher of experience gave it as his testimony that seventy-five per cent. of the manuscripts submitted to him since the appearance of ——— (a popular and indelicate novel) have been morally so tainted or so coarse that he could not even consider them. "Evidently," he says, "our young writers have the impression that, to 'sell,' an author must be improper."

A few weeks ago, I read through, for the first time in my life, one of those volumes which one does not care, after reading, to leave upon the center table. The name and fame of the author, his well-known high moral standards, and the intense religious character which he is understood to cultivate—these beguiled me, and I did read. Here is the man who has been treated by literary critics as a second Christ, and who, despite certain slips in taste which we all recognize, has certainly moral motives of a very high and noble order. Here is he who has been boldly called the greatest novelist of this or any age or of any tongue. May we not trust Tolstoi, to the extent of one very small story published with what we cannot deny to be the highest moral aim? One would have thought so. But if his last volume be a fair specimen of what we are to expect of the genius, of the morality, of the modesty, of the true art of our times, may Heaven save us, and the author too! Silence upon him. Let him put his hand to his mouth, and his mouth in the dust, and stay there. Tolstoi's chief mistake in the abominable little, true, coarse, well-meant, and ill-executed book, is one of art. He

has overlooked the circumstance that the novel is not a medical treatise. He has converted the pen of the story-writer into the probe of the physician. Tolstoi's psychology is nothing but physiology. His unpardonable fault is one of literary taste. He lacks more than refinement; he lacks simple human decency; and that is the beginning and end of the matter.

If civilization implies a high degree of delicacy, if the lack of delicacy betokens the savage, and if we are falling behind our times in personal modesty, it is well to put the situation in a few of those blunt words which appeal to human pride. Many a man or woman is kept virtuous from vanity. Our sense of superior delicacy is, after all, a tremendous moral support. Many of us would rather be called criminal than coarse. To be known as unrefined is the pit of social degradation. Convince the half-nude waltzing woman that she is not a lady but a savage, and she will clothe herself and invent a new dance. Convince the writer of indelicate literature that he is not an artist but a savage, and he will burn his manuscripts and discover a new literary fashion. Let us draw the lines clearly, and having done that, abide by them. Society always respects her own restrictions, no matter how she may treat those of a higher and truer life. Make it fashionable to be decent, and the day is won.

The power of genuine refinement is immeasurable. It is said that there is but one thing a rough sailor respects besides a fine ship, and that is a delicate lady. If we have come to the pass where our instinctive delicacy is really endangered; where art, literature, recreation, the home and all that is therein, are suffering from a slow subsidence of the principle of modesty; what is to be done about it? The answer is a brief and ready one. Let us cultivate the fine more assiduously than we attack the coarse. The greatest preacher in America does not discuss the doctrine of eternal viciousness; he urges the beauty of holiness for all time, both present and to come. "For the great point," said Goethe, "is not to pull down but to build up; and in this humanity finds pure joy." Seek the high rather than exhibit the low. Uplift the ideal; believe in the ideal; *be* the ideal. The disgraceful real will take care of itself. Personal delicacy is like the sword of the St. Michael in Guido's picture. It

awes; it does not need to pierce the dragon. Such a plea as this paper makes should be seldom needed, and should be offered only when it is inevitable.

Yet the most refined man who ever lived, made, on occasion, the most tremendous denunciation of an evil thing. The hypocrite and the money-changer got no spiritual coddling from him. But we observe that he never wasted the awful and beautiful power of moral indignation. It was divinely economized; it was elemental; it went to its end as straight as the torrent to the lowland; it overwhelmed, like the destruction of a planet. One cannot help wondering how the supreme tact of this spiritual teacher would handle the present moral situation of the civilized world.

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES.

FEW men have been more conversant with young life than I have been for more than half a century, and my observation concurs with my own consciousness in convincing me that the shaping and directing forces and influences which determine character and destiny, so far as they are not pre-natal, belong to childhood and early youth, and that the cases in which the man may not be predicted from the boy are rare and exceptional. What I am going to say of myself will, therefore, relate in large part to the portion of my life known to very few living witnesses. As I look back on the surroundings and discipline of my boyhood, I see no cause for regret. Yet, as I shall show, I very nearly incurred shipwreck within sight of my port of embarkation, because of the then prevailing ignorance of sanitary laws.

My profession as a clergyman was determined for me from my birth. My father, the only son of a prosperous farmer, was fitted for college, with the purpose of pursuing the regular curriculum and then studying for the ministry. But a failure of health so entire that he was never afterward a strong man, arrested his plans, and he became a teacher. I was his only son, and he destined me for the profession which it was his lifelong grief that he had been compelled to abandon. He died before I was three years old, and on his death bed he charged my mother to fulfill his wish concerning me, should I be fit for such a calling. I was present in my mother's arms when the charge was given, and have a distinct remembrance of the scene; and though I can have understood nothing of it, I recollect no uttered words earlier than my mother's rehearsal of what was then said.

No man can have had a better mother than I had, and I could fill many pages with my reminiscences of her wise counsel no less than of her assiduous care for my moral well-being and religious nurture. Yet it is an open question with me, whether what I heard about my father, not only from her, but from every

one who knew him, may not have been as efficient for my good as what came to me more directly from her. In my childhood, and until I reached an age when such things could no longer be said to me, nothing was so familiar to my ear as the wish for me, often expressed with all the solemnity of a prayer, that I might grow up to be as good a man as my father.

I had, beside, a maternal uncle, a man of unsurpassed excellence, who carried into the busy world a saintly integrity and purity; and I enjoyed his hardly less than paternal guardianship till in his old age I could reciprocate it by offices of filial reverence and love. It was also my great happiness to be under the pastorate of the younger Rev. Dr. Abiel Abbot, than whom no man can ever have been more tenderly or worthily loved, and who took special charge of the lambs of his flock; and I was brought into the closer relation with him, as his son was my coeval, schoolmate, and playmate. Dr. Abbot and his family represented the most advanced culture of that period, and it is impossible for me to overestimate his and their educational service in forming my tastes, enlarging my intellectual horizon, and inspiring my worthy ambition.

I was also very early taken in hand by a lady in my neighborhood, whom I believe to have been the most highly educated woman of her time. I used to visit her on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, when there was no school. She lent me books for the reading of which I am at this day the richer. She taught me botany, so that I was able to master and fully to utilize the Linnæan system. She gave me the only lessons in French that I ever had, and when I entered college I had through her tuition enabled myself to read the French language as easily as the English. She was a good German scholar, and from her I obtained glimpses of German literature, which induced me to become one of the eight volunteers who formed the first class in Harvard College that ever studied German. I had from her anticipative views of many portions of the heritage of scholarship which gradually came into my possession in later years; and while my chief indebtedness to her was incurred in my childhood, I regarded myself as still her pupil and beneficiary till her death, midway in my life.

I was also fortunate in my schools. My first school, which I attended in my fourth year, left with me hardly a remembrance, yet formed for me a capacity which has at times been of great service to me. My teacher was probably absent-minded or careless, and let me stand in front of her as I learned to read, she holding the one book as suited her convenience. The consequence was that I learned my letters and practiced my first reading lessons with the book upside down as regarded myself; and to this day I can read as easily in one way as in the other. Indeed, at one time, when I was a teacher, I had a recitation seat in front of my own very narrow table, and I used to hear a boy construe a lesson in Virgil or Homer, looking over the top of his book as he sat before me.

In my sixth year I was under the tuition of a lady of whom one of her pupils, who rose to distinguished eminence as a scholar and a statesman, used to say, that she was the only teacher from whom he ever learned anything. In her subsequent married life she was recognized as possessed of the leading mind in one of our college towns; and I can say nothing better of a son of hers, who has no superior in the teaching corps of the university in which he is now a professor, than that he shows himself his mother's son.

I went next to a public grammar school, so called—such a school as does not exist now under the “graded” system. In this school, while no pupil was exempted from the normal and very thorough drill in reading, spelling, and English grammar, the boys were permitted and encouraged to pursue any extra studies for which they could find or make time. Here I learned as much of geometry and trigonometry as is contained in Bowditch's “Navigator”; and having a case of mathematical instruments, I performed and verified all the problems which it contains in trigonometry and its practical applications, both by geometrical projection and by logarithms. At this school I also learned some Latin, and committed to memory the paradigms in the Greek grammar.

When I was eleven years of age, it was proposed to send me from home to some academy where I could be fitted for college; and this would have been done but for the intervention of Dr.

Abbot, who one day told my mother that he was going to receive a student in theology, and proposed that she should take him into her family, and let him pay for his board by teaching me. The student was Bernard Whitman, afterward an able, efficient, and well-known minister in Waltham, Massachusetts. He had marvelous ability as a teacher, and no fault except crass ignorance of the proper limits of intellectual labor for a child. I might have been indebted to him for premature death or lifelong idiocy; I do owe to him no small proportion of whatever success I have had in life. He stimulated my ambition, gave me all the help that I needed, and wisely left me to self-help in all difficulties which I could master without his aid. I came under his care in the Autumn of 1822, when my class had just entered college. He proposed that I should prepare myself for the entrance examination at the following commencement. I did all the required work honestly and thoroughly. I doubt whether there was any part of it in which I should have failed to acquit myself creditably. I entered not only without conditions, but with the certainty that I could not have done better. Mr. Whitman then undertook to carry me through two years of college work in one year. In midwinter I passed an examination in the studies of the Freshman class, and at the succeeding commencement in those of the Sophomore year.

During my two years with Mr. Whitman, my amount of work, though fact, seems fable in my memory. I did nothing but study. I took no vacation, hardly a holiday, seldom an hour of play or recreation. I sat up till nearly midnight, and returned to my books before breakfast. My working hours could never have been less than twelve, and must often have been fifteen, or even more. I dreamed only of what filled my thoughts by day, revolved and, unless my memory deceives me, solved algebraic equations in my sleep, and awoke with some fresh rendering of a verse of Virgil or a sentence of Sallust just mounting to my lips.

These two years of abnormally close application had two results; the first transient, and not harmful; the second permanent, and of greater worth than I know how to measure. The immediate consequence of my unremitted study was slackened

diligence during my two years of college life. I was not negligent. I never went to a recitation unprepared. I took copious notes of lectures. I held a good rank in my class. But had not the impulse which sent me to college lost its force, I know that I could have achieved high distinction as a scholar, and held a foremost place in the honors of graduation. But those two years, though by no means idle or fruitless, were, I think, the least industrious years of my life. The permanent result was a capacity for what may be termed overwork, without reluctance, excessive weariness, or reaction into indolence. For a large part of my life I have done much more than one man's work, and that not by slighting any portion of it, but by a daily amount of labor exceeding the ten hours' limit, which the labor organizations so indignantly spurn.

In college and in the divinity school I recall the memory of teachers who had, and merited, my profoundest reverence and affection. To have known such men as the Wares, Kirkland, Farrar, Norton, Palfrey, Follen, has been a lifelong inspiration and joy. But the teacher who did the most for me, and without whose good offices I doubt whether the readers of the *FORUM* would ever have seen my name, was Professor E. T. Channing. He taught me how to write, and if I am now writing good English, it is as his pupil. A theme was required every fortnight, and the classes were so small that the Professor could do faithful work for and with each individual member. He had a system of signs—and we the key to it—by which he designated each specific fault of diction or style. With the theme in hand, he went over it thoroughly with the writer, interspersing his comments upon it with maxims and principles of a more general character. He had a piquant vein of ridicule and sarcasm, and never spared affectation, bombast, or vulgarity; while those who were evidently doing their best received from him such praise as they deserved and such encouragement as they needed. He made us very sensitive about mixed metaphors. Had Archdeacon Farrar been his pupil, he never would have written, "I have taken the best pains open to me." When I read that sentence in the Archdeacon's invaluable "Lives of the Fathers," Mr. Channing's image rose at once before me; I

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could see the curl of his lip and hear his scornful laugh. He used to weed out superfluous epithets, and needless verbiage of every kind. He called our attention to euphony, and to the need of so closing a sentence as not to weaken it. He taught us to keep a definite end constantly in view, to approximate to that end more and more nearly with every sentence, to make no digressions except to gather up subsidiary thoughts, and to insert in an essay nothing, however bright, or smart, or novel, unless it had direct bearing on the subject in hand. Thus, if we had gems, however precious, we were to keep them out of sight till we had an appropriate setting for them. In fact, though we studied logic under another teacher, the rhetoric that we learned of him had its logical vertebræ; and its graces covered, not a formless mass, but a perfectly-formed skeleton. Those graces, too, were never tawdry or glaring. He had no tolerance for florid ornament, or for any rhetorical art that is not tributary to the presentation or enforcement of thought, sentiment, or reasoning. Many who enjoyed this faithful teaching fell short of success as writers, but I doubt whether any one of them ever committed any of the faults against which he contended equally by precept and by ridicule. When I was an editor, I used to say that, had the articles for my review been sent to me anonymously, I could single out from the whole number those written by Professor Channing's pupils.

While I knew how to write when I left college, and while I have never made the cultivation of style a conscious aim, I was greatly aided in the formation of my habits as a writer by the translation, in verse and rhyme, of a large number of the "Odes" of Horace and of such German poems as pleased my fancy. Of these translations I never printed any, and I am sure that none of them were worth printing. I am not and never was a poet, and since my early youth I have never attempted to write verse, with the sole exception that in my translations of Cicero's ethical works the versions of his poetical quotations, all in blank verse, are my own. But the search for English words corresponding to the Latin or German, the further quest of words that could be forced into the required rhythm, and the often desperate endeavor to reconcile rhyme and reason, gave me a

command of the resources of my own tongue which its use in mere prose composition could never have afforded.

My attempts at verse-writing, gainful as I believe them to have been, were not of long continuance; but I have never ceased to read Latin, and the best Latin. I have been more familiar with Cicero than with any other author, ancient or modern; and I believe that there is no other author who can do so much as he can toward the unconscious formation of a good English style. He blends the precision and condensed meaning that inhere in Latin words and phrases with a copiousness of diction peculiarly his own. One may acquire from familiarity with him the habit of compression without obscurity of thought, and an easy flow of the pen without wasteful overflow.

The greatest risk of my life I incurred by attempting to avoid it, on my entrance upon the active duties of my profession. I was twenty-two years of age, was a tutor in college, and had preached in vacant pulpits for the greater part of a year, when I received three invitations to become a parish minister. Two of them were to the sole charge of a parish, and both were under circumstances that seemed propitious if I were fully qualified for my work. But I regarded myself, and my uncle—in whose counsel I was wont to place implicit confidence—regarded me, as too young and inexperienced for either of those places. I accordingly accepted an invitation to an assistant pastorate in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The senior pastor was an invalid; but it was expected that he would perform a large part of the parochial duty, that he might sometimes preach, and might perhaps, as he was still in the prime of life, be sufficiently restored to resume full duty. The situation seemed all that I could desire. Before studying my profession I had kept school in Portsmouth for a year, had attended that same church, and had taught a class in its Sunday school. The minister was unsurpassed in professional ability and reputation, and was the very man for me to take pattern from in life and character as well as in work. He was to have been present at the service of my ordination; but in the preceding night his illness suddenly assumed an alarming aspect, and on the third Sunday of my pastorate my sermon was his eulogy. I felt entirely incompetent to follow

such a man; and as I look back upon the time, I am sure that I was incompetent. I did my best indeed; but my predecessor had so endeared himself to his people, and to the whole community, as to make it utterly impossible that a new man, still less a novice in the profession, should begin to fill his place. But he had left a working church, and there were members of it who were determined that their young minister should not fail if they could sustain him. In the retrospect I can clearly see how they supplied my deficiencies, filled out my shortcomings, suggested what it was fitting for me to do or not to do, always keeping their minister in the foreground, hiding the hands that held him up, and making no parade of the counsel which he was only too happy to follow. I remained pastor of that church for twenty-seven years; and though there are now living hardly any of those with whom I commenced my ministry, I feel that their children and grandchildren are closely related to me, and in the absence of their pastor they often look to me for services which I deem it my privilege to render. But if I have had any success in my chosen profession, I still believe that I owe it in great part to those good men and women who did not despise my youth, and were content to let me grow into the fitnesses the lack of which they must have known better than I did. With this conviction, I am disposed so far to generalize, not my experience, but the inferences from it, as to say that the cases are undoubtedly very numerous in which the question whether a young man shall succeed or fail in a position or office, sacred or secular, which depends on the favoring suffrages of those for whom he is to labor, is fully as often a question for them as for him. There must be many cases in which his best cannot be good enough, unless it be accepted as an earnest of the better that he will be able to do if those concerned will give him time.

I have but one more source of beneficent influence to record, and that belongs, not to an early period, but to a time when my professional pen work, without having lost anything of its interest to myself, must have parted with much of its freshness to those who listened to me, and there was danger of my sinking into the ruts of commonplace, from which he who gets his wheels imbedded in them seldom extricates himself. I was induced, as

my friends thought unwisely, to undertake the editorship of the "North American Review," then a quarterly with nearly three hundred pages in each number. For ten or eleven years I conducted this work, at first while still a parish minister, then for three or four years after I became a professor in Cambridge. It filled every nook and crevice of my time. But it renewed my youth. I wrote one or more articles for every number, and prepared the greater part of the book notices. I thus had a large variety of subjects and of new books forced upon my attention; and the current of fresh thought and literature constantly pouring over my mind, bore no faint analogy to the mountain brook that keeps the mill wheel in motion. My avocation helped me in my vocation. I did more and better work in my proper calling for the large amount of work that I did out of it. Nor do I suppose that my experience in this matter is, and it certainly ought not to be, peculiar. As no man is fit to be a specialist who has not a broad culture independent of his specialty, so no man can perform the best intellectual labor in his own department who does not extend his labors beyond it, making forays into new countries, whence he will almost always return laden with spoils which he can utilize in his own proper sphere of service.

Among the renovating forces of my later years I must name three seasons of European travel and sojourn, each of them when I was in special need of rest and relaxation. I returned each time with the feeling that I had thrown off a full half-score of the years reckoned as mine. I was between fifty and sixty years of age when I first went abroad, and I have been glad that I first saw Europe so late in life. What a man gets by foreign travel depends on what he carries with him. He finds answers only to the questions which he is prepared to ask, and the longer he lives the more numerous are the interrogations which he has in his mind to put to and concerning the places and objects that he visits. Then, too, the power of enjoyment as to whatever is grand or beautiful grows, or ought to grow, with one's years, and a lake or mountain, a palace or cathedral, a picture or a statue, is more, means more, and tells more to a man of fifty than to a man of twenty-five.

A. P. PEABODY.

THE DISCONTENT IN NEWFOUNDLAND.

To the majority of the readers of this article, its subject, I have no doubt, is a veritable New-found-land, as this island was quaintly termed by bluff old Captain Whitbourne in the early part of the seventeenth century. He was one of that race of naval heroes to whom England owes so much in the extension of her colonial empire, and to whose indomitable pluck and invincible determination not to be beaten we have an enduring monument in that Greater Britain which has risen on this side of the Atlantic. In the troublous times when the Spanish Armada set sail to annihilate the power of England, he was one of that gallant band of Devon captains that dashed out of Torbay and spread havoc among the invaders. For forty years he traded to Newfoundland, and in his declining days wrote his admirable "Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland," the text of which reads strangely to those not acquainted with the capabilities of the island. After describing some of the natural resources of the place, he enthusiastically asks:

"What can the world yield to the sustentation of man which is not to be gotten here? Desire you wholesome air, the very food of life? It is there. Shall any land pour out abundant heaps of nourishments and necessities before you? There you have them. What seas so abounding with fish? What shores so replenished with fresh and sweet waters? How much is Spain, France, Portugal, Italy, and other places beholding to this noble part of the world for fish and other commodities. Let the Dutch report what sweetness they have sucked from thence by trade. The voices of them are as trumpets loud enough to make England fall more in love with such a sisterland."

Whitbourne's account of the resources of the island has been substantially confirmed by subsequent experience; we have fertile lands, noble timber forests, and inestimable mineral resources.

Notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, Newfoundland is still to many merely

"a place far abroad,
Whaur sailors gang to fish for cod."

To others the mention of Newfoundland immediately conjures up visions of fog in Summer and snow and ice in Winter, and calls forth a silent expression of gratitude that their lot is cast in more favored latitudes. Any person who has never resided in Newfoundland, and whose knowledge of it has been obtained during a passage across its world-famed "banks," or by reading the exciting experiences of its seal-fishery, may be excused for holding such erroneous opinions; and it is a matter for regret that many of those who have undertaken to disseminate information concerning Newfoundland have had no nearer acquaintance with it. If their acquaintance had been more intimate, they would have found a remarkably temperate climate, magnificent natural scenery, a hardy, open-hearted, and hospitable people, and natural resources which, when properly developed, will make Newfoundland one of the most prosperous of Britain's colonies.

While Newfoundland can lay claim to being the "most ancient and loyal dependency of the British Crown," she also enjoys the unenviable distinction of being one of the least known of all the British possessions. Nearly four centuries have passed since, on St. John's day, in the year 1497, Sebastian Cabot made the land near Bonavista; yet it is doubtful whether, at the present day, one could find a settler residing ten miles from the seashore. There are several causes for this lack of development, and one of the most important of them has been the fishing privileges granted to the French in the early part of the eighteenth century. These rights, and the manner in which the French have asserted them, have been a constant source of irritation and material loss to the people of Newfoundland, and have virtually excluded them from the enjoyment of some of the best portions of the island. Recently a crisis was reached, on the assertion of a claim on the part of the French to the exclusive right to take and preserve lobsters on that part of the coast on which they have fishery privileges, and the making of a *modus vivendi* between the British and French governments for the carrying on of the lobster business during the present season.

In order to understand the difficulties under which the people of Newfoundland labor in consequence of French rights and

claims, it will be necessary to dip a little into the records of the past. Newfoundland, as appears before, became a British colony by right of discovery in 1497, and was formally taken possession of by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in the name of Queen Elizabeth, on the 5th of August, 1583. Prior to this the English had begun to prosecute the fishery from Bristol, Biddeford, and other ports on the west coast of England, and in 1578 had about 50 ships engaged at Newfoundland. At that time the French, Spaniards, and Portuguese, between them, had about 200 ships engaged in this fishery.

In 1626 the French established a colony at Placentia, and this act led to constant disputes between them and the English settlers. This concession was made as a matter of favor, and subject to the payment of a royalty of five per cent. of the value of all fish caught. This royalty continued until the year 1675, when it was relinquished by Charles II. In 1630 there were about 350 English families settled in Newfoundland, and the fisheries were rapidly progressing. In 1696 all the English settlements on the island, with the exception of Carbonear and Bonavista, were destroyed by a French fleet, and fighting continued until it was terminated by the Treaty of Ryswick, in the following year. In 1702 war again broke out; and the importance which both nations attached to Newfoundland and its fisheries may be gathered from the fact that, until the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, the island presented a constant scene of warfare and depredation, during the whole course of which, however, the French never obtained the complete supremacy. In 1708 a French fleet destroyed St. John's, the capital, and all the other British settlements with the exception of Carbonear, which again successfully defended itself.

The celebrated Treaty of Utrecht was concluded on the 4th of April, 1713—a date which will always be regarded by the people of Newfoundland as *dies nefastus* day in their history. This treaty provides as follows:

“The island called Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, shall from this time forward belong of right wholly to Great Britain; and to that end, the town and fortress of Placentia, and whatever other places in the said island are in the possession of the French, shall be yielded and given up;

nor shall the Most Christian King, his heirs and successors, or any of their subjects, at any time hereafter lay claim to any right to the said island and islands, or to any part of it or them; moreover, it shall not be lawful for the subjects of France to fortify any place in the said island of Newfoundland, or to erect any buildings there, besides stages made of boards, and huts necessary and usual for drying of fish, or to resort to the said island beyond the time necessary for fishing and drying of fish. But [here comes the bone of contention] it shall be allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish, and to dry them on land, in that part only, and in no other besides that, of the said island of Newfoundland, which stretches from the place called Cape Bonavista to the northern point of the said island, and from thence, running down by the western side, reaches as far as the place called Point Riche."

Around the construction and interpretation of these harmless-looking provisions, apparently so easily intelligible, a war of diplomacy has raged for the past half-century, equal in intensity to the struggles which resulted in the making of the treaty. Each nation persisted in putting its own construction on the treaty, and Newfoundland has been the buffer between the contending parties, with the usual result of being subject to all the disadvantages of such a position. In this diplomatic contest the French have had the advantage, and they have never neglected an opportunity to strengthen their position. On the other hand, England, until recent years, has not appeared to recognize the necessity which existed for a proper solution of the question, and has seemed inclined to undervalue its importance in connection with the future of the island.

Notwithstanding the constant wars which harassed Newfoundland during these years, the number of settlers had increased. Owing to the war with France, England was not in a position to enforce the rigorous laws which had been enacted to discourage settlement, and which I have no hesitation in pronouncing unique in the history of British colonization. The fisheries, on the part of the English, were carried on by wealthy merchants and ship-owners residing in the west of England, who sent out their ships and crews in the Spring; and at the end of the voyage these returned to England, taking with them the products of the season's work. The merchants considered it to their interest to discourage the settlement of the island, and to retain it merely as a place for the curing of fish. Between the two classes a strong antag-

onism sprang up, the evil effects of which are apparent to the present day. The merchants, having large influence with the home government, were able to secure the passage of harsh and unjust laws to prohibit settlement and colonization. With the idea that the Newfoundland fisheries should be fostered as a nursery for seamen for the British navy, the home government, at the instance of the merchants, enacted laws forbidding settlement, and requiring that all fishermen, at the close of the voyage, should return to England. Masters of vessels, before they left England in the Spring, were obliged to give bonds of £100 to carry back all persons that they might bring to Newfoundland. The climate and natural resources of the colony were misrepresented, and the island was stigmatized as a barren rock, fit only for occupation as a fishing station during the Summer months. Settlement was prohibited beyond six miles from the shore, and no person could legally inclose or till a piece of land or repair a house without a license, which was rarely granted. So late as 1797, Governor Waldegrave brought the sheriff to task for having, during his absence, permitted a poor widow to fence in a piece of land. After enjoining the sheriff to take good care that some other persons named by him were not allowed to erect chimneys in their sheds, or even to light fires in them, the governor wound up his letter by telling the sheriff that he would be immediately removed from office if he did not see that the laws were more rigidly enforced. A former governor gave notice to all whom it might concern that no women were to be landed without security being given for their good behavior. In the face of such treatment, can it be wondered at that Newfoundland has not kept abreast of the other colonies in the march of progress? While the neighboring province of Nova Scotia, the "spoiled darling of the treasury," as she was called by an eminent statesman, was receiving hundreds of thousands of pounds to encourage settlement, Newfoundland was being treated in the manner above described. It speaks volumes for the perseverance of the early settlers that, in spite of such discouragements, they continued to increase in numbers and influence, until finally some measure of justice was accorded to them.

During the half-century of peace which followed the Treaty

of Utrecht, the number of English settlers and the catch of fish increased rapidly. The French at this time employed upward of 400 ships in the Newfoundland fisheries. In 1756 war again broke out with the French; but with the exception of the capture of St. John's by the French, in 1761, and its recapture by Colonel Amherst with a small force of Highlanders, in 1762, nothing occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the colony. In 1763 the Treaty of Paris was concluded, which confirmed to the French the right to catch and dry fish on a part of the coast of Newfoundland specified in the Treaty of Utrecht, and ceded to them in full right the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

An incident which occurred shortly after the Treaty of Paris will illustrate the ignorance of the home government of even the geographical position of Newfoundland, and the anxiety of the French to extend their fishery privileges. The French started a doubt as to their limits, and contended through their ambassador, in a special memorial, that Point Riche, mentioned in the Treaty of Utrecht, was the same as Cape Ray, and that their limits on the western side of the island should be extended as far south as Cape Ray. To strengthen this claim, they produced a map drawn by a German named Herman Moll; but upon the matter being referred to the English Board of Trade, this claim on their part to upward of one hundred and fifty miles additional of the coast line was shown to be utterly baseless.

War commenced again in 1778, when the French took sides with the Americans in their struggle for independence; and in the same year Rear-Admiral Montague, governor of Newfoundland, captured St. Pierre and Miquelon, and sent the inhabitants, numbering about 2,000, to France. In 1783 peace was again concluded by the Treaty of Versailles, which altered the boundaries of the French right of fishery, and placed them where they remain at present. Article 5 of this treaty reads thus:

“The Most Christian King, in order to prevent the quarrels which have hitherto arisen between the two nations of England and France, consents to renounce the right of fishing which belongs to him in virtue of the Treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John, situated on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, in fifty degrees north latitude; and his Majesty the King of Great Britain consents, on his part, that the fishery assigned to the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, beginning at the said Cape St. John,

passing to the north, and descending by the western coast of the island of Newfoundland, shall extend to the place called Cape Raye, situated in forty-seven degrees fifty minutes latitude. The French fishermen will enjoy the fishery which is assigned to them by the present article, as they had the right to enjoy that which was assigned to them by the Treaty of Utrecht."

The alteration of the boundaries of the French rights under this treaty would not have occasioned greater difficulties to the people of Newfoundland than they had previously labored under from the Treaty of Utrecht, had it not been for a declaration which the King of England was so unfortunate as to make in connection with this last-named treaty, and which has been the cause of more diplomatic *finesse* and hair-splitting than any other document in connection with the dispute. If his majesty had only been satisfied to "let well enough alone," what a vast amount of trouble he would have saved the foreign secretaries of all his successors! The march of events would have worked a cure of the evil by the gradual crowding out of the French fishermen by the Newfoundlanders, in enjoying concurrent rights of fishery. Instead of the French having practically the exclusive fishery on that part of the coast, the Newfoundland fishermen would now be in full possession. The declaration says:

"In order that the fishermen of the two nations may not give cause for daily quarrels, his Britannic Majesty will take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting in any manner, by their competition, the fishery of the French, during the temporary exercise of it which is granted to them upon the coasts of the island of Newfoundland; and he will for this purpose cause the fixed settlements which shall be formed there to be removed."

There were subsequent treaties made at Paris in 1814 and 1815, but the foregoing extracts contain all that is material for a correct appreciation of the questions at issue. From the outset there have been differences of opinion as to the interpretation of these treaties. The French maintain that they are entitled to enjoy the exclusive right of fishery on the portion of the coast referred to in the Treaty of Versailles—that is, between Cape St. John and Cape Ray, passing round by the north—and they contend that all British fixed settlements of whatever nature on that part of the coast are contrary to treaty. The British, on the other hand, have always maintained that British subjects have

the right to fish concurrently with the French, so long as they do not interrupt the latter; that the undertaking in the declaration of 1783 to cause the removal of fixed settlements referred only to fixed fishing settlements; and that fixed settlements of any other kind are not contrary to treaty. Conflicting claims have also been made to the river fisheries for salmon, etc., the French claiming the right to fish the rivers, and the British government denying such right.

The British government, although maintaining in the conduct of all its negotiations with the French the right of the subjects of both nations to fish concurrently, has pursued a policy toward the people of Newfoundland which has had the practical result of allowing the French the exclusive use of the coast in question for fishery purposes. Instead of insisting upon their interpretation of the treaties, British statesmen, for the sake of peace, have been content to pursue a *laissez-faire* policy, and have used every effort to keep British subjects away from the places where the French resorted to fish. British men-of-war are on the coast during the season, nominally for the purpose of protecting British rights, but really to see that the French are not annoyed. The protection service has become a byword and a reproach, and one can easily understand how distasteful it is to British officers to be detailed to do police duty for the French.

While the French have an undoubted right to catch codfish and to dry them on a part of the coast, it is equally clear that they have no right whatever to pursue the lobster-canning industry and to erect factories for that purpose. A reference to the Treaty of Utrecht, where it says that it shall not be lawful for French subjects to erect buildings, "except those necessary and usual for the drying of fish," will clearly establish this position. Besides this, the treaties refer to "the fishery," to "the method of carrying on the fishery which has at all times been acknowledged," and to "the replacing of the fishery upon the footing upon which it stood in 1792." In those times the only acknowledged fishery was the cod-fishery. Even at the present day, "fish" in Newfoundland means cod-fish, and when you use the expressions "fish" and "the fishery," they are universally understood to apply to cod-fish and the cod-fishery. At the time when

the treaties were made there was no such industry as lobster-canning, and lobster factories in Newfoundland have been erected only during the past few years. Nevertheless, the French in the year 1887 erected a large lobster factory in White Bay, on the north-east coast, and commenced operations. In 1888 two British subjects endeavored to erect a factory in the same vicinity, but were prevented, first by the commander of a French war ship, and subsequently by the captain of the English man-of-war then on the station for the purpose of protecting the fisheries. Upon this a claim was made upon the imperial government for indemnification for the loss sustained by these men from what to us in Newfoundland appeared to be the unjustifiable action of the British captain. In forwarding this claim, Governor Blake says in his despatch:

“Having ejected the British subjects from the place, the French company have proceeded to erect an establishment of a permanent character, over 300 feet in length, in which it appears that they intend to carry on a lobster factory and general trading establishment, with accommodation for a large number of men. This savors more of regular annexation of that portion of the coast than the temporary occupation of a portion of the shore for fishing purposes.”

In the following session the matter was taken up by the Newfoundland Legislature, and an address was forwarded to the Queen, setting out fully the case of the colony, and asking that all French lobster factories should be removed, and that British subjects should be protected in the prosecution of their lawful industries. This was the state of affairs when intelligence reached Newfoundland that the British and French governments had agreed to a *modus vivendi* for the carrying on of the lobster business during the present season. The news came like a flash of lightning out of a clear sky, and was received with unusual indignation, and a feeling that Newfoundland had not been fairly treated by the home government. The *modus vivendi* permitted all lobster factories, French and English, which had been established before July 1, 1889, to remain in operation during the present season, but prevented any factories which had been erected since that date from being operated except with the joint consent of the captains of the English and French ships of war.

As a large number of English factories had been erected, and a large amount of capital invested, since last season, and no French factories had been erected during the same time, the feelings of exasperation with which the Newfoundlanders received the news of the agreement upon the *modus vivendi* can be well understood.

Another material element in creating widespread indignation against the *modus vivendi*, was the fact that it was entered into without the knowledge or consent of the Newfoundland Legislature. This the people very properly considered a breach of their constitutional privileges as a self-governing colony, and a direct contravention of assurances that had been given to them by the home government on a similar occasion many years before. In 1857 an agreement was attempted to be entered into between the English and French governments for a settlement of their fishery disputes, which, if accepted, would have made invaluable concessions to the French. This agreement, when submitted to the Newfoundland Legislature, was indignantly spurned, and delegations were sent to the neighboring provinces to obtain their assistance in sustaining the constitutional principle that, as Newfoundland was a self-governed colony, her coast fisheries were the undoubted property of her people, and could not be alienated or given away without her consent. These efforts were eminently successful. The delegates received a welcome wherever they went, and the home government, finding the unanimous determination of the people of Newfoundland to be adverse to the arrangement, abandoned it. In announcing this, the home government sent a despatch which has ever since been regarded by the colonists as their sheet anchor in all matters relating to the modification of their fishery rights. This despatch is dated March 26, 1857, and says:

“The rights at present enjoyed by the community of Newfoundland are not to be ceded or exchanged without their consent. . . . The constitutional mode of submitting measures for that consent is by laying them before the colonial Legislature. . . . The consent of the community of Newfoundland is regarded by her Majesty’s government as the essential preliminary to any modification of their territorial or maritime rights.”

The Legislature was in session when intelligence of the arrangement of the *modus vivendi* reached Newfoundland, and im-

mediately passed a strong protest against it and cabled it to the imperial authorities. Public meetings and demonstrations were held, and delegations appointed by the people to proceed to England and Canada to enlist the sympathies of the people. These delegations have been most cordially received wherever they have gone, and the press, the great lever of English-speaking public opinion, has taken up the case of the colony in a whole-hearted manner. The anomalous position in which the people of Newfoundland are placed by reason of the claims of the French, had only to be stated to show its absurdity; and the ventilation which their grievances have received on both sides of the water will, it is hoped, result in a permanent settlement of the question. As to what the details of that settlement should be, it is impossible to speak; but public sentiment seems to be unanimous in favor of some settlement which shall extinguish forever the claims of the French and leave the people of Newfoundland masters in their own house.

DONALD MORISON.

NATIONAL CONTROL OF ELECTIONS.

SENATOR PUGH, of Alabama, is one of the fairest and most dispassionate of the southern Democrats. Therefore, when he declares of the Congressional Election Law, reported by Senator Hoar on April 24, that it is "revolutionary in its character," and that "its execution will insure the shedding of blood," desire is at once aroused to learn what is the new revolutionary proceeding which is again to deluge the South with gore.

Before considering this approaching revolution and threatened bloodshed, however, it should be understood that the blood, the shedding of which Mr. Pugh contemplates, is not to be, except incidentally, that of white men. The southern uprising against national law is not to be what he and the magistrates of Alabama will consider a great offense, or, indeed, so much of a crime as larceny of swine. It is to be merely the killing of black citizens of the Republic. In the Pensacola, Florida, "Daily News" of April 8, 1890, is "Correspondence of the News," headed "Brewton Brewings," as follows:

"Brewton, Ala., April 7. Circuit court has been in session here for two weeks, and on Saturday at a late hour adjourned for the term. After a labor of nine days, the grand jury returned 34 true bills, 5 for felonies, and 29 for minor offenses. Among the most important criminal cases tried, was that of the State against James Duncan, charged with stealing hogs. He was convicted, and sentenced to two years in the penitentiary. Mr. W. Y. Lovelace was tried, charged with murdering a negro; was convicted, sentenced to hard labor for the county for a period of six months, and fined \$50 and costs."

Having been duly notified in advance of the southern decision to rebel once more against national authority, let us inquire what is the proposed United States law which is to be resisted by further Barnwell massacres and Brewton murders, and by repeated assassinations of witnesses like John Bird and of deputy marshals like W. B. Saunders.

The Hoar bill, reported April 24, 1890,* is simply this: the

* Senate Bill No. 3,652.

present law providing United States supervision of congressional elections, which has existed ever since February 28, 1871, and has been effectively used only in the great cities, is to be extended to any city or town having 20,000 inhabitants or upward, to any county or parish, and to any entire congressional district no part of which is in such city or town, whenever a fixed number of resident voters shall ask for such supervision on the ground that without it the congressional election will not be fair and free. When such supervision is asked for, the chief supervisor of the judicial district shall so inform the circuit judge, who shall open court and appoint a sufficient list of local supervisors. From this list the chief supervisor shall detail and assign to duty in each voting precinct two supervisors from different political parties. These are to scrutinize the registration of voters under the direction of the chief supervisor; to examine the ballot boxes before the election; to supervise, count, and canvass all ballots given for representatives in Congress, and to make returns of the result to the chief supervisor. The local State election officers are required to allow the supervisors full opportunity to scrutinize the registration, and to supervise and count all ballots containing the names of candidates for representative in Congress; and they are also required to make and sign extra certificates of the result as found by them, and to deliver these to the supervisors, to be forwarded with their own to the chief supervisor.

Wherever the supervision has been asked for the whole congressional district, the circuit court is required to appoint three citizens of good standing and repute, no more than two of whom shall belong to the same political party, as canvassers of the congressional vote for the State in which they reside. On the Monday first following each congressional election, this board of canvassers is to meet and canvass the returns made by the supervisors through the chief supervisor, and to declare the result. Their four certificates, furnished to the chief supervisor, to the person elected, to the clerk of the House of Representatives, and to the secretary of state at Washington, are to be the only lawful credentials of the election from the district thus supervised. Full jurisdiction is given to the circuit court to correct errors of

any kind concerning the votes cast for representative in Congress committed by any board of canvassers, either State or county, or other local board. States may provide the Australasian method of nominating and balloting for candidates. Every congressional box used at a State election must have thereon some suitable label or inscription clearly indicating that ballots for member of Congress are to be there deposited. Various penalties for wrongs in connection with congressional elections are enacted.

Representative Lodge's bill, introduced March 15, 1890,* provides that whenever 500 resident voters in any congressional district shall so request of the United States district judge, a registration of voters shall be made and the election held by national officials only. There are to be two registrars appointed by the judge, belonging to the two political parties whose presidential candidates in the election next previous shall have received the highest and second highest number of votes. Two inspectors and two deputy inspectors are to be appointed by the judge for each voting precinct, and are to be equally divided between the same two parties. The Australasian system of nominations and elections is to prevail. The judge and clerk are to be the canvassing officers, and the certificates of the result are to be forwarded to the clerk of the House in Washington.

Representative Rowell's bill, introduced May 8, 1890,† is in most respects like that reported by Senator Hoar, with the following additions and changes. It requires local State election officers to count all ballots actually cast for representatives in Congress, although some may by mistake be deposited in the wrong box; and it punishes any such officer who changes the position of any box with intent to deceive any voter. It requires the United States supervisors to keep a poll list of persons voting for representative, and a separate list of all persons whose ballots are rejected; and to receive said ballots and to note on said separate list the reasons for their rejection by the local officers. It provides that if in any election precinct the local election officers do not open the polls as required by the State law, the supervisors shall open them for the reception of ballots for representative in Congress, and conduct the election and make

* House Bill No. 8,242.

† House Bill No. 10,084.

a return of the result to the State authorities, who are required to count the same. Wherever supervision of an entire congressional district has been asked, the canvassers of the congressional vote are to be the chief supervisor, the United States district attorney, and the United States marshal. The result of their canvass is to be sent to the clerk of the House of Representatives, and if it shows the election of a person other than the one certified by the State canvassers, neither person is to be by the clerk placed upon the roll of representatives until the House shall decide which, if either, has been duly chosen.

Various other bills have been introduced into the two houses, showing that thorough explorations of the whole subject have been made by careful and thoughtful investigators, and by lawyers competent to frame the different methods into the shape of proposed laws. Among these may be mentioned Representative Kelley's bill,* Mr. McComas's bill to prevent gerrymandering,† Senator Spooner's bills,‡ a bill repealing certain special atrocities in the State regulations of South Carolina,§ Senator Sherman's bill,|| and the bill introduced by Mr. Chandler in the Fiftieth Congress.¶

The latest bill is the one introduced into the House June 14, 1890, by Representative Lodge.** This is an amplification of the Rowell bill,†† and contains numerous minute provisions prescribing the duties, powers, and privileges of the United States supervisors while supervising the registration and election, and counting the ballots for representative in Congress received by the local State officers. The canvassing board, however, when such a board is asked for, is to be composed of three citizens of good standing and repute, as provided in the Hoar bill,‡‡ and the name of the person declared elected by the board is to be placed by the clerk on the roll of the House. This bill was on June 19 favorably reported §§ by the select committee on the election of repre-

* House Bill No. 8,286.

† House Bill No. 7,712, with Report No. 1,882.

‡ Senate Bills 206 and 207.

§ Senate Bill No. 1,464, Fiftieth Congress.

|| Senate Bill No. 2.

¶ Senate Bill No. 302.

** House Bill No. 10,958.

†† House Bill No. 10,084.

‡‡ Senate Bill No. 3,652.

§§ As House Bill No. 11,045.

sentatives in Congress, of which Mr. Lodge is chairman, accompanied by a carefully-prepared report setting out concisely the provisions of the bill and the reasons for its passage.* This bill, somewhat amended, passed the House July 2, and the Senate will not venture to adjourn without passing the same bill, either as it comes from the House or as it may be amended.

The principal differences in the various plans for introducing greater national control of congressional elections may be stated substantially as follows: 1. Some propose complete control and conduct of the registration and the election from beginning to end, including the count and certification by national officials, in all the 332 districts of the Union. 2. Others contemplate such complete management of the election only in those particular districts where such control is specially petitioned for. 3. Some extend into districts where such supervision is specially prayed for the present system of national supervisors to watch and check the State election officers, without the establishment of a national canvassing board. 4. Others extend the system of national supervisors into districts where they are specially called for, with the addition, when asked for, of a national canvassing board.

What particular method Congress will at last adopt is at the time of writing this not determined. The final decision will doubtless be reached in a committee of conference between the Senate and the House. The first method, that of complete national management of the elections in all the districts of the Union, is logically the most defensible, because it is universal and non-discriminating in its application, and takes for all time to come the matter out of State hands and places it under national control. The weighty objections to it are: 1, that it involves an immense needless expense thus to duplicate elections, State and national, on the same day; and, 2, that it is legislating to make a remedy much broader than the disease—a course contrary to the universal method of Anglo-Saxon progress, which is to enact reforms in legislation only by piecemeal. Why, it is pertinently asked, should national control be taken of all the 332 elections, because in a limited number of districts in a special section of the country free suffrage is suppressed, and the result of the elections

* House Report No. 2,493.

changed by fraud and violence? Strike the blow at the evil, and at that alone!

The practical merit of the plan of extending the operation of the existing law, is that it conforms to this idea of applying the remedy only where the disease is, and adopts a system already established, with the fair and beneficial workings of which the country is already familiar. A cogent objection to it is stated by the advocates of complete control by means of federal election officers, namely, that the determination in the bulldozed districts of the South to suppress fair and honest elections is so intense and defiant that the supervisors will be completely hindered or utterly set aside; and, moreover, that the voters in Republican districts will be kept absolutely away from the State polling places, by means which the supervisors cannot counteract. It is difficult to resist the demand that, admitting that national control should be assumed only where specially asked for, it shall, in such a case, entirely exclude State control, and in the particular district provide a registration and an election, a canvass and a certification, solely controlled by United States officials. Here is, indeed, the true remedy, at once limited to the evil complained of, and absolutely effectual to overcome that evil and make southern congressional elections in form and fact both fair and free.

Whatever method may ultimately be adopted by the Fifty-first Congress and approved by President Harrison, what possible justification is there for the stigmas and threats of resistance unto blood of Senator Pugh and his coadjutors? The elections are of United States, and not of State, officials. Why should not Congress, if in its discretion it sees fit, provide by law for fully controlling such elections? Surely, Senator Pugh, in his coming second rebellion against the power of the United States, intends to point to some prohibition in the federal Constitution against the enactment by Congress of a national election law. Can he find such prohibition? It does not exist; but, on the contrary, there exists full and explicit constitutional authority for Congress to pass the law against which he menaces a new rebellion and bloodshed. Article 1, Section 4, of the Constitution is as follows:

“The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.”

In the face of the above provision of the Constitution, how childish, as well as wicked, appears Senator Pugh's assertion that Senator Hoar's bill is revolutionary in its character, and his menace of resistance by bloodshed to its execution at the South.

In 1840 Congress provided for changing the mode of choosing representatives in the States, from that of a general election of all the members from each State on one ticket, to the system of elections by separate congressional districts. The new method was resisted by some of the States for several years, but was finally submitted to everywhere. In 1866 Congress passed a most radical law concerning the election of United States senators. It fixed the day of election in each branch of the State Legislature; required the voting to be *viva voce*; prescribed the method of keeping the journals; compelled a meeting of the two branches the next day at noon; directed who should preside over the joint meeting; ordered that the two journals of the previous day should be read, and if a choice had been made of the same person by each house, that his election should be declared, and if not, that the members of the two houses should forthwith proceed to vote for senator *viva voce*, and should vote at least once each day at noon until an election should be effected; and provided that whenever a majority of all the members elected to the two houses should be present, a majority of these might elect a senator, even although all the members of one house might be absent.

With the constitutional power of Congress to regulate the election of representatives and senators in Congress thus explicitly given, with the exercise of that power thus already extended by law to the details of such elections (even entering into the halls of State legislatures) and with the wand of national authority irresistibly directing the specific movements and the votes of their officers and members, logical arguments against the power to enact the proposed national congressional election law are not to be expected from southern leaders. Vituperation and threats

are their natural tactics, by which alone, through northern commercial timidity, they hope to prevent the vindication of the most important right guaranteed by the national Constitution.

The reasons why it is expedient for Congress to exert its clear power of regulating in full measure the elections of representatives in Congress are many and cogent.

I. During the last decade it has come to be plainly seen and known of all men that the southern Democrats are determined that their congressional elections shall not be fair and free. The Fifteenth Amendment is flagrantly defied. Colored citizens are not allowed to vote. White Republicans are not allowed to vote. If Republican votes get into the ballot boxes, they are not counted, or are counted for the Democratic candidates. The pretense that colored voters are beginning to vote the Democratic ticket is practically abandoned, and it is admitted that nine tenths of the colored vote is and will be Republican so long as the existing political parties face each other on the present issues. For this reason the claim is now openly and boldly set up through the South that Negro suffrage is a failure; that the Fifteenth Amendment was a mistake, and must be universally nullified; and the North and the nation are defied to enforce its provisions. When southern Republicans, white and black, show signs of a disposition to contend for their constitutional rights, they are defeated by fraud or violence. Fraud is preferred, but violence is freely resorted to.

The young Democrats of the South are taught that false counting and political murders are justifiable to prevent Republican rule through the Negro vote. Southern breezes still bring to northern ears the groans of suffering black men who were once slaves; to whom, in the throes of a civil war, the nation gave freedom, and later the ballot, and who are now whipped, maimed, and murdered, because they try to preserve and gratefully to use their liberty and their suffrage to promote the welfare of their deliverers and friends. As in the days of slavery, southern trade is precious to northern merchants. Cincinnati sells her honor and her humanity for southern commerce. Democratic politicians at the South, and as far north as Washington, freely boast that in their now open proclamation of the nullifica-

tion of a part of the national Constitution they will receive the universal support of the northern Democracy, and that enough Republicans who fear business disturbances and the loss of trade will abandon their party and acquiesce in the suppression of southern Republican suffrage to make the passage of national election laws impossible, to make the next House of Representatives Democratic, and to elect a Democratic president in 1892. If these southern Democrats are right, the country might as well know it now as later. The Republicans control the two houses of Congress, and the President is an honored and true Republican. Do we dare to debase our manhood before southern threats, to surrender the Fifteenth Amendment, to abandon the southern Republicans? All this we do if, after Senator Pugh's threats of bloodshed, we pass no law in the first session of the Fifty-first Congress for fair and free elections of representatives in Congress.

II. Whatever may be the immediate action or failure to act of the patient and long-suffering North, there can be no more doubt of the ultimate result of the new southern rebellion than there was of the irrepressible conflict which culminated in civil war in 1861. About 40 representatives in Congress and 40 electors in each presidential contest, are now chosen on account of the colored population of the old slave States. After the next census there will be more than 40. If the colored citizens freely voted, there would be at least 40 representatives and electors, Republican in their politics, and in favor of protecting northern business interests against unjust and malignant southern attacks. But with the colored vote almost completely suppressed, these 40 votes are permanently taken from the party to which they belong and transferred to the party which has no right to them.

If no sentiment of justice to the Negro and no reverence for constitutional law will arouse the North to action, yet it will not for any long period consent to wear in political contests a badge of inferiority and degradation such as is implied when the northern man who was loyal votes only once, while the southern white man who was a rebel votes in effect twice or more—once for himself and once or more for his late slave or slaves. Giving the South before the war representation for three fifths of its slaves,

was degradation enough for the North; giving that section now representation for all the black people—40 or more congressmen and electors—while the blacks vote hardly any more than they did when slaves, and the votes they do cast are suppressed in violation of the Constitution, is so overwhelming a dishonor that there need be little fear of a long-continued submission by the North. That section is slow to anger; loves peace and commerce; but the South will be wise if it relies not too much on apparent northern supineness and indifference. The awakening will be sure and is not very remote.

III. A national congressional election law is due from the Republicans of the Fifty-first Congress and President Harrison to the colored people, to assist them in the renewed efforts which they are about to make for the preservation of their right to vote, and all their other rights under the Constitution of their country, in which they are no longer slaves, but citizens. Let no deluded southerner for a moment imagine that the southern blacks who have once tasted the sweets of liberty and the ballot will surrender those inestimable blessings. They longed for freedom when the law made them slaves and when the Constitution riveted their shackles. To attain freedom they endured, suffered, were fugitives, starved, and died, when all the world except a little handful was hostile to their strivings; and in the fullness of time the race became free Americans. Their ballots are in their hands, and the Constitution says they may cast them. Their guns are in their hands, and the Constitution says they may keep and bear them. What is there in human nature under a black skin which will lead the race to abase itself before its former masters; to throw away its ballots and its guns and prove itself undeserving of the God-given rights which have come to it out of so much tribulation and by the bloody sacrifice of the first-born of so many northern hearths and homes? Since the war, the blacks of the South, as a whole, have improved faster than the whites, in property, in culture, and in all the qualities of manhood. Will their ministers of the Gospel, their editors and writers, their teachers of all kinds, the intellectually strong men and women among them, allow the race to surrender one jot of their civil and political rights? Formerly their blood was

freely shed in protest against the Constitution of their country which made them slaves; now it is shed in vindication of the Constitution which makes them freemen and voters. Many rivers of blood will have to flow before the colored voters will do the bidding of the Democratic leaders at the South, and stay away from the polls when newly opened to them by a national election law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress.

IV. Without prolonging argument for the passage of a national election law, occasion is taken to make prominent one additional reason—the need of protection in southern congressional elections for the candidates and members of the National Farmers' Alliances. These alliances are being formed over the whole country. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of their principles or the merits of their candidates, their organizations and methods, so far as appears, are honest, honorable, peaceful, and lawful. They are entitled to hold their meetings, to promulgate their platforms, to nominate their candidates, to make their canvasses, to get as many votes as they can, to have them counted and declared, and, if they are a plurality, to have their nominees receive the offices. It is of the vital essence of republican government that such new organizations, which spring up to remedy alleged abuses, shall be allowed free course—shall not be suppressed, molested, or made afraid. The first effect of such a new or third party is always to work injury to the existing majority party in the locality where it starts, but that is no reason why that majority should be allowed to put it down by violence. The Farmers' Alliances are likely to do most hurt to the Republicans in the North, and to the Democrats at the South. At the North they will not, on that account, be maltreated or unfairly opposed. At the South, however, the leaders of the dominant party are making efforts to destroy and suppress the Alliances by the methods used in preventing Republican political movements. Is this difference to be tolerated? Shall the Farmers' Alliances be respected and protected in their political movements at the North, no matter how much they may weaken the Republican Party; and when they attempt to work in the South, are they to be balked, defeated, ostracized, and driven to dissolution or failure by violence and crimes, as if they were public enemies?

The Farmers' Alliances intend to take part in the elections of congressmen. They say they wish national legislation in the interest of the farming class. It is their privilege to try and elect their candidates for Congress. The Republican Party at the North is likely to suffer the loss of congressmen through the candidacy of the nominees of the Farmers' Alliances. The Democratic Party at the South is not to be allowed to suffer any losses of congressmen, because violent, criminal means, even murder, are to be unscrupulously used to save the Democracy from defeat.

Some Knights of Labor in Louisiana ventured to ask their employers for a larger share of the plantation crops; they were called rioters, and shot down in cold blood. Such occurrences have taken place in various sections. Take, for instance, the case of the suppression of the Farmers' Alliances at Minter City, Mississippi. Minter City is in the rich, cotton-growing region of Tallahatchie County. White lecturers of the Farmers' Alliances went there and organized Alliance stores. Colored people joined the organizations. The Alliance at Durant, on the Illinois Central Railroad, advanced supplies. The farmers began to patronize these stores, instead of the local traders, who had charged them enormous profits, swallowing up their little earnings. These local traders determined that the Alliances should be broken up. The annexed extracts from the St. Louis "Globe-Democrat," in a dispatch dated December 2, 1889, tell how it was done.

"Of all the 'Nigger killings' charged up to Mississippi, the recent campaign in the Tallahatchie country was the worst. The smallest estimate of the number shot is 20. The largest return of casualties is 200 dead. Probably 40 Negroes were murdered before the work ceased. The sole offense which called for such a terrible lesson was the organization of a Colored Farmers' Alliance, and the attempt to put in practice the plan of patronizing an Alliance store. Against the right of the Negro to enjoy the benefits of the Farmers' Alliance organization, the white store-keepers and planters of the Tallahatchie country banded themselves together. They began by exiling Cromwell, the agent of the commercial company. The usual reports now went out that the Negroes were organizing and arming for a race conflict. Then the killing began. . . . There was no battle. There was no resistance by the Negroes. The white store-keepers and planters, armed with Winchesters, rode through the country picking out their victims. . . . The condemned man was made to stand facing a

tree, and a volley was fired at his back. Then the white store-keepers and planters rode on to the next place. It is known that at least 20 Negroes were killed in this way. . . . The outline of facts comes from white men and Democrats. . . . When the white store-keepers and planters had concluded their work they met and adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas, it is the sense of this meeting that the organization known here as the Colored Farmers' Alliance is being diverted from its original or supposed purpose,

"Resolved, that we, the planters and citizens of Tallahatchie River, hereby request the Durant Commercial Company to desist from selling goods or loaning money to said organization . . . and we hereby serve notice that goods or other things shipped to the secretaries or managers of said Alliance shall not be delivered. . . . We do not intend to, and we will not submit to, a combination subversive of our fortunes, our lives, and our property.

"Resolved, that the secretary of this meeting be required to notify the editor of the Colored Farmers' 'Alliance Advocate,' published at Valden, Miss., that the issuance of copies of his paper to subscribers at the Shell Mound, McNutt, Sunnyside, Minter City, Graball, and Sharkey postoffices shall be stopped, and to notify him further that a disregard of this notice will be treated as it should deserve by a united and outraged community.

"Resolved, that the members of this meeting pledge themselves individually and collectively to carry out these resolutions in letter and spirit.

"Resolved, that the Secretary forward a copy of the proceedings of this meeting to said Durant Commercial Company and the editor of the Colored Farmers' 'Alliance Advocate,' by mail."

The local Tallahatchie county paper says:

"These resolutions look harsh and arbitrary, but when the fearful ignorance and prejudice of the Negroes are taken into account, it is indisputable that a combination of any kind among them is dangerous and needs more or less surveillance. They frequently prostitute their churches and benevolent orders to wrongful purposes."

In view of the incidents and purposes of the foregoing brutal and bloody Minter City tragedy, well does the "Globe-Democrat" ask: "What will the National Farmers' Alliance do about this?" On the other hand, what, may we ask, will not the southern Democrats do when the southern Farmers' Alliances not only organize co-operative stores, but also undertake to elect members of the Farmers' Alliances as State officers and congressmen?

We give the answer: they will not be allowed a free canvass or an honest count. They will be trampled under foot by reckless southern Democrats. Free politics does not exist at the South.

Freedom is there a mockery to the black man; suffrage is a sham to all Republicans. All that a national law can accomplish toward fair elections at the South, both for the Republican and Farmers' Alliance candidates, should be done. But more than that is needed. When southern Democrats like Senator Pugh openly proclaim that national laws, constitutionally enacted, are to be resisted at the South unto bloodshed, there should be aroused everywhere at the North a sentiment of indignation; and this, growing stronger each day, should at last resemble that northern uprising of former days, which, overcoming commercial cowardice and dough-faced subserviency, first thrust slavery back to its gloomy lair, and next, on due provocation, invaded its precincts and destroyed the monster forever.

WILLIAM E. CHANDLER.

ARE WE A FRIVOLOUS PEOPLE?

NOT long ago, in an address to young men, Bishop Potter lamented that the grand old lecturers of the days when there were giants upon the platform had given place to the "end men." Other learned and eloquent men, scholars, orators, and teachers, have repeatedly echoed the Bishop's lament; and still other learned and eloquent men, taking unfair advantage of being born a few thousand years before the nineteenth century, have as frequently originated it. Little wonder is it, then, that plain, unlettered people are in danger of becoming alarmed over the general decadence of the world and the deterioration of everything and everybody, save only ourselves and those who agree with us. The world certainly is older than it was when it was much younger. At times it appears to be growing bald and toothless; its sight is failing; its voice, turning again "toward childish treble, pipes and whistles in his sound"; it seems to be drifting backward into second childishness, and childish things serve for its amusement. The contemplation of this disheartening spectacle would be much more affecting were we not thoroughly accustomed to it. We have reason for enduring it with stoical indifference, as we bear in mind that pretty much the same state of things existed in the garden of Eden. Adam, even when a young man, was thoroughly convinced that the world was not what it was when he came into it, and that it was going to the bad. In his earliest recorded opinion of people, before ever he had praised anything, he finds fault with the woman who was given him to be an helpmeet unto him. Nearly three thousand years ago, wise and thoughtful men were so grieved over the universal degeneracy of people and things, that one of the wisest among them—himself a sort of a bishop—was moved to tell them that they did not "inquire wisely" when they asked, "What is the cause that the former days were better than these?" The wise men were asking this question in the days

when silver "was nothing accounted of"; because "the king made silver and gold at Jerusalem as plenteous as stones, and cedar trees made he as the sycamore trees that are in the vale for abundance." In the former days that were so much "better than these," their fathers worked sixteen hours a day in Egyptian brick yards, and were beaten in as many styles as they had taskmasters, and about as often as they finished a brick.

However, to an uncertain extent, the platform gives the text for the jeremiad. It is not what it used to be. That in scope and purpose it has largely departed from the standard of other days, is patent to every one. But that it has been seized by the end man, and occupied by him to the exclusion of abler and better men, does not so clearly appear. The "funny man" does not and never has possessed the land. Emerson, Gough, Beecher, Channing, Webster, Burke, Demosthenes, Æsop, Plato, Aristophanes, Socrates—all these have long since ceased to instruct and amuse the human race; but the end man has at no time absorbed the attention of the world. The busy man, the thinker, and the worker have had control of affairs all these years. The electric light is better than it was in Channing's day; the ocean greyhounds have broken the record several times since the Ark grounded on Ararat; our preachers do not write so many or so wise proverbs as did Solomon, but they have fewer wives and better children. Although it may be that the world is beginning to show signs of age, it has been very much in earnest during all its life, its natural force is still unabated, and it sleeps with one eye open. There are yet a few teachers and reformers upon the platform. Phillips and the old school of fiery abolition orators—blessed forever be their memories—are no more. But surely Kennan is doing noble work, for which the oppressed in far away lands are already calling him blessed. Lyman Abbott, Bishop Vincent, Swing, Henson, Blaikie, Conwell, Mary A. Livermore, Robert Collyer, Amelia B. Edwards, Robert McIntyre—surely these are teachers worthy at least to unloose the sandal latchets of the giants? These are not the end men who have usurped the platform that once echoed to the voices of the great and the wise and the good? And yet, these are the lecturers of to-day; these are the speakers in greatest

demand on the platform; these are the names most frequently appearing in the announcements of lecture courses, and oftenest recalled for successive seasons by local lyceums.

In fact, so scarce is the end man that you must seek for him when you want him. He is not nearly so numerous as his reputation. He loves life and light and warmth, and is so vivacious in his mere enjoyment of living that possibly he sometimes multiplies himself to one's irritated imagination, as one light-winged, restless fly, child of the summer, seems to be a hundred or a thousand to the wise man, bent upon improving his mind and tempting eternity by reading the "Encyclopædia Britannica." The end man is a May fly, living in the sunshine for one happy day, and then forgotten. In a semi-critical paper, published in "Harper's Magazine" a few months since, Mr. Lukens mentions by name about two hundred and fifty American humorists who have made merry with their friends during the past two hundred years. It is a pathetic record of strangers. Read it, and underline the names which have a familiar sound to your ears. Blot out the names you cannot remember to have read or heard before, and if you are under forty years of age, the condensation of the paper will startle you. The people have not been led into the wilderness of frivolity by the end man.

In a list of forty-five lecturers for the season just closed, announced by the oldest lecture and amusement bureau in America, the Lyceum Bureau of Boston, there appears but one name bracketed as "humorous," and that one is not very funny. In the list of public readers and elocutionists announced by the same bureau, comprising twenty-six names in all, but two "humorists" are announced. Thus, in a list of seventy-two lecturers and readers who bespeak the patient ears of the American public, there are but three—one lecturer and two readers—who appear in motley. Surely, if so great a measure of wisdom and dignity cannot resist the working of so small a lump of the leaven of levity, the measure must be weak or the leaven potential.

Then, look at the make-up of the lecture courses. The average course, from Boston, Massachusetts, to Carthage, Missouri, comprises six numbers—sometimes all lectures; oftener

five lectures and a concert; sometimes four lectures, a concert, and one reading. Rarely is there more than one humorist on the course—very rarely, almost never. Even in the small new towns, busy with growing, where one might expect the public taste to run to “fun” as a relaxation from incessant and exciting work and business, the committees, making up the course of Winter lectures, and anxious to give the people just what they want, say, “If we have one funny man, that is enough.” Frequently he is put on under protest; not infrequently he is left off altogether. There is not a humorous lecturer on the list of any bureau who could give a course of lectures, as George Kemman, Stoddard, and others of that class have done most successfully. Sometimes the funny man, in a moment of madness, consents to lecture two nights in succession. The second lecture is almost invariably a dismal failure. “One consecutive night” is the limit of the funny man’s course.

It is evident, then, if anything can be proved by statistics—and that is just what you can prove by them—that the end man is not crowding the wise man off the platform. At the greatest proportion, the pigmy is only one to forty-five. In such a herd of giants, the elephants should not complain that the restless ant is taking up more than his share of room. Less than one fourth of that number of wise men would have saved all the fools in Sodom. So far as the lecture platform gives us indications, far from being given up to frivolity, people are deeply interested in the study and discussion of questions of serious import—economic, social, and political reforms, prison reform, the civil service, equalization of taxation, the temperance question, church unity, the management of the public schools, the color line in the South and labor reform in the North, certain phases of inter-State commerce legislation, suffrage for women, ownership of land, trusts, the eternal tariff; why, the public mind has fallen into a mood so earnest and thoughtful that even the funny man is at times startled into a shade of thoughtfulness by seeing his funniest jokes taken seriously—as seriously as “Looking Backward.” The two leading humorous journals of the country, “Puck” and “Judge,” have been swept into the current of general earnestness, and have grown to be political journals,

stanchly loyal to their respective parties, and rivaling the great political dailies in their intense partisanship. People do not care very much for humor unless it has certain convictions back of it. The quill must direct the flight of an arrow which has been carefully aimed at a definite target.

In one respect the platform has changed. It may have changed in others. It is said that Wendell Phillips, in answer to inquiries for dates and terms, used to write the committees: "Lectures on slavery, free; on any other subject, fifty dollars and expenses." Well, possibly the lecturers who are anxious to find an audience at their own expense and without remuneration, in order to reach the people with their own views upon great questions of the day, left the world when the giants emigrated. But not only the platform has readjusted itself in harmony with the changed and changing times; other callings have rearranged their financial attitude since Paul could write to the church at Corinth: "When I was present with you, and wanted, I was chargeable to no man"; and to the church at Thessalonica: "Neither did we eat any man's bread for naught, but wrought with labor and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you." Preacher and lecturer, profound interlocutor and blithesome end man, are in their respective places laborers worthy of their hire, workmen that need not to be ashamed. The pulpit has changed less than the platform; for there are ministers not a few who labor with their hands and preach, willingly and gladly, without remuneration; and there are many, many more who come so near to living on nothing that they are not far from Pauline independence. But the lecture platform (alack that it should be so) is become a booth in Vanity Fair, and they that stand therein have wares to sell. So it hath been, not only in our day, but, with here and there an exception, even in the brave days of old, when the giants were in the land. And there be some of us, standing in the market place, who mourn, that the passer-by may lament unto us; some of us there be who pipe, that the light of heart may dance. And others still are there, good as the best of those who toil, that stand idle even until the eleventh hour, because no man hath hired them. But alike are they all in the market place.

The lecture business is a business. The lecturer invests much in it. He causes to be made a lithograph of himself, which resembles him "as the mist resembles rain" or a silver dollar resembles the goddess of liberty. He compiles a book of "press notices," so uniformly and extravagantly laudatory that we might fear he stood in danger of the woe pronounced upon us when all men shall speak well of us, did we not suspect that the press notices undergo a rigid civil-service examination, and that only the fittest for the business survive the ordeal. He salaries an advance agent, or nestles under the wing of a lecture bureau. He provides for himself many changes of raiment, extra sandals, and scrip for his purse. He pays full railway fares. Often he travels hundreds of miles between engagements. He eats when he has opportunity and there is aught to eat. He goes to bed when the committee is too sleepy to sit up in his room any longer. He passes sleepless nights on freight trains. He endures, because he must, the maddening roar, and racket, and rush, and jar of railway trains, day after day, months in succession. He lives without companionship. There is no time to read. He hears no lectures save his own, and of them perhaps he grows a-weary. He attends no concerts, no theater. He sees little of his friends, less of his family.

Now, in any business, the wise merchant puts upon the market the wares for which there is the greatest demand. If there were a great call for the end man, the bureaus would spread their nets for him, and furnish him to the local lyceums. He would not stand a solitary jester in an assembly of forty-four wise men. The people do appear to want a little of him. They must have a little rest from the wise man, who is at times a trifle heavy, and becometh, like his "much study," a weariness unto the flesh. But about one part of levity to forty-four parts of wisdom is as strong a prescription as they can stand. The main business of life, after all, is earnest and serious, and, it seems to a man in the cap and bells, never was it more seriously in earnest than in this our day.

ROBERT J. BURDETTE.

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